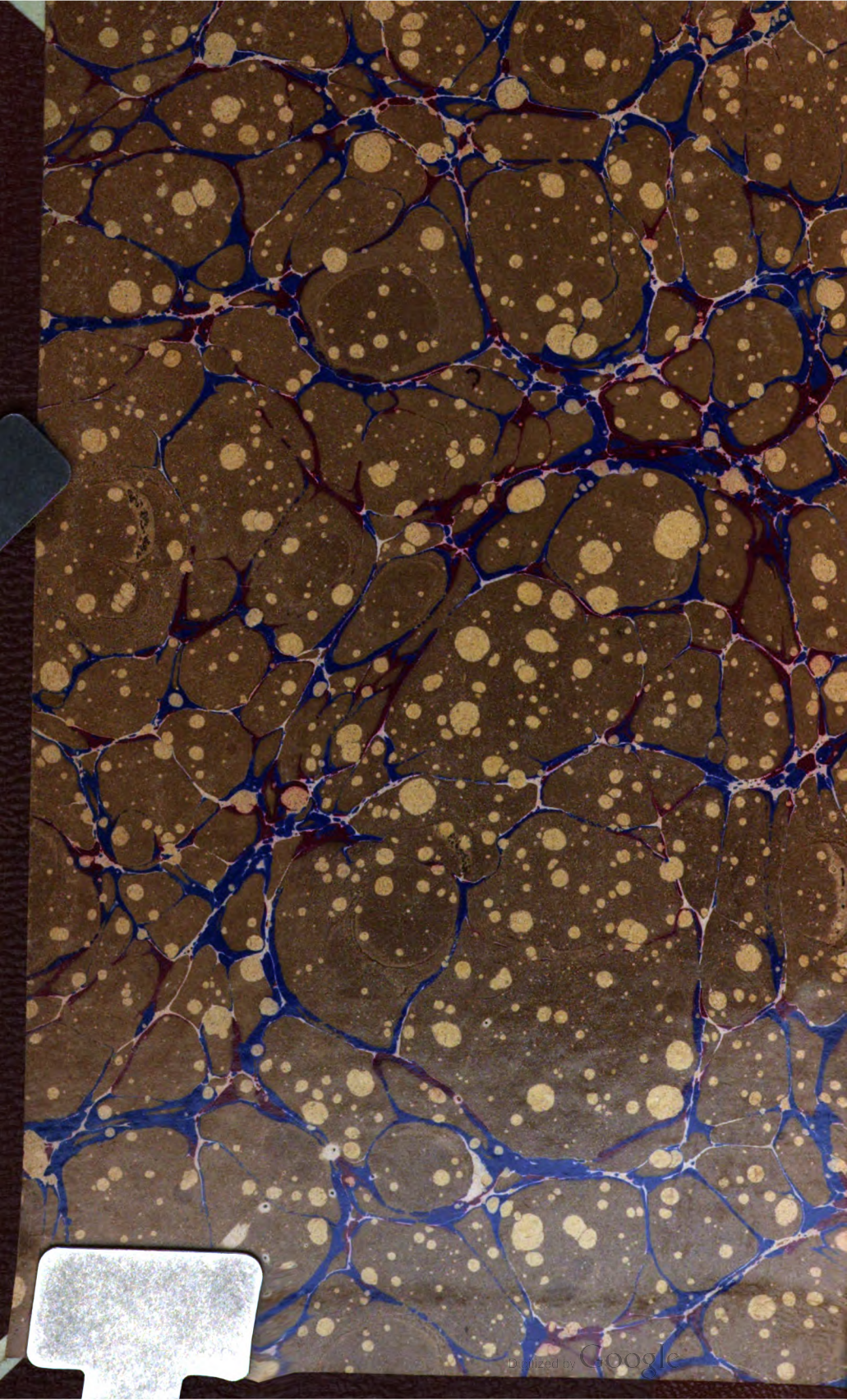
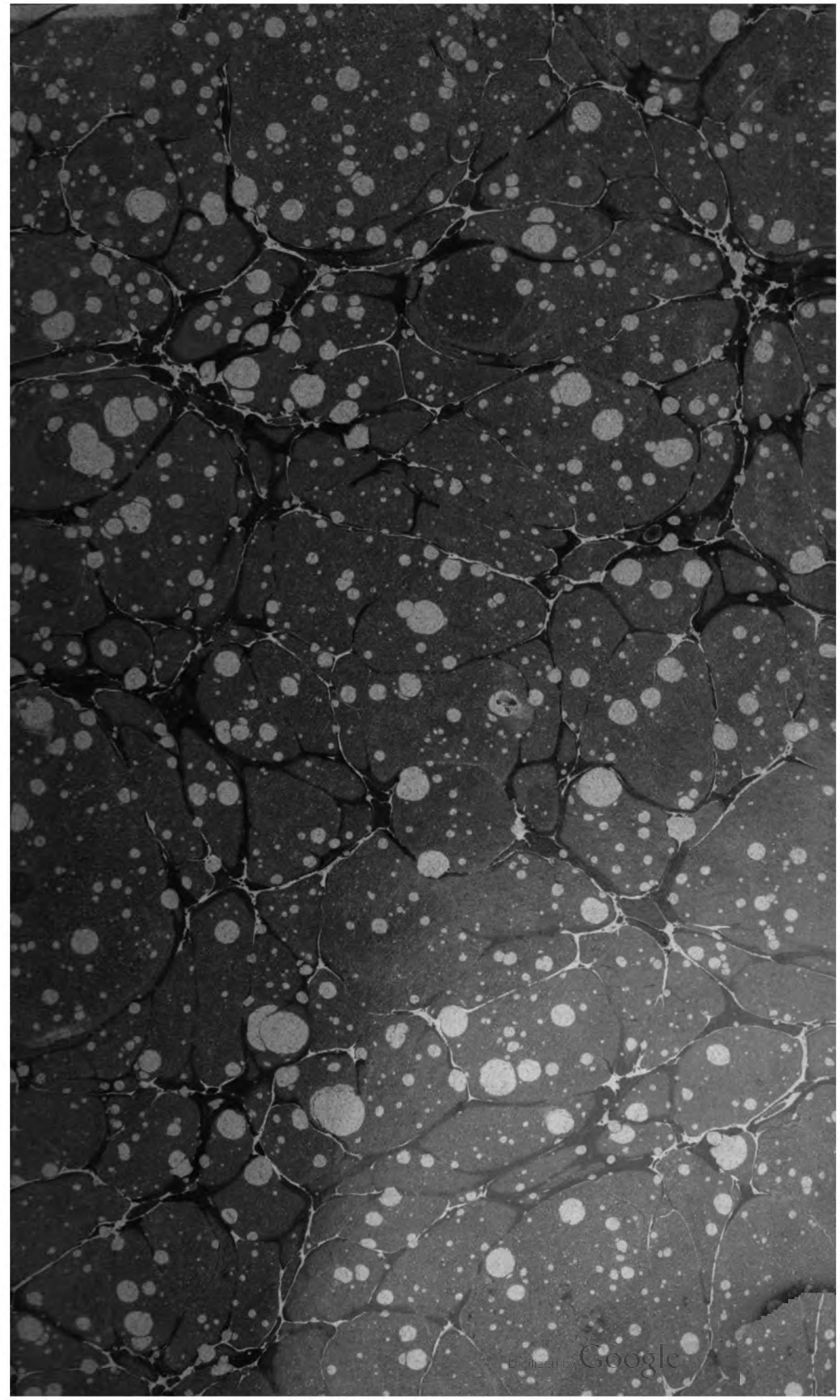

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EDITED BY
BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE
FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXVII, 1.

WHOLE No. 105.

I.—THE USE OF THE OPTATIVE IN THE EDDA.

This paper attempts to list in convenient groups all the occurrences of the optative in the poems of the Eddas. Some discussion has been necessary to explain the grouping of examples, and some remarks have arisen from the necessity of noticing important or rare usages. An attempt has also been made to give, by way of comparison, the useful facts regarding the other moods. Except for this, all discussions, including theories as to origins, have been cut to the briefest possible compass.

The classification here adopted was not chosen because of any belief that it was the only good one for the treatment of the facts in hand. Perhaps it was not the best one for the purpose. In fact this system was originally called forth by the conditions that prevailed in the older languages of the Indo-European group. There may be danger in applying it to the syntax of a language like Old-Icelandic, where not only have modal forms become quite limited in number, but even modal meanings have evidently changed much since their first representatives made their appearance in the literature of the older languages; narrowing here, widening there, now dropping outworn connotations, now forming new associations, until new distinctions are certainly called for. If, therefore, this system is applied under these new conditions, it must be used with such freedom that new categories, and even perhaps new, re-formed 'grundbegriffe', are candidly recognized, if necessary. However, since science is so incurably monistic, the adoption of one system for the grouping of the related facts of all the Indo-European languages is inevitable.¹ A certain inverted method

¹ I fully appreciate the contention of Jespersen as put forth in *Engl. Studien*, Vol. 35, p. 7, but Comparative Syntax has its own just claims.

is too prevalent. The modal treatment of the older languages has suffered much from categories imposed by conceptions gained in daily intercourse with such modern languages as can still display what seems to be a respectable array of veteran modal usages; which, however, prove to be only the disorganized remnants of a rapidly retreating rearguard almost ready to break into flight and vanish out of sight. Hence there is so much of 'souverän' and 'polemisch', 'absolut' and 'relativ', 'tatsächlich' and 'vorstellung' in treating moods of languages that have preserved clearly distinguishable modal conceptions. It is obviously safer and more scientific to ask Old-Icelandic to submit to the general categories furnished by the older languages than to make the converse demand, provided of course the facts be never misread or misinterpreted to suit the categories.

Nygaard, Gering and Delbrück have been particularly serviceable in the preparation of this paper. Besides two early ¹ programs on Syntax of the Eddas, which treat mainly of case usage, Nygaard gives a series of four articles in the 'Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi' (Vol. I-III), which, however, are based almost entirely on prose usages. This work, together with Gering's Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda, Halle, 1903, furnishes the data for the part devoted to Old-Icelandic in Delbrück's recent article on 'Der Germanische Optativ im Satzgefüge, which has antiquated all previous studies. As this article of Delbrück's should and, no doubt, will form a basis for future work in Germanic modal syntax, it is unfortunate that in discussing Old-Icelandic its author did not have at his disposal a treatment of the earlier poetic usages; for many important data thereby escaped his notice, some inaccuracies became inevitable, and some conclusions that are drawn are fallible because of the incompleteness of the evidence upon which they are based. The existence of Gering's excellent Wörterbuch has rendered it possible to cut my study down to the present small compass, by frequent references to him for complete lists of examples, as, e. g., under *ef*, *nema*, *sem*, etc. I have used 'Sijmons' text, and have listed all the examples found there, not only in the poems but also in the prose remarks, and in the fragments.

¹ Nygaard, Edda Sprogets Syntax, 1867-9.

² Nygaard, Om brugen af Konjunktiv i Oldnorsk, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. I-III.

³ In Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Deutschen Spr. u. Lit., 1904, p. 200-304.

⁴ B. Sijmons, Die Lieder der Edda, Halle, 1888-1901.

I. THE OPTATIVE IN INDEPENDENT CLAUSES.

1. *In expressions of will.*

I find no examples in the Edda of the independent volitive in the *first person* singular or plural. *Resolve* on the part of the speaker is usually expressed by the first person singular of *skolo*, while *exhortation*, which involves both the speaker and the listener, is regularly expressed by the first person plural of the imperative, e. g.,

gongom baug sea! 'let us go see the rings', Vkv. 23⁴.

Examples of the optative in the *second person* in commands are not numerous:

rōþomk þér, Loddafær, en (*at* R) þu *rōþ nemer*, 'I caution thee, take thou my advice', Hōv. 111¹, ff. This formula occurs more than twenty times between Hōv. 110 and Hōv. 136.

ræþk þér nu, en þu *ræþ nemer*, ok *rīþ heim hepan*, Fm. 20. Notice that the optative is immediately followed by the imperative (*rīþ*), which mood is of course the regular one in direct commands. The following three verbs are perhaps felt to be semi-dependent:

skōsmiþr þu veser nē *skeptesmiþr*, 'Be thou neither cobbler nor spearsmith', Hōv. 125⁴;

gest þu nē geyja nē á grind hrækkver, Hōv. 134⁴;

sīþr þu hefner, Sd. 22³. In the next, the verb is independent, but the reading is uncertain:

svā komer (komit A) *manna meirr aptr á vit*, Vegt. 14³.

The third person, singular and plural, is frequently used in commands and expressions of will. It may be noticed that a majority of the verbs in this list have an indefinite subject like *maþr* or *enge*. This is wholly accidental and due to the large number of proverbial prescriptions in such poems as the Hōvamōl. Fifteen verbs are in the affirmative, eleven in the negative:

halde Hel þvís hefer! 'Let Hel keep her possessions', F. M. 5¹¹;

ligge okkar enn í mille, Sg. 67¹;

hōfpe skemra, láte hann . . . fara til heljar hepan, Fm. 34¹; 38¹;

hæfe et mikla men Brisinga! Þrk. 14⁴;

haldet maþr á kere, drekke þó at hōfe mjōþ, mæle þarft eþa þege, 'Let the cup go 'round, yet drink thy share of the mead; speak fair or not at all!' Hōv. 19^{1,2};

nē ān til kynnes *kome*, Hǫv. 33¹;
 mepalsnotr skyle manna hvern, æva til snotr *sē* Hǫv. 54¹;
 55²; 56¹;
 ørlog sin *vite* enge fyrer Hǫv. 56²;
 þvegenn ok metr *rípe* maþr þinge at, Hǫv. 61¹;
 skua ok brōka *skammesk* enge maþr, Hǫv. 61²;
 akre ārsōnom *true* enge maþr, Hǫv. 87¹;
verpet maþr svā tryggr, Hǫv. 88¹;
letea maþr hana langrar gōngo, Sg. 45²;
bregpe enge fōsto heite fira, Alv 3⁴;
 mæle þarft eþa þege, Vm. 10².

Plural:

sē nū segger, Gþr. III, 8²; *tjalde* of borg þā tjoldom, Sg. 65¹;
brinne mer enn hunska ā hliþ aþra, Sg. 65⁴; 66¹;
rinne rōkn bitloþ, H. H. I. 53¹; *firresk* æ forn rōk firar,
 Ls. 25⁴.

The appropriate form of *skolo* with the infinitive frequently serves as an equivalent of the volitive. This *skolo* is in turn softened into an optative, partly through the leveling influence of the other verbs, partly through a desire to break the brusqueness of an abrupt *þā skal* or *maþr skal*. Cf. Hǫv. passim, where all of these means are used and seem to be almost interchangeable; e. g., mepalsnotr *skyle* manna hvern, æva til snotr *sē*, Hǫv. 54; and vin sīnom *skal* maþr vinr vesa . . . en ðvinar sīns *skyle* enge maþr vinar vinr vesa, Hǫv. 43. (Cf. what is said about *skolo* in the treatment of the potential optative.)

2. In expressions of wish.

First person:

vel ek, kvap Vølundr, *verpak* ā fitjom, 'bless me! could I but come to my feet once more', Vkv. 30².

knegak grame fagna, 'would I could greet my lord!' H. H. II. 35² (or does it depend upon *nema*? Gering's interpretation, "wie grüsst ich ihn froh!" is hardly possible, as the present optative is not so used in the Eddas. Sijmons brackets the line.) Both of these verbs are on the borderland of the 'unreal', for they express wishes that obviously cannot be fulfilled. In the preterite I find sea þat *mættak*, at sēr nē ynþet, 'would I could see!' Am. 54⁴; also *knættak* coördinated with *mundak* in H. H. II. 21²: lifna *mundak* nū kjōsa es liþner 'o, ok *knættak* þō þer i faþme felask. The periphrasis with *munda* seems in fact to be at least as regular as the simple optative. Besides the example just quoted there are the following:

hēr mundak øple una, Fj. 5⁴;

heima letja ek *munda* Herjafoþor, Vm. 2¹.

Second person:

heill þu *farer*! heill þu aþr *komer*! heill þu a sinnom *sér*!
'farewell in thy going, farewell in thy coming, farewell on thy way', Vm. 4;

at undrsjōnom þu *verþer*! Skm. 28¹.

vīþkunnare þu *verþer* an vōrþr meþ goþom, Skm. 28⁴. (Note that in the long curse of Skm. 25-37, Skirnir finds *skal* quite as serviceable as the optative. At times the former contains a greater degree of certainty, but again it seems to serve almost as the equivalent of the latter.) The imperative is also serviceable in expressing wishes: *vesþu sem þistell*, Skm. 31³; þu, Fāfner, *ligg* í fjörbrotom! Fm. 21³. I find one instance of the second person plural present of the optative in a wish:

svā ēr līþom lande í *eypþ*, sem of unnoþ eipa svarþa, Gþr I. 20¹.

Third person singular:

matr *sē* þēr leiþare, 'be thy meat more loathsome', Skm. 27³.
sile hann á auþe, *sofe* hann á dūne, *vake* hann at vilja, 'may he sit in wealth, may he sleep on a bed of down, may he awake when it pleases him', Grt. 5⁴; *rinnea* sā marr es und þēr rinne, *bitea* þat sverþ es þu bregþer, 'may the horse you ride stand still, may the sword you carry refuse to cut', H. H. II. 30-1; *hare*, Skm. 28³; *grīpe*, *morne*, Skm. 31³; *létte*, Grt. 17³; *vaxe*, H. Hv. 16⁴; *sē*, Gþr. I. 22³; Gg. 14³; *njóte*, Hōv. 137; *fare*, *eige*, Am. 31⁴; *gange*, Akv. 32¹; *leike*, *brinne*, Ls. 65⁴; *skríþea*, H. H. II. 30¹; gramer *hæfe* Gunnar, Br. 11³; *ōþe* þēr *duge*, Vm. 4³; *hverfe*, *snuesk*, Gg. 9³; *meget*, *halde*, Gg. 12³; *standet*, Gg. 15³; *mege* brenna, Ghv. 21³; hēr *skyle* enge granda, Grt. 6¹. (The wish is expressed by the 'modest' optative of *skal*. cf. Od. 30³; H. H. II. 29; Gþr. II. 9³.)

Plural:

urþar lokor *halde* þēr qllom megom, 'Guarding charms keep thee on all sides!' Gg. 7³; *eige* hann jōtnar, 'may the giants take him', Am. 30³; *vaxe* þēr tōr, Skm. 29³; *gefe*, Skm. 36³; svā *hjalpe* þēr, Od. 8¹; *deile* grōm vīþ þik, H. H. I. 46⁴; þīþne sorger, Ghv. 21⁴; *batne*, *minke*, Ghv. 22³; *gange*, *lē*, Gg. 11³⁴; *snuesk* þverre, Gg. 8⁴.

3. In questions.

The optative is also found in some questions of perplexity and the like. Delbrück is inclined to consider these as belonging to

the potential optative (Beiträge, 29; p. 206). In so interpreting *hvi megi svā vera*, 'wie kann es so sein?' Mork, 97, 17, is he not reading the meaning of *megi* into the interpretation of the mood? However, the examples seem to depend largely upon the context for exact interpretation, so that it would be unjust to force them into any one class. Suffice it to say that there are enough to form a recognizable type. *hvi of segjak þēr . . . mikenn möptrega*', 'why should I (or how can I) tell you my great sorrow?' Skm. 4; *hvē umb þreyjak þriar*, 'how shall I (or how can I) wait three days?' Skm. 43²; *hvi mynem hēr vilja heyra a þā skrækton*? Am. 60⁴; *hvat mege fōtr fōte veita*? Hm. 13¹.

This type is probably a close relative of the Indo-European subjunctive and optative questions that usually appear in the first person. Such questions are usually classed as of volitive and optative ('prescriptive') origin.

Before giving the examples of the independent potential optatives I shall list the dependent clauses of will and wish. As it is neither possible nor very essential to keep these clearly distinguished, I shall classify in whatever way the examples may be made most accessible for general use.

II. THE OPTATIVE IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES OF WILL AND DESIRE.

1. *Final clauses after at, at eige, svā-at, sīþr.* The optative is the regular mood.

Present tense.

frip at kaupa at þu þēr Frey kveper öleipastan lifa, 'to buy your favor so that you will call Frey your lover', Skm. 19³; *lāt svā breiþa borg ā velle at und oss öllom jafnrūmt see*, Sg. 64⁴; *gelk þēr . . . at. þu of öxl skjöter*, Gg. 6³; *sitka svā sæl . . at unak lifē*, H. H. II. 35²; *at veita svāt . . hafe*, Hdl. 9; *ber minnesöļ . . svāt öļ mune orþ at tīna*, Hdl. 46²; *gelk þēr . . at þvi firr (= quominus) mege*, Gg. 13³; *göra goll fagrt svāt gaman þykke*, Gpr. II. 27²; *upp lita skalattu . . sīþr þik of heille haler*, Höv. 128⁶; *lāt ulfs föþor sitja sumbla at, sīþr oss Loke kvepe*, Ls. 10³; *mar ok mæke gefk þēr . . sīþr þu ösom öfund of gjalder*, Ls. 12³; *tak vīþ hrimkalke . . heldr ('so that at least') þu hana läter vesa*, Ls. 53³; *þik vilk fregna unz alkunna*, Vgtm. 8, 10, 12.

Preterite tense.

bupom vit bauga *at* þeir *eige* til Atla *segþe*, Od. 24¹; gættesk þess Høgne *at* ārna anaupgom *at* undan *genge*, Am. 60¹; mæler þu *at* munz rāpe svāt mēr *skyldi* verst þykkja, Hrbl. 124; svqrnom eiþom sīþr *værak* heitenn hans kvānar vin, Sg. 28¹; lips þins *værak* þa þurfe *at* ek *helda* þeire . . . mey, Hrbl. 94;

2. *Substantive clauses of will and desire.*

a) with *þiþja*. The optative is required.

sendu æsir *at* þiþja *at* Baldr *vaeri* grātinn, 'they sent messengers to request that Balder be mourned', F. M. 5; biþk þik *at* þu Heþne hvilo *gørver*, ok jōfor ungan ōstom *leiþer*, H. Hv. 41¹⁻⁴; þiþja *at* æ viþ þik einart *lāte*, Hdl. 4¹; þiþja *at* mēr einn *gefe*, Ls. 6¹; beþet mik *at* *tyggva*, Gþr. II. 41⁴; biþk þik *at* þu Loka *kveþera* lastastōfom, Ls. 16; þiþja ykr *at* it ā bekk *kōmeþ*, Akv. 3¹;

baþ sonu sīna *at* þeir *bæþi*, Dr. 14; baþ þik *at* sārdropa svefja *skylder*, H. H. II. 41⁵.

b) with *rāpa*. The optative is almost always found.

þat *ræþk* þēr et fyrsta *at* þu vammalaust *veser*, 'I give you this advice that you be guileless', Sd. 22¹. So *nē sverer*, Sd. 23¹; *bjarger* Sd. 33¹; *truer*, Sd. 35¹; *seer*, Sd. 37¹; [Note that in this passage, the construction is very loose so that an imperative (*at deilei*, Sd. 24), and an indicative (*at skalt*, Sd. 32) are admitted.] þa's i rāpe *at* regen of þrjōte, Hdl. 44⁴; rōþomk þēr *at* (en?) þū rōþ *nemer*, Hōv. 111¹;

rēþ þat *at* *skyldi* taka hana, Ghv. 7, þu þvī rētt *es* ek rīþa *skyldak*, Fm. 30¹.

c) with *vilja*. The indicative does not occur.

vill þu *at* ek fleire *telja*? 'Do you wish me to tell more'? Ls. 28¹; þat vill enge maþr *at* vit samt *seem*, Skm. 7⁴; villkak *at* it vreipr *vegesk*, Ls. 18; ef þu vill *at* mange þēr heiptom *gjalde* harm, Sd. 11⁴; viljak *at* mēr horn *bere*, Grm. 36¹; viltu *at* ek fyr *telja*? Vsp. 1¹; (sine *at*) ef þu vill, annars kvæn vēlet þik i trygþ, Sd. 7; (vilnask) vilnomk *at* viþ Vēlund *dōmak*, Vkv. 33⁴;

nē vildak þat *at* mik verr *ætte*, Sg. 35¹; vilda *at* *rēþak*, Gþr. II. 39¹.

d) With other verbs and expressions of will and wish. hon bad konung *varask* *at* *eigi* *fyrgerþi* honum, Grm. 22; boþ sende *at* *kvāme* brātt māgar, Am. 2⁴; norn *skōpomk* i ārdaga *at* *skyldak* i vatne vaþa, Rm. 2⁴; *mætte* *at* Sigmundr *skyldi* fara fyr. Sf. 22.

The governing word is understood from the context in the next two: *at þik þjófar nē leike*, Hðv. 130⁶; *at flotbrúsa fester okkarn*, Hym. 27¹.

e) Substantive clauses of fear with *ðask*. The indicative does not occur. *ek hitt oomk at hēr ðte sē minn brøþorbane*, Skm. 16³; *oomk ek of Hugan at hann aprt nē kome*, Grm. 20³.

f) There is a miscellaneous lot of substantive clauses that do not so easily betray their source. Some, when resolved into paratactic form, seem to be volitives, e.g.: *þat's bast at hann þege*, 'tis best he hold his peace', Hðv. 27³ (cf. indic. after *bast at*, Hðv. 14³); *esa þat hāst at þu skyler*, kveþja Fáfnir fear, 'it's not fitting that you should', Rm. 12³. (Note how *skolo* assumes the burden of giving the modal feeling that the verb itself could still bear, as is evident enough in the preceding example. Not only so, but *skolo* in turn adopts the optative form.) *varþar at vite svā* ('es ist wichtig zu wissen', Gering) Hdl. 17⁴; 18⁴; *vqromk at vile*, Hdl. 33³; 36³; 40³; cf. 'Tis meet Achilles meet not Hector, *Troil. and Cress.*

The very same type occurs in the next, with the added complication that the main verb is in the potential optative. I do not consider them cases of *attraction*, as does Nygaard, I., p. 132. *vārea þat sōmt, at rēve*, 'it would not be fit that he rule', Br. 9¹; *þu vārer þess verpost kvenna at fyr augom þēr Atla hjøggem, sær brøþr þīnom bløpogt sār, . . . knætter yfer binda*, Sg. 32⁴. Cf. 'Twere better she were kissed, *Troil. and Cress.*

In the last seven verbs the general type is that of the volitive. To classify more carefully, they bear the stamp of the *prescriptive optative* of Sanskrit, which type is easily recognized in the Greek optative and in the Latin subjunctive. The insertion of *skyler* in the second example reveals the tone of the mood. I am not sure that there are enough examples here to justify the recognition of the same sub-type in this Germanic dialect. Nygaard, II., p. 348, furnishes several good parallels from the prose.

The effect in the two following is viewed as intended: *vinna þess etke, at mēr vel þykke*, Am. 68⁵; *sums est sjalfskapa at hafe svā genget*, Am. 64⁴.

In the next two the substantive clause contains commands to the fancy of the listener: 'suppose you go to sleep, no man', etc. *ðkynnes þess vār þik enge maþr, at þu ganger snimma at sofa*, Hðv. 19⁴; *hitt munde øpra jørlom þykkja at við menn mæller ok mik sæer*, Gpr. III, 1⁴.

g) There are a few clauses with *at* that virtually form conditions. In these I recognize commands, half attached to the main clause by means of the *at*, but assuming an ellipsis. The tone is somewhat like that of 'I'll assure her of her widowhood, *be it that she survive me*', *Tam. of Shrew*. heipt at meire verþr at þann hjalm hafe, 'so much the greater will their wrath grow if they get the helm', *Fm.* 19⁴; sorger minke, *at* tregröf þat of talet *være*, *Ghv.* 22³; verþr hqlþa hefnd léttrare . . . at sunr lifet, *Sg.* 12⁴; segenn lēzk þō Hjalle at hann fjqr þāge, *Am.* 59⁶; betr hefþer þu, brōþer *at* þu i brynjo *fōrer* ('possible' condition), *Akv.* 17¹.

There are some relative clauses that contain this optative of will and wish, but I prefer to treat the relatives together. See also under result clauses for a group of optatives that are closely related to the final clauses.

Finally, a remark about the preterite future, which is of such frequent occurrence in final clauses. *Skolo* has not become predominant in the Edda as it seems to be in later prose, and *mono* is not nearly so frequent. Eight times, in the dependent volitive examples, the simple preterite optative stands as a preterite future, while the preterite of *skolo* occurs seven times in that sense. For prose usage, refer to Nygaard, I, 320ff. Finally, I see no reason for recognizing a type of the optative in simple fact substantive clauses apart from those expressing will, wish, etc., although Delbrück is inclined to do so, pp. 239-41.

3. *The optative is used in concessions.*

The clause is sometimes introduced by a semi-dependent indefinite pronoun: huggezk it, *hvēges* þat *gørvesk*, *Am.* 32³, 'Be of good cheer whatsoever betide'. sykn emk . . . *hvē* hverr *velle*, *Gpr.* III, 8⁴. Cf. '*Howe'er* the world *go* I'll make sure for one', Marlowe. The regular introductory word is *pōt* (rarely *þō* . . . at.) with which the optative is invariably used in the Edda. The list of occurrences is easily found in Gering. I shall therefore give but a few examples and point out the notable peculiarities.

1. One expects of course to find a difference of mood between concessions of facts which are conceded purely and simply as facts and concessions made for the sake of an argument and the like. The other Germanic dialects keep this distinction. (Delbrück, *Beiträge*, p. 301; cf. also the use of *quamquam* and *quamvis* in the best Latin.) In the Edda I find no such distinction. There are over seventy instances of *pōt*, and it is

always followed by the optative. The present tense is found in a large majority of these. Here one finds expressed several shades of meaning from the concession of what is only imagined to the concession of what is apparently a fact. *rinnea sã marr es und þær rinne þõt fiandr þína forþask eiger*, H. H. II, 30⁴; 'If you ever ride may not your horse run tho you must outrun the enemy'. *Bu es betra þõt lítet sã*, 'Be it ever so humble there's no place like home', Hǫv. 36; *loþe sviþnar þõt ek á lopt berak*, Grm. 1³. 'The garment is being singed tho I hold it up to the air'.

Of course one may say that the speaker views the fact not as a matter of fact but with indifference. This can not be disproved in the case of the present tense. In the past tense, however, one finds that the real distinctions have broken down. A past act can hardly be viewed as though still in the field of the unreal or ideal. Compare the various degrees of 'reality' in the following examples: *þō mundak gefa þær . . . þõt vāre ör golle*, Þrk. 4⁴ (*vāre* is called for, since it is practically in a contrary-to-fact condition); *Alfr mon sigre qlom rāpa, þõt þetta sinn þorþge vāre*, H. Hv. 39¹. (Again *vāre* is expected since the verb is ideally conceived of); so also: *eige emk hapttr þõt vārak hernume*, Fm. 8³. In such sentences the present is possible and is usually found. The preterite is probably due to the analogy of conditional sentences, which usually take the preterite in 'possible' conditions.

The extreme development is shown in instances like the following: *tōk at rōpa þõt hann reiþr vāre*, Am. 50¹, 'he spoke tho he was angry' (cf. Am. 86¹). A half-way step to such extreme cases can be found in generalizing clauses in the preterite like the following: *sagþi ekki fleira þōtt hann vārī at spurþr*, Grm. 28, 'He spoke no more even when asked'.

It is clear that something more than 'point of view' is necessary to explain this uniformity of mood with *þõt* in so great a diversity of circumstances, and Delbrück's statement of the case evidently does not go far enough. The mood of the volitive has evidently been carried by analogy from the present of the second and third persons into the first person. It has covered the whole field of the present regardless of whether facts or fancies were the subjects of the concessions. Thence it has gone into the whole field of the preterite, entering first through generalizing sentences, 'possible' and 'unreal'

conditions. In later prose, Nygaard gives some instances of the indicative, and in modern Scandinavian as in English the indicative has more than recaptured its rightful possessions in the field of concessive clauses.

I add a few peculiar examples that seem to fall into the class of the concessive sentence. *skör es skopapr illa eða skapt sē rangt, þá er þēr þols bepet, Hōv. 125⁶*, '(suppose) the shoes are badly made or be the spear ill-shaped, men will curse you'. The tacit concession of the first clause is made explicit by the optative in the second. *þat ræpk þēr . . . at þu truer aldre vōrom vargdropa hverstu est brōporbane eða hafer þu feldan fōpor*, 'whose brother you have slain—or suppose you have slain the father'. *Sd. 35⁴*.

In a similar anacoluthon, a concessive optative is attached to an indicative condition with a coördinate conjunction, and even to an adjective. *Segðu þat . . . ef þitt ēpe duger ok þu viler*, *Vm. 20³; 22³*; *alz þik svinnan kveða ok þu viler*, *Vm. 24³; 26³; 28³; 30³; 32³; 34³; 36³; 40³*; *ef hann fregenn esat ok nae hann þurrfjallr þruma, Hōv. 30⁴* *ef þu reyna knätt ok stīgak*, *H. Hv. 21¹*; cf. 'An't *please* the gods, I'll hide my master'. *sem ake jō óbryddom, ok sē tamr illa*, 'as if one drove an unbroken horse—yes, be he wild at that', *Hōv. 89¹*.

The following condition with *nær* is of course a concession. *esa mēr ørvænt nær öro komer upp und skipe*, 'suppose you come up; it would not be surprising', *H. Hv. 23¹*.

III. THE POTENTIAL OPTATIVE.

1. *In connection with a conditional protasis.*

The potential optative in independent sentences has a very limited usage and seems to be derivative in origin. I shall therefore give precedence to the commoner and more important usages found in the apodoses of conditional sentences. In this section we are concerned with the apodosis only. The conditional period as such will be discussed later.

1) The *present tense* of the potential optative does not occur in apodoses of conditions in Old-Icelandic. Since Gothic is the only dialect to show it in good usage, it must have disappeared some time before the creation of the poems we are discussing.

The preterite tense is found not only in 'unreal', but also at times in so-called 'possible' conditions.

2) This latter usage is particularly suited to instances where acts and states apparently non-existing are for the moment pictured as possible. A verb denoting mental action is common. The instances in the Edda are: horskr þætte mér ef hafa kynne astrap, 'wise should I deem him if he were but able (= should be able?) to take your advice', Fm. 35¹; þa vāre hefnt þer Helga dauþa ef vārer vargr, 'his death would be avenged if you were a wolf (if you should become a wolf?) out in the wilds', H. H. II. 32²; sæll ek þa þættomk ef ek sea knættak, Hm. 21; spakr þætte mér spiller bauga ef æte, Fm. 32³; ef vēr fimm suno fāþom (note indicative) lenge ǫtt of gōþa knættem, Sg. 18⁴. Note Delbrück's comment: Ich denke dass in solchen fällen der irreale ausdruck aus vorsicht gewählt ist, p. 263. It is hard to understand why there should be any 'vorsicht', when no other construction was possible for this type of sentence.

3) The preterite optative is used in both clauses of an 'unreal' condition for the present as well as for the past timesphere. Sometimes the 'pluperfect' is used for the latter. ef ek inne ættak Baldre glíkan bur, ut þu nē kvæmer, 'If I had a son like Balder you would not escape thus', Ls. 27⁵; af vāre nú haufop, ef Erpr lifþe, 'your head would be off now, if E. were alive', Hm. 28¹: vērak enn komenn, ef ek nē nytak, 'I should have come in, had she not helped me', Hǫv. 107²; lenge liggja lēter þu þann enn aldra jǫton ef þu sverps nē nyter, 'you would have let the old giant rest longer had you not used my sword', Fm. 27¹; ef vērak . . . bērak, Ls. 14³; ef ættak . . . mǫlpak, Ls. 43³; nē mǫle . . . ef vissem, Grt. 10³; komenn vāre . . . ef hygþe, H. H. II. 49¹; vāre . . . ef angrapet, Grp. 34³; ef nāþer . . . sǣe, Fm. 7¹; ætte . . . ef knætte, Sg. 3⁴; vāre . . . ef gǣfe, Sg. 60¹; rēpe-nema frýþer, Fm. 30²; betr. hefþer þu at þu fōrer, Akv. 17¹; skyldak launa . . . ef kǫmomk (Gering, 171), Hrbl. 29.

4) In certain idiomatic phrases, *munda* + *infinitive* was displacing the preterite optative in such apodoses, noticeably in affirmative periods; with the omission of *vesa* and *verþa* when a participle followed; and with certain verbs. In prose this becomes the more usual method of speech. Both time-spheres are thus served, as in the regular construction: *mundak* (segja) fleira ef meirr mjǫtoþr málrum gǣfe, 'I should speak more if fate gave me more time', Sg. 70; ǫjafnt skipta es þu *munder* . . . ef þu ætter, 'you would divide unfairly if you had the power',

Hrbl. 74; mikel *munde* ætt jǫtna ef aller lifþe, Hrbl. 67, 68; langt *munder* þu nu komenn ef þu lif of fǫrer, 'far would you have come', Hrbl. 127; *munde* ráða ef helde, Br. 8³; *mynder* segja . . . ef mættir, Grp. 52³; *munde* boþet, ef þryftak, Hǫv. 67; gneggja *mynder* . . . ef nē vǫrer, H. Hv. 20¹; *munda* . . . drepa ef ek mætta, Hrbl. 81; *munda* veita ef kvæmomk, Hrbl. 95; *munda* trúa nema vǫlter, Hrbl. 96; *mundak* gefa þót vǫre, Þrk. 4³; the forms of both moods fall together in the preterite singular of this verb so that undoubted instances of the indicative like the following are very instructive as well as strange: hennar *mundu* hefna leita ef mōþ ætteþ mīnna brōþra, 'You would seek vengeance if you had my brothers' courage, Ghv. 3³.

2. Derived from the above mentioned usages is the *independent potential* found particularly in the preterite, having passed through the intermediate stage of the period in which the condition is easily understood, or supplied in some abridged form: létak þer þat fyr lyge (the mood is kept up from the preceding 'ef vǫrak—bǫrak'), 'that I'd give for thy lies', Ls. 14⁴; þats betr ǫn vǫre, 'It were better (if) left unsaid', (a condition is implied in ǫn) Am. 35⁴. Similar instances of the independent potential optative with an understood condition more or less remote are the following: þu vǫrer þess verpost, Sg. 32¹; vǫre sōmra fyrr, Grp. 5³; vǫre, Sg. 35⁴; Am. 81¹; vǫrak, Hrbl. 94; vǫrea, Br. 9¹; lēter, Akv. 17⁴; semþe Hlr. 1³; dygþe, Am. 48³; knættem, Ghv. 5³; þyrfti (in a relative clause), Hǫv. 22³. *munda* + *infinitive* is frequent: *munde* vesa, Sg. 38⁴; Fm. 38³; H. H. II, 46⁴; *munde* reka, Gþr. III. 6³; *munde* pykkja, Gþv. III. 1³; hyggja *mundak*, Fm. 36³; *mundak* binda, Hm. 21³. There are two instances of the potential of *mega* in which of course the lexical and modal meanings are very similar: vel mættem tveir truask, 'well might we trust one another', Skm. 5⁴; heldr mætteþ er hestom ríða, Rp. 48¹.

a) *skolo* originally expressed obligation, propriety, necessity and the like. The second and third persons of the verb, therefore, became convenient forms for the conveyance of commands and statements of obligation. Such expressions, however, need to be modified and softened in tone when addressed to persons not of humble station (cf. the behavior of *volo*, *velim faciat*, etc.). Thus it is that *skolo* appears in the present and preterite optative with more or less softened tone by the side of the indicative. This optative is to some extent of the same nature

as the potential optative in the apodosis of the conditional sentence, but with *skyle* of the 'modest statement' one does not necessarily supply a conditional protasis. The present tense is the most common, but when the context refers the act deprecated or recommended to the past time, *skolo* is put into the past. The reader will find that the present usually has a tone of mild command or prohibition, while the preterite almost always touches questions of moral obligation or propriety with a tone of deprecation. This distinction is of course merely an accident of logic, since one may command when an act is not yet complete, but when the act is once done, one can only pronounce judgment, favorable or otherwise, if one likes to pronounce judgments. Such considerations have much to do with the very interesting semasiology of such words as *skolo*, *vilja*, etc. *mepalsnotr skyle manna hverr, æva til snotr sē*, Hōv. 54¹; 55¹; 56¹, 'middling wise should every man be, never overwise', *meyjar orþom skyle mange trua*, Hōv. 83¹, 'let no man trust the word of a maiden'; *gættar allar . . . skopask skyle, umb skygnask skyle*, Hōv. 1²²; *at hyggjande sinne skylet maþr hrōsenn vesa*, Hōv. 6¹; *hugalt skyle þjōþans barn . . . vesa*, Hōv. 15¹; *reifr skyle gumna hverr*, Hōv. 15¹; *arlega verþar skyle maþr opt fā*, Hōv. 33¹; *fear sīns . . . skylet maþr þorþ þola*, Hōv. 39¹; *hlātr vīþ hlātre skyle hōlþar taka*, Hōv. 42¹; *ōvinar sīns skyle enge maþr vīnar vīnr vesa*, Hōv. 43¹; *geymenn skyle gumna hverr (?)*, Hōv. 65¹; *skylet þann vætkes vā* Hōv. 74¹; *astar firna skyle enge maþr annan aldrege*, Hōv. 92¹; *ørlogom ykrom skylep aldrege segja*, Ls. 25¹; *slīks skyle synja aldre maþr fyr annan*, Od. 22¹; *hōn skyle morna*, Od. 30¹; *pik skyle aller eiþar bita*, H. H. II. 29¹; *hēr skyle enge qþrom granda*, Grt. 6¹; *þitt skyle hjarta hrafnar slīta*, Gpr. II. 9¹; *þriggja nātta skylak þar koma*, H. Hv. 33¹; *utar hverfa þess þeir innar skyle (?)*, Fj. 16¹; *rīke sītt skyle rāpsnotra hverr i hōse hafa*, Hōv. 64¹.

In the preterite (most of these are in dependence upon verbs in the past tense). *opt þu gaft þeims þu gefa nē skylder*, Ls. 22¹, 'you often gave victory to those to whom you should not have given it'; *ef ek gaf þeims gefa nē skyldak*, Ls. 23¹; *hrolde hotvetna þats til hags skylde*, Am. 91¹; *þā vėlte mik es vesa skylde allra eiþa einn fulltrue*, Br. 2¹; *Gunnare gatþ at unna . . . sem Brynhildr skylde*, Od. 19¹; *hōn mon þer unna sem ek skyldak*, Sg. 57¹; *maga hefr þu þinna mist . . . sem þu sīzt skylder*, Am. 77¹; *sem þu sīzt skylder*, Am. 80¹; *svā skylde*

hverr q̄prom verja . . . at sēr nē striddet, Hm. 8³; *skyle* usually occurs in such generalizing statements of propriety. However, in this instance the immediate reference of the verb to the act mentioned in the context has perhaps effected its tense. nio r̄stom *es þu skylder* neþarr vesa, H. Hv. 16³; s̄t̄om vit V̄lundr saman i holme, æva *skyld*e, Vkv. 43³, 'It should never have happened'. Sijmons brackets the line. The syntax of it is certainly peculiar.

I add to this list two sentences, one containing the present optative of *mega* and one of *mono*, both in dependent clauses: kann maþr m̄j̄t þess viþar *es vinnask mege*, H̄qv. 60³; mart *es m̄j̄ok gl̄iklekt at munem* skammæer, Am. 26⁴.

b) *vilja* like *skolo* lends itself readily to the peculiar modal modifications of the optative (cf. *volo, velim, vellem*). The present tense is frequently used in a polite or subdued statement of the speaker's wish: *viljak* þat l̄ita, Am. 54²; 'I would fain see it'. eiga *viljak* heldr. Alv. 7²; ek *vilja* vita, Fj. 7; 9; 11; 13; 15; 17; 19; 21; 23; 25; 27; 29; 31; 33; 35; 37; 39; 41; (in a relative clause) Skm. 3²: ek *viljak* ykr hugfulla tva und hvera setja, Hym. 9¹. In the following nine examples, R reads *vil ek: viljak* . . . vita, Skm. 39¹; Vm. 3¹; 6³; Alv. 8⁴; *viljak* spyrja, Hrbl. 24; *viljak* eigi . . . ganga, Gpr. II. 28¹; *viljak* . . . hafa, Alv. 7¹; ānaup þola ek *vilja* aldrege, Skm. 24; Hrist ok Mist *viljak* at m̄r horn bere, Grm. 36¹. The next two are found in dependent general clauses: nū skolo ganga þ̄ers goll *vile*, Sg. 48¹; mane monk þik hugga, . . . silfre sn̄æhv̄ito, sem þu sj̄olf *viler*, Am, 66⁴. I find two verbs in the preterite: *vildak* eige v̄elom beita j̄ofra br̄pe, Grp. 40³; fyrr *vildak* at Frekasteine hrafna seþja . . . H. H. I. 46¹; 'I would sooner sate the ravens on your corpse'. If the next is in the optative, it belongs to the same list: l̄ægak s̄þan,—nē sofa *vildak*,—Gpr. II 45¹.

It is noticeable that Old-Icelandic is almost destitute of an independent potential optative in the *present*. It may be that the examples of *skyle* just listed are not to be considered in the same class as those of *vilja*, but rather as future volitives; in other words, when 'hann *skal* hafa' became an equivalent of 'hafa hann', the *skal* was levelled into the form of the latter: 'hann *skyle* hafa'. A reading of H̄v̄am̄l is helpful in this matter.

Of *vilja* there are examples in the first person singular only, and even these are frequently exchanged for *vil*. Delbrück (p. 204) compares Gothic *wiljau*.

This disappearance of a potential optative in the independent sentences of the present may help to account for the lack of present optative *apodoses* in conditional sentences and, for the matter of that, in either part of a regular conditional period; while *nema* regularly takes a present as does *ef* at times in 'mixed' conditions.

In the *preterite*, I find the potential optative in independent sentences more widely extended, e. g. in *vildak*, *skylda-er-e*; *mættem*; *mættep*; *munda-er-e*; *vāra-er-e*; *knættem*; *lēla-er*; also in a few semidependent relative clauses. They refer to the present as well as to the past timesphere. In fact, they bear every mark of having grown out of potential apodoses of conditions, and must not be treated as free-born and independent citizens of the world of sentences.

IV. USAGES OF THE OPTATIVE DERIVED FROM ONE OR COMPOSED OF MORE THAN ONE OF THE PRECEDING CONSTRUCTIONS.

1. *Conditions with ef.*

Delbrück arrives at the following conclusion: Im germanischen dient für die drei angegebenen fälle (*tatsächlichkeit, möglichkeit, irrealität*) der *indicativ*, der *optativ des praesens*, der *optativ des praeteritums* (p. 257). In Old-Icelandic the usage is as follows:

1) The indicative is used in 'fact' conditions. There are more than a hundred examples of the normal type, as: *sorg etr hjarta ef þu segja nē naer*: Hǫv. 120, 'Sorrow eats the heart if you cannot confide your thoughts to another'. *qlrúnar skaltu kunna ef þu vill . . .*, Sd. 7¹. The if-clause usually follows as in the examples given. Of course there are all the mixed-conditions one finds in every language. These can be omitted here, as Gering's list is complete and excellently arranged.

2) The Edda can hardly be said to betray a clear type in the use of the present optative in 'possible' conditions. There are but two such conditions and both are of the same kind. They follow an imperative and are uttered in an ironical tone: *nálgask þu mik ef þu meger*, 'Now come if you can'! Grm. 53⁴; *vega þu gakk ef þu vreipr seer*, 'If you really are so angry', Ls. 15³.

If one may draw conclusions from this meagre evidence, it seems that in affirmative conditions the present optative has become highly specialized to be used only in the peculiar phrase and tone found in those two examples. In the negative condition

("exception") with *nema* the present optative is so freely used (28 examples) that its absence with the affirmative seems remarkable. The Edda does not stand alone in this respect, for the later prose shows the same habit, Nygaard, I. p. 138-40. The lost ground seems partly to have been captured by the preterite optative, which regularly appears in unreal conditions, but also occurs at times in conditions obviously in the region of possibility. Cf. 'horskr þátte mér, ef hafa kynne ástraf miket ypvar systra, 'If he would take your kind counsel I should deem him wise', Fm. 35; cf. Hm. 21¹; H. H. II. 32²; Fm. 32³; and the examples under conclusions in the potential optative.

3) The preterite optative is regularly used in both clauses of 'unreal' conditions (see the list under conclusions in pot. opt.).

a) 'present contrariety to fact': *sömre väre syster ykkor . . . ef henne gæfe göpra ráða*, 'Your sister would fare better if you gave her good advice', Sg. 60¹.

b) 'past contrariety to fact': *lengi liggja læter þú þann enn aldna joton ef þú sverps nē nyter*, 'You would have let the old giant rest longer had you not used my sword', Fm. 27¹. See also the above cited examples of the preterite used in conditions that are not strictly 'unreal'.

The preterite optative is sometimes called for to express a future or possible condition shifted into the past by means of a preterite main verb. *hæt þa ferð Gunnarr, ef Högne vilde*, Am. 7¹, a subsequent narration of Gunnar's words: 'I will go if Högne will'. Cf. Sf. 15; Am. 7¹.

2. *Conditions with nema (= nisi).*

Cf. 'No man can do these miracles that thou doest *except* God *be* with him', John, 3, 2.

1) The indicative does not occur. (The indicative example given by Delbrück p. 265, does not apply). Some of the examples with the present optative are similar to some negative conditions with the indicative. However the *nema*-clause probably was not felt as an ordinary negative condition; it is not far from concessive and other clauses of a volitive shading.

2) The *present optative* is *regularly* used. A negative is usually found in the main clause and the main clause usually precedes the *nema*-clause. *enge þat veit at hann etke kann nema*

¹ Nygaard I, p. 141, interprets these as conditions 'som udsiges som et tilfælde, den talende alene tænker sig eller antager', to which Delbrück evidently agrees: 'etwas rein gedachtes', p. 262.

hann *mæle* til mart, 'No one knows that he is a fool unless he talks too much', Hðv. 27⁴; út þu nē kœmr nema þu enn snotrare sēr, 'You will not go out unless you prove to be the cleverer' Vm 7⁴. There are 28 examples of this regular type. See Gering, sub. voc. cit.

3) Probably the preterite optative did not form a recognized type. There are seven examples, but all of them seem to be effected by some kind of 'tempusverschiebung'. Kvaðat mann ramman . . . nema kalk *brýle*, Hym. 29⁴, as well as Ls. 9⁴; Sg. 37⁴; and Od. 15⁴, contain preterite futures in oratio obliqua expressed or implied; while Hrbl. 96, H. H. II. 32⁴, represent the condition as purely imaginary. Fm. 30⁴ seems to be the only instance of an 'unreal' condition with *nema*: rēpe sá enn fráne ormr nema þu frýper mér hvats hugar.

3. *The comparative clause with 'sem'.* It is usual to treat the *sem*-clauses with the conditional periods, although the volitive can present better claims upon it. I have followed tradition here.

1) *svá . . . sem.* a) *present tense.* Cf. 'The air breathes upon us here . . . as't were perfumed by a fen'. Tempest. *svá* skalt láta sem *life* báper, 'you shall be as happy as if both were alive', Gpr. II. 29⁴; *svá's* friðr kvenna . . . sem *ake* jó óbryddom . . . eða í byr öpom *beite* . . . eða *skyle* haltr henda hrein, Hðv. 89; b) *preterite.* sá hann ljós mikit *svá* sem eldr *brynni*, Sd. 2; *svá* vas Sigvörpr . . . sem *være* geirlaukr, ör grase vaxenn. Gpr. I. 17⁴; Gpr. II. 2⁴; *svá* vas Svanhildr, sem *være* sōmleitr sōlar geisle, Ghv. 15⁴; *svá* hafþe Helge hrædda gōrva fiandr sīna . . . sem fyr ulfe *rynne* geitr, H. H. II. 36⁴; *svá* vas at heyra, es saman kvōmo . . . , sem bjōrg vīþ brim brotna *munde*, H. H. I. 29⁴; *svá* vas á vīsat sem under *være* bane, Am. 12⁴; vīkr hēr *svá* til sem þeir *dræpi* hann ūti, Br. 20. pr. 2.

2) *sem.* a) *present tense.* sitr ok snōper, lætr sem solgenn sē Hðv. 33⁴, 'He will sit and snuffle as if he were starving'; þu mont hvīla . . . hjá meyjo sem mōþer sē, Grp. 43⁴; þeyge es sem þu þrja bā gōþ *eiger*, Hrbl. 10; hleypr ūte . . . sem meþ hōfroom Heiþrūn *fare*, Hdl. 47⁴; 48⁴. b) *preterite.* brynjan var fōst sem hon *væri* holdgrōin, Sd. 7; 'The brynja was immovable as if it had grown to the soil'; fylgþak . . . sem vit brōþrom *værem*, Od. 10⁴; var sem hann *rīpi* í myrkva, F. H. 2⁴; svōfom . . . sem brōþer minn . . . *være* Hlr. 12⁴; hraut . . . sem bjōrn *hryte*, Hm. 26⁴; læzt þēr alt þykkja sem etke *være*, Am. 90⁴; (munek) hyggja á þōrf hverja sem vit holl *værem* Am. 97⁴; vōro . . . sem lōge *fære*, Hdl. 24⁴.

The following seems to contain a simple comparison with an existing object. *Sem* here means *as*, not *as if*: *nū'mk svā litel sem lauf see opt i jǫlstrom*, Gpr. I, 18¹. In all other sentences of this kind the indicative is used, except in a very few, where the so-called potential force prevails: Am. 66⁴; *viler, skylder*, Am. 77¹; *dygpe*, Am. 48¹; *myndak*, H. H. II. 46⁴; Fm. 36¹.

This type exists in all the German dialects. Cf. Goth., *swe*; Ags. *swā*; O. H. G., *sama sō*; O. Sw., *sum*, etc. Cf. also Gk. *ὡς εἰ*; Lat. *quasi*. The tone approaches very closely to that of the 'unreal' condition, which fact will account for its eagerness to consort with the preterite optative in spite of the fact that it must have come into existence with the present optative in a kind of command to the imagination. However, so far does it honor its former associations as to make frequent use of the present, while, as has been pointed out, the regular conditions have almost entirely deserted that tense by the time of the Eddas. There are 9 examples in the present, 15 in the preterite, most of which follow a main verb in the preterite.

4. Comparative clauses after *an*, *en*.

Cf. O. E. That was him *levere than* hys fader *were*. Rich. of Gl. Delbrück gives the following rule for Germanic, Beitrage, p. 291: Im *vergleichungssatze* steht der *optativ*. Das ist der fall, wenn der inhalt des satzes nicht der sphäre der *tatsächlichkeit*, sondern der der *vorstellung* zugewiesen wird. Der hauptsatz ist dabei in der grossen mehrzahl der fälle *positiv*. The examples are peculiar in the Edda, so that any general rule is liable to be misleading. The facts are as follows:

1) The indicative examples are rare, but occur after the affirmative as well as after the negative.

2) Negatived principal clauses are rare.

3) The present tense is invariably found, and in the field of the present, sentences can usually be adjudged to the sphere of *tatsächlichkeit* or *vorstellung* at the whim of the judge. The examples are as follows (I omit *fyr an* for the present): *askr Yggdrasels drýger erfípe meira an menn vite*, 'It suffers more than men wot of', Grm. 35¹; *betra es öbepet an sē ofblötet*, Hǫv. 145¹, 'better is no praying than (is) too much offering'; *alt es betra an sē brígpom at vesa*, 'anything is better than (is) fickleness', Hǫv. 123¹; *sött mon þ it Guþrún snemr an hygger*, Sg. 53¹, 'G. may be appeased sooner than you expect'. There are twenty-two instances (five of which are somewhat doubtful)

like these of the *optative* after a main clause in the *affirmative*. They are as follows: *betre-an-sē*, Hōv. 70¹; 71¹; 123¹; 145¹; 145²; Akv. 7⁶; Fm. 28¹; 29¹; 30¹; Sd. 26³; 31³; Skm. 13¹; H. H. I. 47³; *verre . . . an-vile*; Sd. 24⁴; *verre . . . an-siler* (ind.?), Hym. 20²; *þpra an hafep* (ind.?), Rp. 49²; *meira an . . . vile*, Grm. 35²; *fleira an hygge*, Grm. 34²; *gørr an spyrrjak*, Grp. 8¹; *snemr an hygger* (ind.?) Sg. 53¹; *an viter* (corrupt text), Gpr. II, 9⁴; *heldr an . . . skine*, Akv. 29⁴; *verr an varer* (ind.?), Hōv. 39⁴. In all of the above the interpretation of Delbrück is possible, though in many cases the speaker is obviously dealing with matters of fact, be the momentary point of view what it may. Cf. Grp. 8¹; Grm. 34²; Sg. 53¹. *Skine* of Akv. 29⁴, is apparently a volitive.

After a negative Delbrück quotes but two optative examples from the Edda, and decides that there are not enough for the recognition of the type (p. 293). Perhaps *five* cases deserve better treatment, especially as only three indicatives occur after negatives, and they seem to be sufficient for his purpose. The optatives after negatives are: *vegnest verra vegra hann . . . an sē ofdrykkja ǫls*, 'There is no worse burden for the wayfarer than (is) a load of ale', Hōv. 11⁴; *monat mætre maþr a mold koma . . . an Sigorþr þykke*, Grp. 53⁴; *byrþe betre berrat maþr an sē manvit*, Hōv. 10²; 11²; *sofep eige lengr . . . an svā ljōþ eitt kveþak*, Grt. 7⁴.

The indicative is not often found, but does occur after the affirmative as well as after the negative, especially in the preterite, where one obviously deals largely with matters of fact.

The indicative after a negative main clause: *gaf hann þeim eigi lengri hvíld en meþan gaukrinn þagþi*, Grt. 23 (note the tense). *Helgi mátti eigi forþaz annan veg en tók klæþi amböttar*, H. H. II, 1, pr. 2 (note the tense). *øng es sött verre . . . an sēr øngo at una*, Hōv. 94⁴. The indicative after an affirmative main clause: *apra felde . . . an hafa vilde*, Fm. 43⁴ (note the tense). So far as the form is concerned *vilde* may of course be an optative), 'She felled others than Odin wished to have'. *faer sea nu fram of lengra an Ōþenn mon ulfe mōta* (pregnant, = *than till*), Hdl. 45⁴.

Delbrück's rule, therefore, holds good for the Edda with the following reservations:

1st) The optative does not seem to have any particular aversion to a negative main clause. Delbrück shows that it ought to

(p. 300) and that it does in general in Germanic. Probably fixed phrases like *betre an sē*, which in fact makes up a majority of the optatives in both cases, obliterated such distinctions. Such stereotyped phrases often show as little regard for logical as for historical obligations.

2nd) The instances of the indicative are too few and too dissimilar to support any theory, to form a type, or to authorize any statement except one to the effect that the indicative occurs (and that for obvious reasons) in the examples of the preterite.

5. *Comparative temporal clauses with āpr and fyrran.*

1) Cf. 'This night *before* the cock *crow*, thou shalt deny me thrice'. Math. 26, 34. I shall treat *āpr* first. Delbrück's rule is as follows: (Der optativ) wird angewendet wenn der sprechende den eintritt der satzhandlung als möglich, wahrscheinlich, aller voraussicht nach bevorstehend bezeichnet oder dem subject dieselbe stimmung zuschreibt. (Beiträge, p. 295.)

This rule holds in part, but it must not be pressed into service in every case. Just as in Latin a similar rule applied to Cicero's clauses but broke down later, so that the subjunctive appeared in narration of actual events, so here the line of demarcation has been partly obliterated. In his translations of examples Delbrück seems too eager for consistent support of his rule. *grātr* is of course *present* in H. H. II. 44 (*grātr* grimmom *tōrom* *āpr* sofa ganger). His translation is: "du *wirst* (täglich) bittere tränen weinen ehe du schlafen gehst". I fail to find that meaning in the passage. Helgi's ghost is explaining to Sigrun why the corpse is so cold and damp. He says it is because: 'you weep cruel tears before you go to sleep—these tears fall upon my corpse'. Delbrück's rule hardly applies if this is the meaning. Again, at Sifjar verr *āpr* sofa genge yxn tva, Hym. 15, is explained thus: "In erster person würde es heissen: 'ich esse ehe ich in aussicht nehme schlafen zu gehen', übertragen in die dritte 'ehe er schlafen gienge'". This implies a shifting that does not seem to lie in the natural interpretation of the sentence, *āpr* is purely narrative in this passage. This is a straightforward narration of some of Thor's remarkable feats: 'He ate two oxen before he went to bed'. I add some others that are most easily read as purely narrative. *þetta var āpr Atli færi*, H. Hv. 4, pr. 1; *āpr hann drykki*, kvaddi hann *āsuna*, Ls. 10, pr. 1; *āpr vāre jorþ of skopof þā vas B. borinn*, Vm. 29. Before giving the examples I would call attention to a few observations.

1. The *þr* and *fyr an* construction is obviously to be explained in connection with the other comparative clauses as Delbrück does. I would only add the suggestion that perhaps the *þr* and *fyr an* clauses contain a survival of a future (prospective) subjunctive in Germanic and that the other comparative clauses take the same mood by analogy.

2. The nature of the main clause is as important here as under the comparative clauses. There are 22 optatives after an affirmative, and only 3 after a negative. (See the lists. Delbrück gives none after negatives). There are 5 indicatives after an affirmative, but 12 after a negative. (This omits doubtful cases.) Delbrück explains very clearly the bearing of the negative upon such clauses, p. 300.

3. The tense is also of importance. Most of the indicatives are in past narration, though many of the optatives are also in the preterite. I classify according to the nature of the main clause and by tense. The indicatives may be found in Gering.

1) With the leading verb in the affirmative, a present tense. gættar allar, *þr gange* fram, umb skopask skyle, Hðv. 1¹, 'One should look at all exits before one walks forward'. *þrinde mīn viljak ǫll vita þr ek rþa hepan*, Skm. 39²; 'I want to know my answer before I ride away'; (*þu skalt*) gefa svīnom soþ *þr sofa* ganger, H. H. II. 38⁴; laug skal gørva þeims liþner 'o . . . *þr i kisto fare*, Sd. 34³; skaltu . . . bera . . . at selja *þr hōn soþm telesk vāpn* . . . at lea, Fj. 30³; segþu mēr þat *þr þu verþer soþle af mar ok þu stiger fete framarr* (probably), Skm. 41. skalk fyr vestan . . . *þr Salgofner sigrþjōþ veke*, H. H. II. 48⁴; grætr . . . *þr sofa* ganger, ib. 44⁴; eina dōttor berr Alfrōpoll *þr henne Fenrer fare*, Vm. 47². I add one instance of ¹*fyr an*. *fyr vilk kyssa konung an . . . kaster* H. H. II. 43.

Preterite tense. at tvā Siljar verr *þr sofa genge*, Hym. 15³, 'He ate two before he went to sleep'; *þr hann drykki kvaddi hann*, Ls. 10, pr. 1; *þr være* jorþ of skopōþ þā vas B. borenn, Vm. 29; 35; hvat mælte Öpenn *þr a bāl* (Baldr) *stige?* Vm. 54³; þetta var *þr Atli færi*, H. Hv. 4, pr. 1; lenge huger deildosk *þr of frægak*, Gpr. II, 6²; sjau hundroþ manna i sal gengo *þr kvæn* . . . *tōke*, Gpr. III, 7; māl et efsta . . . *þr hann sylle*, Od. 14³; hōn hefr þriggja . . . borett . . . *þr sylle*, Akv. 46⁴; soosk til siþan *þr i sundr kyrfe*, Am. 33¹; gōddak golle . . . *þr hana*

¹ The rest are indicatives: Fm. 44, pr. 7, and F. H. 1², after negatives; and H. H. II. 14³, after an affirmative; all these are in the preterite.

gæfak, Ghv. 16²; *þr saþer yrþe*, hristo teina, Hym. 1²; *sumer . . . deildo . . . þr þeir mælle . . . leggja*, Br. 4³; *þik kvazk . . . hitta vilja þr . . . ǫndo tynde* (probable), H. Hv. 37⁴; *þr lætti kvæpinu*, mōlu þær, Grt. 25.

2) With the leading verb in the negative (present tense): *mona hōndom hvīlþ vel gefa þr fullmalet Frōþa þykke*, Grt. 17⁴; (preterite): *vasa kyrrseta þr Knue felle*, Grt. 14⁴; *gørþot far festa þr þeir frá hyrfe*, Am. 34⁴; (probably indicative) *hēt hværegre hvīlþ nē ynþe*, *þr hann heyrþe hljōm ambatta*, Grt. 2⁴. Note that these are all from late poems. *unz* once takes the optative in the sense of *þr*: (*vilk*) *vita ef meine morþfor kono unz af mēle enn mein kome* 'if they may prevent her death before some hindrance comes, Sg. 43⁵.

6. *Indirect Discourse.* 1) *After segja at, er sagt at, sogn at.*

The optative with this expression usually throws a shadow of uncertainty over the reality of the reported statement. Thus it betrays the fact that a report is false: *hōn sagði Atla at hōn hefði sēt Þjóþrek ok Guþrūnu bæði saman Gþr. III, 2.* (The scandal was soon disproved); so also *svæfep* and *verþesk*, Gþr. III, 2⁴. In Am. 78², the speaker confesses by means of the optative that she had told a falsehood: *sagþak at kalfs være*, '(falsely) said it was calf's flesh'. Cf. *segja at eige vel eiþom þrymþer*, 'she will (falsely) say that', Grp. 47¹. Sometimes statements poorly vouched for are put in the optative in contrast to generally conceded statements which are put in the indicative: *sumir segja svā at þeir draepi hann inni . . . en þýþverskir menn segja svā at þeir draepi hann ūti . . . ok svā segir i Guþrūnarkviðu . . . at . . . syner hefði ripit . . . en þat SEGJA ALLIR EINNIG AT þeir SVIKU hann.* Br. 20, epilog. 'some say that they slew him (opt.) . . . and others say that (opt.) etc., . . . but all are agreed in saying that (indic.)'. In the following, some marvel is reported in which the speaker reveals his disbelief by using the optative mood: *Helgi ok Svāva er sagt at væri endrborin*, H. Hv. 43, (repeated after *kallat* at H. H. II. 50, pr. 3.); *þat er sogn manna at Guþrūn hefði etit af Fáfnis hjarta*, Br., end. Vkv. 22⁴ contains a command to tell a falsehood: *segeþa meyjōm at it mik fyndeþ*, H. Hv. 34¹ reports what was once believed but is no longer: *Sagþer at Hefenn være gōps verþr*, 'you said so then, (but not now)'. In Grm. 33, a small boy hesitatingly accuses his father the king: *Agnarr . . . sagði at konungr gørþi illa at hann lēt þina hann.* Hrbl. 9 practically quotes an optative after *hyggja*: *þat seger þū*

nū . . . at mīn mōþer dauþ sē. The reason for the mood of the next two is not so evident: þat er sagt at þā kvæpi þeir ljōþ, Grt. 24; seg þat i aptan . . . at sē Ylfingar austan komner, H. H. I. 35. One fragment is too short to justify a decision: Hār segir at hann komi eigi heill út, F. M. I.

The indicative with *segja* reports facts and statements that purport to be true, or the accuracy of which the speaker does not at the time care to question. The examples—there are about as many as under the optative—are given in Gering, 893. They need not be repeated here. Cf. also Delbrück's clear discussion, p. 231.

mæla takes the optative in three cases. It happens that in all three, the preterite of *skolo* or *mono* is used as preterite future in reporting former promises. (For Sf. 22, see under the volitive.) vit mæltom . . . at (þū) mynder mīn mōþogr vitja halr ör heljo, Ghv. 20³; mælt hafþak þat: myndega . . . ökunnan arme verja, H. Hv. 42²; es hinig mæltak, at hvivetna hjalpa skyldak, 'what I promised: that I would help', Od. 9⁴.

2) In general, the distinction pointed out with reference to the mood following *segja* holds true after all verbs sentiendi et declarandi. Thus *hyggja* (=to think) is never followed by the indicative, while *vita* (=to know) is almost always so. *hyggja*, with present tense in both clauses: dauþ hykk at þīn mōþer sē, Hrbl. 8, cf. 9, 'I think that your mother is dead'; hykk at þū ljūger, Hrbl. 125, 'I think thou liest'; hykk at eigem, H. H. I. 18³; hykk at þitt see, H. Hv. 20³; hykk at hafe, Hōv. 109¹; hykk at æ skyle, Grm. 34⁵; hykk at sē, Grm. 54¹; hykk at ek verþa muna, Gg. 5³; hykk at hōn vile, Ls. 21³; 29³; hykk at myne, Ls. 31¹; hykk at sē, Fm. 13¹; hykk at myne, Fm. 22³; hykk at sē, Fj. 44⁴; hykk at illa geþe, Vm. 10³; hykk at feig seer, Sg. 31⁴; hykk ek at þū oþa myner, Hrbl. 120 R.

The three following are in the preterite, although in dependence upon the present tense of *hyggja*: hykk at hōn vōrnōþ byþe, Akv. 8², 'I think she gave us warning thereby'; hykk at hēte Hlēdis gypja, Hdl. 13²; hykk at hēte Hreimr ok Fjōsner, Rp. 12².

In three examples both verbs are in the preterite: hann hugþi at fullsteikt væri hjartat, Fm. 31, pr. 2, 'he deemed the heart (of Fafnir) thoroughly roasted'; hugþak . . . at (ōrn) vāre hamr Atla, Am. 18⁴; hugþe hann at hefþe (hrīng) Hlōþvēs dōtter . . . vāre hōn aptr komenn, Vkv. 12.

The preterite future, when expressed by the optative, employs *mynda*. There is only one example: *hitt ek hugða at ek hafa mynda gef hennar alt ok gaman*, Hōv. 98.¹

With *hyggja* the accusative + infinitive construction divides honors with the optative. The examples may be found in Gering.

A peculiar combination of both constructions is found chiefly in *Atlamoḷ* in the narration of dreams. *hyggja* introduces the narration with acc. + inf., or prt. ppl., while the details are added in the optative, usually without connecting particle. The occurrences are as follows: *blæjo hugðak þína brinna* i elde, *hrýle hōr loge hūs mín* i gøgnom, Am. 15, 'I thought the covering was burning (acc. + inf.), high flames broke through (prt. opt.) my house'; *björn hugðak inn komenn*, *brýle upp stokka*, *hriste svā hramma at vēr hrædd yrþem*; *munne oss mōrg hefþe svāt mæltem etke*, Am. 16; *ōrn hugðak inn fljuga . . . dreifþe oss ǫll blōþe*, Am. 18; *gōrvan hugðak þer galga*, *genger at hanga*, *æte þik ormar*, *yrþak þik kvikvan*; *gørþesk røk ragna*, Am. 21; *ō hugðak inn rinna at endlōngo hūse*, *þyte af þjóste*, *þeyslesk of bekke*, *brýle fōtr ykra brāþra hēr tveggja*, *gørþet vatn vægja*, Am. 24; *konor hugðak dauþar koma* i nōtt hingat, *være vart būnar*, *vilde þik kjōsa*, *þye þer brāþlega*, Am. 25. Most of the dream of Gpr. II, is related by means of the acc. + inf. construction, but the optative occurs once. *Hugðak mer af hende hvelpa losna . . . gylle bāþer*, Gpr. II, 43¹; so also Brynhildr's dream: *Hugðomk*, *Gunnarr*, *grimt* i svefne: *svalt alt* i sal, *ættak sæing kalda*, *en þū*, *gramr*, *rīþer glaums andvane*, Br. 16¹.

3) *vita* usually takes the indicative (9 times), even in circumstances under which *segja* might have an optative, e. g. after a negative. However the certainty implied in the word associates it easily with the mood of fact. The examples of the optative are: *hvat visser þū at vēr seem* (quoting another's words in a tone of incredulity), H. H. II. 10¹, and an instance of the preterite future with *munde*, H. Hv. 35¹. (Ls. 14¹, and Fm. 7¹ are both in conditions.)

4) All the other occurrences of the optative of indirect discourse follow, grouped according to tense.

Present tense. *Ef þū þat lýgr at hēr sē mōgr*, 'If you lie in saying that any son is here', Fj. 45; *ǫll of røk fira vōromk* (= *varer mik*) *at viter*, Alv. passim. *þess geta menn at þar hafi*

verit Loki F. M. 5¹⁶; ek hins *get* . . . *at* ykr *típe* vega, Skm. 24⁴; eipa *skaltu* . . . *vinna at* . . . *nē* brūpe minne at bana *verper*, Vkv. 35⁵; þess vænter mik at þer *myne* ogn . . . vesa, Hym. 18³; eromk if a því at aþtr *komak*, H. Hv. 33⁶; því at þat heita, at hlýpege *myne* (?), Hm. 23¹.

Preterite tense. gat fyr Guþrūno at *være* grimmr Atla, Am. 83⁴; þat var enn mesti hēgōmi at Geirrøþr *væri* eigi matgōþr, Grm. 25; þat var trūa i forneskju at menn *væri* endrbornir, H. H. II. 50, pr. þat var trūa i forneskju at orþ feigs manns *mætti* mikit, Fm. 1. pr. 2; gættesk þess at *være* grand svefna, Am. 20; sýndesk at *være* goll, Vkv. 21⁴. ef þū þat mant at þū þinn mōg *bæper* koma, Gg. I³; kvamtat af þinge es vēr þat frægern, at þū sök *søtler* nē *slækper* apra, Am. 95²; mer fyrmundo minner brøþr at *ættak* ver ollom fremra, Gþr. II. 3³.

5) The preterite future is expressed by *munda* and infinitive: svarar at hann *mundi* fá liþ Helga, H. Hv. 11, pr. 1; hafþak þat ætlat at *myndak* aldrege unna vaningja, Skm. 38⁴; hōn visse þat at vegenn *munde* Sigrlinnar sunr, H. Hv., 35³. The preterite future is found in implied indirect discourse in: Høgne því hlitte es hinn of *ræpe*, 'Høgne (said he) was satisfied with whatever Gunnar would decide', Am. 7⁴.

6) In the following the quotation is felt as implied in *bedja* (some would class these under 'attraction'): þann baþ slita svefna minom es hverge lands hræþask *kynne*, 'Odin bid him break my sleep who never felt fear', Hlr. 9⁴; baþ hann flytja gōþa eina, ok þas ek gōrva *kunna*, Hrbl. 18.

The general rule for the use of the optative was laid down under *segja* and this rule will work roughly for all verbs sentiendi et declarandi. It is not all-sufficient however. Some of the words have formed habits of their own that are due to the predominant influence of their most usual associations. So *vita* has kept company with statements of fact in the indicative till it neglects to bestow an optative upon instances like: *hitke* hann *veit* . . . *at* hann *esa* vamma vanr, Hōv. 22³; *enge* þat *veit* at hann etke *kann*, 'no man knows that he knows naught,' Hōv. 27³; *Hyggja*, though it often contains a great degree of certainty, never takes the indicative. Perhaps it once expressed hope and intention as its cognates do in most of the dialects and at that time formed its habit of taking the optative. Such is its meaning and construction in: hitt ek hugþa at ek hafa *mynda* geþ hennan alt ok gaman, 'I hoped that I should have', Hōv. 98³.

Such forces as the friendship of words in stereotyped phrases, the pleasure that lies in certain collocations of sound, the mutual attraction of analogous constructions, and all the rest of them, must very often be successful in their attack upon the rules and distinctions unconsciously laid down by folk-logic. To consider any one power as wholly responsible for all the facts of a construction like that of indirect discourse is unscientific. This statement will have to serve in lieu of a thorough study of the construction, since the data furnished by the Edda are unfortunately too meagre for such work.

7) *Indirect questions.* Classified according to tense and leading verb.

The present tense. hitt viljak *vita* *hve* Vaðsprūþnes salakynne *sē* Vm. 3^s; 'I wish to know where V.'s house is'; hitt viljak fyrst *vita* *ef* þū frōþr *sēr*, Vm. 6^s; *vita* *ef* *meine* morpfōr kono, Sg. 43^s; *vittuef* *hjaþer*, Od. 4^s; vill vist *vita* *hvat* *sēr*, Grp. 26; *vita* *far* *ef* *vilja* *mune*, Fj. 43^s; at *fregna* *hveim* enn frōþe *sē* ofreiþe, afe, Skm. 1^s; 2^s; skal *freista* *hvaþarr* fleira *vile*, Vm. 9^s; *spyrja* *hverr* sá maþr *sē*, Grp. 3^s; *segðu* mér þat . . . *hvárt* *sē* manna, Fj. 21^s; -*hvárt* *sē* matar, 23^s; *sē* vāþna, 25^s; *sē* mæta, 29^s; *sē* manna, 41^s; cf., in the same series, *kóm*r, Fj. 27, which is in the indicative: *segðu* . . . *hverr* jōtna elztr . . . *yrþe*, Vm. 28^s; *segðu* þat . . . *hvā* þū *viter*, Vm. 42^s.

The preterite tense. of þat *rēþo* rīker tīvar *hvā* *være* Baldre baller draumar, 'The gods discussed why Balder had bad dreams', Vgtm. 1^s; *rāþ* *hvat* þat *være*, Am. 21^s; þā *frā* Grīmhildr . . . *hvar* *værak* kome, Gpr. II. 17^s; *frā* . . . *ef* *vilde* heim . . . fara, H. H. I. 17^s; *frōgo* *ef* *vilde* . . . kaup, Akv. 21^s; *frétte* Atle *hvert* farer *være* *sueinar*, Am. 74^s; *gættlos* *hverr* *hefþe* blaudet. Vsp. 25^s; *skynjapi* *hvárt* *væri*, Fm. 31 pr.^s; spurdo *ef* hann *være* . . . komenn *ēþa* *hefþi*, Hǫv. 108^s; spurdu *ef* eigi leiddiz Grt. 30; at *spyrja* *hverr* *vilde*, Gpr. II. 18^s; hōn *frétte* at þvi, *hverr* fara *vilde* Gpr. II. 19^s; hann visse þat vilge gōrla *hvat* hōnom *være* vinna sōmst, Sg. 13^s. *Skylde* does service as a preterite-future optative: of þat *gættlos* *hverr* *skylde* dverga drōtt of skepja, Vsp. 9^s, 'Tried to decide who should destroy the giant brood'; *frétto* *hvat* *skylde*, Am. 72^s, 'Asked what they should do'; *hvárt*, *skyldak* vega, Sg. 38^s; *leitapi* Reginn *rāþa* . . . *hvernig* hann *skyldi* heimta, Rm. II. pr. 4; *gōrva* often serves as an auxiliary verb, as English *do*. In that sense it plays the part of a preterite-future in: beip hann sinnar . . . kvānar *ef* hōnom of koma *gōrþe*.

Vkv. 7⁴. The following is also a past-future, being apparently a question of deliberation in a dependent clause: of þat rēþo ríker tívar hvē Hlōrriþa hamar of sōtte Þrk. 13⁴.

The rule given for the moods of indirect discourse applies to indirect questions. The caution there called for is even more necessary here, as distinctions are harder to draw. Thus after *vita* we find 22 indicatives to 7 optatives, after *spyrja* 2: 4, while after *fregna* and *frétta* only optatives (8). If one takes the connectives, the results are similar. The ratio of indicatives to optatives with *hvar* is 17: 1; with *hvárr*, 7: 3; with *hvat*, 16: 6; with *hvē*, 16: 2; with *hverr*, 10: 7.

8. *Causal clauses with þvī at, af þvī at, fyrir þvī at*. The indicative seems to be the regular mood. It is found five times in sentences like: Sigurþr dulþi nafns síns *fyrir þvī at þat var trúa þeira* 1 forneskju, 'He concealed his name because it was their belief' Fm. 1. The optative occurs twice in giving a rejected reason: hlæra þū af þvī . . . at þér góps vite, 'You do not laugh, because this brings you advantage.' Sg. 31¹; hnēkat af þvī til hjalpar þér at værer þess verþ, 'I did not help you because you ever deserved it', Od. 9¹. The optative occurs twice in quoting a reason that is given as the cause for reproof. The clause is halfway between a substantive of indirect discourse and an adverb of cause: þvī brá mér Guþrūn . . . at Sigverþe svæfak á arme, 'Guþrūn reproached me because I slept in S.'s arms', Hlr. 13¹; þvī bregþr þū nū mér Fáfnir at til fjarre seak, Fm. 8¹. I am inclined to think that at the time of the Edda no definite type of the optative would be recognized as causal, aside from examples of indirect discourse. Delbrück says for Germanic: "dass im urgermanischen ein fester typus für die causalsätze nicht vorhanden war, ausser vielleicht bei fragendem hauptsatz". p. 247. The facts furnished by the Eddas do not contribute to the confirmation or denial of that exception.

9. *Consecutive clauses with at, svāt.*

The indicative is found in a large majority of cases, especially when the result is viewed simply as a fact. See Gering under *at*, p. 75, and *svā*, 1003. Again Delbrück lays down the ever-recurring distinction between 'tatsächlichkeit' and 'vorstellung'. Something more definite ought to be attainable. At present I can only give the data and point out that the examples of the optative fall into *two* general groups.

1) Not only is it impossible to draw a sharp line between final and consecutive clauses, but many of the latter kind are steeped in the feeling of purpose. As there is a budding result in intention, there is a reminiscence of the intention in the full bloom of result. That statement is at least accurate enough to describe the processes of the folk-logic that creates syntax. At any rate, be the logic what it may, the ruts and grooves along which jog the fixed phrases of purpose and result are very often the same. It is not strange then to find in some languages the mood of purpose in the clause of result: cf. 'He that smiteth a man *so that* he *die* shall be surely put to death'. Ex. 21, 12. This is particularly the case when the main clause is itself an expression of will and thereby so loaded with intention that the result clause assumes part of the burden. The first group then consists of result clauses whose mood is probably due to the *volitive* tone, and this usually comes from an imperative or expression of will, desire, obligation and the like, in the main clause.

2) The second group, particularly with negative antecedents, readily associates itself with the *potential* optative. This is true of the relative as well as of the adverbial consecutive clauses: *esat svā maþr hōr at þik af heste take*, Vkv. 39⁸, evidently means 'There is no man so tall that he *can* take you', cf. *sitr eige hēr snōr nē dōttr sās Guþrūno gāfe hnossar*, 'There are here neither daughter nor daughter-in-law who could give her pleasure', Ghv. 19⁴. Of the older languages Latin is the only one that has this construction more fully developed. There the connection with the potential, and the 'would' potentials in particular, seems even more evident. In Old-Norse it must be remembered that the present tense of the potential is exceedingly rare. Perhaps it was once in use as in the older languages, and at that stage it may have revealed a closer connection with the consecutive clauses than can now be found in the Eddas.

1) The following result clauses make up the first mentioned group. They usually depend closely upon expressions of will: *vesattu svā þor at ein farer*, 'be not so foolish as to go alone', H. H. II. 50¹; *verpet maþr svā tryggj at þesso true*, 'one should not be so simple as to believe these', Hōv. 88⁴; *Segðu þat svāt þū einoge fete ganger framarr*, 'Tell me before you go a step' (so that you do not go a step first), Ls. 1²; *kōsteþ svā at klökkve*, Am. 54²; *svā skyldi at nē strīddet*, Hm. 8²; *skallatu svāt lyke*, Hōv. 112⁵; *Hōn svā gører at þū gaer eige*, Hōv. 113.

2) The following are probably more closely related to the potential. The negative appears in the main clause. *esat maþr svā gōþr at galle nē fylge, nē svā illr at einoge duge*, Hōv. 132²⁴; 'There is no man so good that evil does not touch him, nor so bad that he is nothing worth'; *flygra hann svā stint at ek stop-vegak*, Hōv. 150³; *brinnrat svā breitt at ek hōnom bjargegāk*, Hōv. 152³; *fankak mann svā matargōþan at været pigga þeget, eþa sīns fear svāge . . . at leiþ sē laun þegan*, Hōv. 40²; *þatke āt þū hafer brōkr þinar*, Hrbl. 12; *hvarke þū þa þorþer fīsa . . . svāt F. heyrþe*, Hrbl. 80; *esat svā maþr hōr at þik af heste take, nē svā oflogr at þik neþan skjōle*, Vkv. 39⁴; *engi var svā sterkr at dregit gæti*, Grt. 18; *verþat svā rik skop at Regenn skyle . . . bera*, Fm. 39¹; *hykkak svā mikla vesa at þu mēr nē seger*, Skm. 5²; *hykkak okr vesa . . . at vit mynem sjalfer of sakask*, Hm. 29¹.

The following differ somewhat from the above: *björn hriste svā hramma at vēr hrædd yrþem*, Am. 16²; cf. *mættem*, Am. 16³. I have classed these under indirect discourse (cf. p. 25). *þat eitt es svā matar at þeim menn of gefe ok hlaupe inn meþan þeir eta*, Fj. 24⁴, is practically a verbatim quotation of an indirect question from the preceding stanza. *sagpi þat mark ā, at engi hundr var svā ōlmr at ā hann mundi hlaupa*, Grm. 24. Here *mundi* serves as a preterite-future.

The indicative except in the two above-mentioned classes is the regular mood and occurs in a large majority of the consecutive clauses.

10. *Relative Clauses.* When the *relative clause determines* the antecedent, the indicative is used as in other languages. *Sā enn stōrūþge jōtonn es ōr steine vas hōvōþet ā*, 'saw a huge giant who had a head of stone', Hrbl. 34. *Generic relative clauses* are also in the indicative in the Edda; *at augabragþe verþr sās etke kann*, 'he becomes a laughing-stock who knows nothing', Hōv. 5³. In the affirmative characterizing clause with indefinite antecedent the indicative is regular. *Vōlundr var settr i hōlm einn er þar var fyr landi* 'was placed on an island that was near the land', Vkv. 18².

1) The optative however is found in all of these relative clauses when volition and desire are very evident: *mar gefþū mēr þa þanns mik of myrkvan bere vīsan vafriloga ok þat sverþ es sjalft vegesk*, 'give me the horse that will bear me and the sword that will fight of itself', Skm. 8; *baþ Sifjar ver sēr fōra hver, þanns, ōllom yrþ ōl of heitak*, "asked Thor to bring him a cauldron

'in which I can brew ale for all' ", Hym. 3²; hvat mon snöt . . . mæla es at farnaþe fylke *verpe*? Grp. 16⁴; farþu nū þars þik *hæfe* allan gramer, Hrbl. 145; farþu nū þarer smyl *hæfe* þik, Grm. 12; ligg i sþorbrotom þars þik Hel *hæfe*, (almost independent), Fm. 21⁴; letea maþr hana langrar gongu þars aþrborenn aldre *verpe*, 'Let her go whence she will never return', Sg. 45³.

2) As in the result clauses so here there is evidently a definite type made up of consecutive clauses that follow a negative antecedent. They are all clauses of character, after indefinite antecedents: vātr es þat manna es *knege* ā . . . arme sofa, 'There is now one who may sleep in her arms,' Fj. 42¹; lāteþ *enge mann* eþter sitja es benlogom bregþa *kunne*, 'Let no man sit idle who knows how to use the flaming sword', H. H. I. 53⁶; mæaltera þū þat māl es mik meirr *trege*, nē þik *viljak* verr of nīta, Vkv. 39¹²; hōn ser visse etke grand, vamm þats *vāre* eþa vesa *hygþe*, Sg. 5¹. The following in the potential optative may show how that could have found a path to such as the above quoted: sitr eige hēr snōr nē dōtter *sās* Guþrūno *gāfe* hnossar. 'There are here neither daughter-in-law nor daughter who could give (or, to give) her pleasure', Ghv. 19⁴; goll vissak etke ā Gnitaheiþe þats vit *ættema* annat jafnmiket, 'I knew of no gold at Gniteheath but that we would (prove to) have an equal amount,' Akv. 6⁴.

a.) The optative is also found in a few adverbial and adjectival clauses that restrict or define the class of the antecedent: hann var hagastr maþr svā at menn vite i fornum sōgum, 'He was the most skillful man so far as men know', Vkv. 15 (note the superlative, and *svā at*); faþer vastattu fenresulfa ollum ellre svāt ek muna, 'so far as I remember', H. H. I. 42¹; ranna þeira es ek rept *vīta* mīns veitk mest magar, 'of houses that I know my son's is the largest', Grm. 24⁴; fār vas fremre sās fold rype, Rm. 26³; kvamtat af þinge es vēr þat frāgem, 'You never came from court of which we heard that . . .', (perhaps this belongs with the characterizing clauses with negative antecedents), Am. 95¹.

11. "*Attractio modorum*."

Sometimes, not often, when a clause is found closely attached to another clause which stands in the optative of will, wish, possibility or indirect discourse, its verb will adopt the mood of the main clause; partly because it assumes the tone of the main verb, partly because, being attached to a verb that stands in the

mood of non-reality, it too is necessarily felt to lie in the field of non-reality.¹

1. In dependence upon verbs in the optative of will and wish: *urpar lokor halde þær öllum megom es þū á sinnom sēr*, Gg. 7¹. The state implied in *sēr* becomes hypothetical through the lack of certainty implied in the mood of *halde*. If the main clause had been indicative the subordinate verb would not have shown such nervousness. In the next, the negative increases the hypothetical tone. *Skrípa þat skip es und þær skrípe*, H. H. II. 30¹; *rinnea sá marr es und þær rinne*, ib. 30³; *bítea þat sverp es þū bregper*, ib. 31³; *skrípe* necessarily becomes almost a concession to the imagination when the same act is prohibited in the main clause.

2. Here the dependent clause is hypothetical since it shares the attitude of a verb that expresses an 'unreal' wish: *sea þat mættak*, at *Guþrūn sēr nē ynþet* 'would I could see Guthrun when in distress', Am. 54. The following are strictly speaking examples of oratio obliqua extended into the remoter parts of the quoted statement. I classify them here only because they will probably be looked for in this place: *ek strengþak heit þar i mot at giptaz öngum þeim manni er hræpaz kynni*, 'I strongly opposed marrying any man who could fear', Sd. 4. pr. 11; *haun hafði þess heit strengt at eiga þā konu er hann vissi vænsta*, H. Hv. 5. See others under implied indirect discourse. A few are similarly involved in indirect questions. *segðu . . . hvárt sē manna nekkvat þats mege inn koma*, 'Tell me whether there is any man who may enter,' Fj. 21³; so *gefe, hlaupe*, ib. 23⁴; *knege*, ib. 25³, 41³; *hase*, 29³. *Modal attraction*, therefore, barely appears in the Edda, for these cases are very few in comparison with the large number of similar sentences that have kept the indicative. To the theory of this construction I have given some attention elsewhere: *Attraction of Mood*, etc., Chicago, 1904; *The Influence of the Infinitive*, etc., A. J. P., XXV, pp. 428-446.

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¹ Herein this construction differs from a similar one that frequently occurs in Greek and Latin, for in those languages the construction of "attraction" is not affected by the presence of a feeling of "non-reality".

II.—ὥς ἑκαστοι IN THUCYDIDES.

That more light is needed on the use of ὥς ἑκαστοι without a separate verb is evident from the number of passages containing it in which the reading has been disputed, whether the MSS vary or not, from the variety of renderings even for one and the same passage, and from the comments, in standard editions of Thucydides, upon sentences which, for one reason or another, are slightly obscure. Let us take, by way of illustration, Thuc. I. 15. 2: οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης κοινὰς στρατείας ἐποιούντο, κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὥς ἑκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν. Upon this we read in Classen-Steup, "κατ' ἀλλήλους: unter einander d. h. ohne Beteiligung anderer; ὥς ἑκαστοι: Th. geht auf die näheren Umstände (Zeit, Ergebnis u. s. w.) jener Kämpfe nicht ein". Bloomfield says, "κατ' ἀλλήλους one with another, i. e. in an interchange of hostilities; ὥς ἑκαστοι stands antithetically to κοινὰς, the sense being *singulativ*, severally"; he translates, "but, rather, neighboring states severally pursued each other with hostilities". Smith's translation is, "each petty state took up arms *occasionally* in its own defence against the incroachments of its neighbors". Helmbold, who has made a special study¹ of ὥς ἑκαστοι and is cited with approval in Classen-Steup (on I. 3. 4), remarks on the present passage, "die einen so, die andern so d. h. die einen mit dem, die andern mit jenem Erfolg". We see, from this selection of comments and translations, that ὥς ἑκαστοι in this passage is taken by one to mean *occasionally*, by another to mean *severally*, by another to mean *with different results*, while Steup finds *time*, *result*, "und so weiter", all implied.

Before discussing the interpretation of I. 15. 2 I might formulate a rule upon the use of ὥς ἑκαστοι, which would run as follows: ὥς ἑκαστοι *divides the noun to which it refers* (generally the subject of the sentence) *into parts and implies that the different parts act in different ways, at different times, or in different places; or otherwise differently if the point of difference is implied by the context*. I am further of the opinion that but one point of difference is particularly involved at one time. Difference of place, for

¹ Über d. successive Entstehung d. Thuc. Geschichtswerkes, II. p. 31 ff.

example, may be the point emphasized without implication that the different members acting in different places acted at the same time; but if difference of place is emphasized, it is quite immaterial whether the time is different or not. In the majority of cases in Thucydides the point of difference is perfectly clear, because a definite piece of information is furnished about one or two members of a group, and then the other members of the group are lumped together with a *ὡς ἕκαστοι*, the information *on the same point* being withheld for them because it is not known, or is unimportant. For example take I. 48. 4; Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγαρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρακιώτιδες, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μίσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἕκαστοι. It is perfectly clear that *ὡς ἕκαστοι* in this case refers to *position* in line of battle; cp. III. 107. 4; VIII. 104. 3. Difference of *direction* is clearly indicated in V. 4. 3; of *time* by *ὡς ἐκάστη* (see below) in I. 98. 4; of *manner* in IV. 32. 2. With the last example, in which *ὡς ἕκαστοι* might be called an adverb of manner, I should group cases in which *ὡς ἕκαστοι* might be considered to be essentially the object, as well as the subject, of a transitive verb, or a cognate accusative with an intransitive or passive verb. For example, in καὶ ἄλλοι τε παριόντες ἐγκλήματα ἐποιούντο ὡς ἕκαστοι (I. 67. 4), *ὡς ἕκαστοι* is essentially both subject and object of ἐποιούντο, the meaning being *others made different charges each*; cp. VII. 65. 1. From a study of the various examples I am inclined to believe that differences of *time*, *place*, and *manner* (including under the last cases in which *ὡς ἕκαστοι* may be regarded as the object of the verb) may be implied by *ὡς ἕκαστοι* without the context being so clear as in the kind of example cited above; *cause* and *result*, however, must be very clearly indicated by the context. A good illustration of the wide meaning that may be contained in *ὡς ἕκαστοι*, when one or two members of a group are first referred to, is to be found in I. 107. 5; 113. 1; V. 57. 2. The first of these three examples runs as follows: ἐβοήθησαν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ καὶ Ἀργείων χίλιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ὡς ἕκαστοι. There can be no doubt¹ that *ὡς ἕκαστοι* here means *various numbers each, I need (or can) not say how many each of the other allies*. It is interesting to compare these examples in which *ὡς ἕκαστοι* refers to a difference in numbers with a passage in Herodotus, who is the only other writer before Aristotle that uses the idiomatic *ὡς ἕκαστοι*.

¹ Böhme, indeed, says "*ὡς ἕκαστοι* deutet auf die eilige Mobilmachung". For this Thuc. would probably have written: οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐδύναντο.

In Hdt. III. 159. 13 we have ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔδνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ ἑκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσω. If this sentence had run "he appointed to the Medes five hundred, to the Sacians three hundred, to the others various numbers each", Thucydides would have written τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ὥς ἑκάστοις, and not ὅσας δὴ ἑκάστοις. ὥς ἑκάστοις alone, in the sentence as it stands, would not clearly refer to *number*. Helmbold (l. c.) was right, for the general run of cases, when he made the statement, "angewandt wird diese Formel von Thuc. an solchen Stellen, wo er ein Eingehen auf gewisse Einzelheiten vermeiden will, entweder weil er sie als gleichgültig für seine Darstellung nicht geben will, oder weil er sie nicht geben kann". But he goes too far, and there are times when Classen's *singuli deinceps* as a translation for ὥς ἕκαστοι, which Helmbold particularly attacks, is of more assistance than his own rule. Sometimes ὥς ἕκαστοι is used when there is no "avoidance of going into certain particulars". In these cases the *point of difference* is not so clearly indicated as in those where the definite statement concerning one or two members of a group is made, and here there is most variation in interpretation and most doubt about the text. These cases I shall now discuss, beginning with the passage in I. 15. 2 cited above.

(1). Thuc. I. 15. 2: οὐδ' αὖ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσῆς κοινὰς στρατείας ἐποιούντο, κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὥς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγείτορες ἐπολέμουν. The root of the difficulty in this sentence lies in the use of κατ' ἀλλήλους and ὥς ἕκαστοι together. What is the distinction between them? The line of argument, followed by some editors and translators, would seem to be that, since κατ' ἀλλήλους means *by themselves*, ὥς ἕκαστοι can not here mean *separately*, a mere repetition of the other; consequently it refers to a difference of *time* or *result*, or is a general *I need not go into particulars*. But ὥς ἕκαστοι had not become so indefinite as this. There is a reason in this sentence for its occurrence side by side with κατ' ἀλλήλους. The two phrases would not generally be found referring to the subject of the same sentence. They are in a way contradictory, because ὥς ἕκαστοι *divides* the subject into groups which are placed in contrast with one another, whereas κατ' ἀλλήλους *unites* in one group the persons to whom it refers in contrast to other persons. The reason why both phrases can be used in the present passage is that the subject οἱ ἀστυγείτορες is capable both of division and of union; one pair of neighbors can be contrasted with other pairs by ὥς ἕκαστοι, and neighbors, as such, can be united in contrast

to distant states by *κατ' ἀλλήλους*. The sentence means *the several states warred separately with their own neighbors*. *ὡς ἕκαστοι* not infrequently means *singly*, or *one here, one there*. That is the meaning here, but since it takes two to make neighbors, as well as two to make a quarrel, we might here translate *neighboring states warred together, two here, two there*. In this chapter Thucydides is pointing out that in the early history of Greece there were no great wars, involving a large number of states. A few lines above our sentence we read *πάντες (οἱ πόλεμοι), ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο, πρὸς ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἑκάστοις*. It is clear, therefore, that he has in mind small wars involving only two neighboring states. But it may be objected that this idea is sufficiently brought out by *κατ' ἀλλήλους οἱ ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν*, and that *ὡς ἕκαστοι* consequently adds to this *some at one time, some at another*. In answer to this it is to be observed that neither *ἀστυγείτονες* nor *κατ' ἀλλήλους* implies two and only two. It is *ὡς ἕκαστοι* alone that implies the separation into pairs. And further, the question of difference of time is not implied in the slightest degree by the context. The Spartans might have been fighting with the Messenians at the same time as the Athenians were with the Boeotians, and the conditions described by Thucydides still be fulfilled. The whole point is that of small *separate* wars between two states.

(2). Thuc. I. 89. 2: *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις* (subject *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι*). This sentence like the preceding, contains two phrases, *ὡς ἕκαστοι* and *κατὰ πόλεις*, which are somewhat difficult to distinguish. In this case there is no contradiction between the two, for both of them divide the subject. One must rather ask why they are both necessary. The note in Classen-Steup is this, "*ὡς ἕκαστοι* deutet darauf hin, dass nicht nur der Verband der Flotte aufhörte (*κατὰ πόλεις*), sondern auch die einzelnen Kontingente nicht zu gleicher Zeit den Hellespont verliessen". It appears to me, however, that it is a mistake to bring the *time* element into the sentence at all. The work of the expedition has ended with the capture of Sestos and the allies are now going home. It is quite as improbable that the several contingents sailed away at different times as that all left at exactly the same time. It is unnecessary to assume any further reference to *time* than is given us by *μετὰ τοῦτο*. The contingents are going to their several homes, and the difference of direction is expressed by *ὡς ἕκαστοι*. *κατὰ πόλεις* is necessary because the subject (*οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας*

καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι), as it stands, is not sufficiently divided to suggest the number of directions the fleet took. Helmbold (l. c.) thinks that κατὰ πόλεις is a gloss; to me it seems more essential to clearness than ὥς ἕκαστοι. In this connection I might cite the example in III. 107. 4: ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἀμφοτέροις, ἦσαν ἐς χεῖρας, Δημοσθένης μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων μετὰ Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγων· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο Ἀκαρῶνες ὥς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἐπείχον καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων οἱ παρόντες ἀκοντισταί. In this sentence one feels the need of something to divide Ἀκαρῶνες corresponding to κατὰ πόλεις in I. 89. The comment in Classen-Steup is "nach ihren Stämmen verteilt und unter ihren eigenen Führern". The only thing in the context to suggest the kind of division is οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρῶνες καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων ὀλίγοι—ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντός ξυμμαχικοῦ αἰροῦνται Δημοσθένη μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων στρατηγῶν (§ 2).

(3). Thuc. I. 98. 4: πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχίς παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἰδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὥς ἐκάστη [ξυνέβη]. The MSS vary between ἐκάστη and ἐκάστη. All have συνέβη, but the Schol. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἰδουλώθη proves to some scholars that συνέβη was not originally there, while others are not convinced of this. To me the remark of the Scholiast seems entirely without point if he had συνέβη in his text; but on other grounds also I prefer to omit συνέβη. In the first clause a particular case is mentioned, and by the position of πρώτη emphasis is laid upon the *order* in which the allied states were enslaved; the second clause continues *and then each of the others in its turn, I need not go into particulars about the order.* ὥς ἐκάστη συνέβη seems to introduce other ideas like *cause* and *result*, which do not carry on the emphasized point of *order* in the first clause. The reference to ὥς ἐκάστοις συνέβαινεν in III. 90. 1 gives no support to συνέβη here. On the contrary, since in III. 90 the context shows that ὥς ἐκάστοις συνέβαινεν implies *result*, the passage supports the argument for the omission of συνέβη in I. 98. So, in IV. 4. 2, ὥς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνει *as each fitted* has a special meaning that could not be brought out by ὥς ἕκαστον alone. Consequently the passage has no bearing upon I. 98.

(4). Thuc. II. 21. 3: χρησμολόγοι τε ἥδον χρησμούς παντοίους, ὧν ἀκροῦσθαι ὥς ἕκαστος ὥρητο (v. l. ὥρητο). The MSS vary, *c* having ὥς, *b* omitting it. Some editors retain ὥς, others change it to εἰς, others omit it and change ὧν to ὥς. I find no difficulty in the reading ὥς ἕκαστος. Arnold translates "which they were severally eager to listen to", and comments, "Thuc. adds ὥς ἕκαστος ὥργ. because different persons ran to listen to different prophecies,

each choosing those which encouraged his own previous opinions or feelings". Such a meaning is entirely suited to the context and the interpretation is certainly legitimate. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἕκαστοι τῶν χρησμῶν ἠκροῶντο would mean *different groups of Athenians gave heed to different oracles*, just as ἄλλοι ἐγκλήματα ἐποιούντο ὡς ἕκαστοι (I. 67. 4) means *different ones made different charges*. We are therefore justified in translating II. 21, *different ones of which different individuals were eager to listen to*.

(5). Thuc. III. 74. 3: καὶ οἱ μὲν παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης ὡς ἑκάτεροι ἡσυχάσαντες τὴν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν· καὶ ἡ Κορινθία ναὺς τοῦ δήμου κεκρατηκότος ὑπεξανήγετο κτέ. From the lack of comment upon this passage it would seem that no difficulty is found in it. Jowett's translation is *both parties now left off fighting, and kept watch in their own positions during the night*. I must confess that I do not see why Thucydides should say each of two hostile parties went to rest *in different places*. There would be some point in saying they went to rest each in the positions they occupied when the fighting ceased; but to bring out that idea ὡς ἑκάτεροι would need a verb of its own. It is in no way helpful to make ὡς ἑκάτεροι refer to difference of time, or to take it with either of the other verbs in the clause; ἑκάτεροι without ὡς would give the idea quite as well. Further, οἱ μὲν is not without its difficulty, and ἡσυχάσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν *having gone to rest they remained on guard* is not put quite as one would expect. Spratt seems to have found some difficulty here, for he says that ἡσυχάσαντες equals οὐδὲν κινήσαντες *without further attempt at hostilities*; but this idea is sufficiently expressed in παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης. Reiske also, according to Poppo, "virgulam ante hoc verb. (ἡσυχάσαντες) poni vult". One might perhaps say *though they had quieted down they remained on guard*, but this hardly helps us with ὡς ἑκάτεροι. I can not escape the suspicion that the passage is corrupt. Poppo and Arnold note that C has ἡσυχάσαντες. That at least serves to indicate that there was some difficulty felt with ὡς ἑκάτεροι in early times. One might translate, with this reading, *and they, having ceased from battle each as if going to rest, remained on guard*. Both the difficulty in ὡς ἑκάτεροι and in ἡσυχάσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν would thus be removed; but the meaning is hardly satisfactory. Possibly the reading was something like καὶ οἱ μὲν παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης ὡς ἑκάτεροι ἡσυχασαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν *and some having ceased from battle went to rest on either side, some remained on guard during the night*.

(6). Thuc. VI. 17. 4: καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ὁμιλον οὕτε λόγου μᾶ

γνώμη ἀκροῦσθαι οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἔργα κοινῶς τρέπεσθαι· ταχὺ δ' ἂν ὥς ἕκαστοι, εἴ τι καθ' ἡδονὴν λέγοιτο, προσχωροίεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ στασιάζουσιν *different parties would take different sides according as anything was said to please them*. Böhme, Krüger, and others supply ἡμῖν with προσχωροίεν. But this would mean *they would join us separately, or group by group*. The context is absolutely against such a meaning. Alcibiades is arguing that an expedition against Sicily is no such great undertaking as it appears, for, while the cities are populous, the inhabitants are mixed, shifting, unpatriotic, and quarreling among themselves; consequently they will not present a united front, but some can easily be induced to join the Athenians. It is entirely without point to say that they would come over to the Athenians separately, it being quite immaterial whether they came separately or not, provided they came. The whole point is that the Sicilians are so much broken up into parties that they are sure to take different sides, and so the Athenians can count upon some joining them out of opposition to the others.

(7). Thuc. VII. 74. 2: ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ προσπλεύσαντες τὰς ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀφείλκον· ἐνέπρησαν δὲ τινὰς ὀλίγας, ὥσπερ διανοήθησαν, αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας καθ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος ὥς ἐκάστην ποι ἐκπεπτωκυῖαν ἀναδησάμενοι ἐκόμζον ἐς τὴν πόλιν *they made fast to the rest wherever each had been run ashore*. This passage requires no particular comment, though Helmbold (l. c.) thinks that Thucydides must have written ὥς ἐκάστη ποι ἐκπεπτωκυῖα. It differs from other passages in the addition of ποι ἐκπεπτωκυῖαν to ὥς ἐκίστην. This addition makes it perfectly clear that the difference denoted by ὥς ἐκάστην is one of *place*; without it the meaning could be "they made fast to the others *one at a time*". For further remarks see below.

(8). Thuc. I. 3. 4: οἱ δ' οὖν ὥς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίσταν καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν δι' ἀσθέειαν καὶ ἀμειξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἐπραξαν. This difficult passage has been much discussed. The translation offered in Classen-Steup is perhaps the most widely accepted interpretation; it will serve, at least, as well as another to bring out the points in dispute. It runs, "diejenigen nun also, welche der Reihe nach, und zwar zunächst immer diejenigen, welche sich einander in der Sprache verstanden, und hernach alle insgesamt, den Namen Hellenen erhalten haben". In the Appendix (p. 328) Steup raises the following objections to the text: (1). It is inconceivable that

ξύμπαυτες should be used in a phrase explanatory of ὡς ἕκαστοι. (2). It is strange that, while the predicate of the sentence refers to the period before the Trojan war, the subject should describe the spread of the Greek name, which according to Thucydides took place largely in later times. (3). It is strange that, in a recapitulation of what has been said of the extension of the Greek name, the common language should be mentioned as a chief cause of growth, though this had not been referred to before. (4). If a common language were the cause of the extension of the name, this extension would not take place κατὰ πόλεις, since the political unit was not coextensive with the dialect unit. On these grounds Steup is inclined to reject κατὰ πόλεις—ὑστερον. Few, if any, will follow him in this; but the objections are at least strong enough to make it difficult to accept any interpretation that has been offered. The attempt to escape (cp. Böhme) the apparent conflict between ὡς ἕκαστοι and ὑστερον by making the former refer not to difference of *time* but to difference of *cause*—*for whatever reason each took the name*—is not successful because ὡς ἕκαστοι then comes in conflict with δοσι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν, and Steup's second, third and fourth objections still remain. Besides there is good reason to doubt whether ὡς ἕκαστοι can refer to cause without the context clearly indicating cause, since none of the examples discussed above would admit of such a translation. The suggestion of Dobree to take ὡς ἕκαστοι with κατὰ πόλεις τε, in spite of the position of τε, is an illustration of the strength of Steup's first objection, yet does not touch the others. I cite the translation of Arnold because it brings out a couple of points upon which I wish to touch: *the several Hellenic communities (the name is an anachronism, but I mean) those who both in their separate cities were at first called Hellenes, from speaking a common Hellenic language, and afterwards were called so as the name of the whole nation.* Passing over, for the moment, the translation of ὡς ἕκαστοι simply by *several*, the clumsiness of the attempt to render τε—καί brings out strongly one of the chief difficulties in all interpretations hitherto offered. If κατὰ πόλεις and ξύμπαυτες ὑστερον were really contrasted and the meaning were *at first to community after community, and finally to all collectively* we should not have τε—καί but κατὰ μὲν πόλεις (ὅς πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πόλεις), ὑστερον δὲ ξύμπαυτες. The point where all translations have erred is in taking ὑστερον with ξύμπαυτες. This inevitably suggests the idea of *at first* with κατὰ πόλεις, and, almost as inevitably, makes us think of *separate*

times in connection with ὥς ἑκαστοὶ. As a matter of fact ὕστερον belongs with κληθέντες, and affects the whole clause and not ξύμπαντες alone. Thucydides begins this chapter with the statement πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς. Then he tells us that the name Ἑλλάς did not in Trojan times apply to the whole country, and gives a lengthy explanation of its gradual extension. In our sentence he resumes with *At any rate those who were later called Hellenes*. This is precisely the subject the sentence needs (cp. Steup's second objection), for he wants to speak of the lack of common action on the part of a people, who have not yet a common name, but later were called Hellenes. The position of ὕστερον is just what it should be for the meaning suggested. By taking ὕστερον with κληθέντες we not only get the subject required, but are also relieved of the necessity of looking for μὲν—δέ, and can seek the proper meaning of κατὰ πόλεις—ξύμπαντες. For this we must go back to § 2: Ἕλληνας δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἑκάστους μὲν ἦδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἑλληνας, οὐ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου ἐδύνατο καὶ ἀπασιν ἐκκικῆσαι. "Homer", he continues, "is the best proof of this. For, though he lived long after the Trojan war, he nowhere gives this name to the whole body (of Greeks), nor indeed to any except those with Achilles from Phthiotis, who in fact were the first Hellenes, but calls them in his poem Danaans and Argives and Achaeans. He does not even speak of barbarians, because, as it seems to me, the Hellenes were not even in his time set apart under one name in contrast to the barbarians. *Be that as it may, the various peoples that were later called Greeks, and the name (at this later time) was applied both to separate communities on the basis of a common language and as a common name for all, did nothing in concert before the Trojan war*". It will be seen that the καθ' ἑκάστους of § 2 is resumed in § 4 with κατὰ πόλεις, the ἀπασιν with ξύμπαντες. In the time of Hellen and his descendants there is a contrast (μὲν—μέντοι) between the separate communities acquiring the name, and the whole body; in the later time, when the name had won its way throughout the land, *both* separate communities *and* (τε—καί) the nation as a whole were called Hellenes. By this interpretation (assuming still that ὥς ἑκαστοὶ has been correctly translated) not only the first and second objections of Steup are removed, but also the third and fourth; for, when Thucydides says *the name is now applied to separate communities on the basis*

of a common language, he is not giving a new reason for the gradual extension of the name, but is describing the condition that had been reached in his own time, i. e., if a community spoke a Hellenic dialect it was called Hellenic. If any one thinks that Thucydides would not be likely to say that the name Hellenes was applied both to the whole nation and to its individual parts, that the distinction, in short, is too finely drawn, he should remember that the distinction has developed itself naturally from the argument of the chapter, and that, when a national feeling is just developing, the application of the national name to one of the states, in place of its old individual name, is a matter of slow growth.

It is now necessary to go back and discuss the question whether in the translation *the various peoples later called Hellenes* ὡς ἑκαστοι has been given its proper meaning. With the exception of Arnold and Jowett, who render ὡς ἑκαστοι simply by *the several tribes* without offering any defence of the rendering, all the authorities I have been able to consult take ὡς ἑκαστοι closely with κληθέντες and make it refer to the difference of time in taking the name, or to the different reasons. Now there can be no doubt that *those who were given the name Hellenes at different times* is in itself a perfectly possible rendering of the Greek, but the difficulty of reconciling ἐμπαντες ὕστερον with this meaning of ὡς ἑκαστοι has seemed to most scholars insurmountable. This difficulty is lessened if ὕστερον be taken with κληθέντες as I have suggested; but there is not much point in saying *the states that afterwards were given the name Hellenes one at a time did nothing in concert*. I believe there is another way out of the difficulty. While ὡς ἑκαστοι is regularly predicative in position, in such long attributive participial phrases, as we have here, predicative words frequently stand between the article and participle. It is therefore fair to assume that ὡς ἑκαστοι may be predicative here, in which case it belongs with ἔπραξαν rather than with κληθέντες. In that case is it correct to give the translation *the several races later called Hellenes did nothing in concert?* For οἱ ἐμμάχοι ὡς ἑκαστοι ἀπέπλευσαν it is not correct to say *the several allies sailed away*; ἑκαστοι alone would give that meaning. ὡς ἑκαστοι requires *the several allies sailed away separately*; for, as has been emphasized, ὡς ἑκαστοι implies that the different members of the subject act differently, or separately. As it happens, however, our predicate in the present sentence is *did nothing in concert*, which is but

another way of saying *acted separately*. ὥς ἕκαστοι and οὐδὲν ἄνθρωποι in the same sentence are simply a bit tautological. The usage may be justified by the following parallel in English. We can say *the several states did nothing in concert* but not *each state did nothing in concert* or *all the states did nothing in concert*. The word *several* is unnecessary in such a sentence, but the desire for the contrast between *several* and *in concert* makes it a common usage. There can be no objection to assuming a similar development in Greek, and the utilization of the distinction between ὥς ἕκαστοι and ἕκαστοι, corresponding to ours between *several* and *each*.

Another point of view that might be urged in defence of the interpretation suggested is the following. Our various examples have shown that ὥς ἕκαστοι generally follows a definite statement of particulars with an indefinite reference to time, place, manner, number, as the case may be. It means, frequently, *I need not say when, how, where, or how many*. There is no reason why it should not in the proper context also mean *I need not say who*. Now the article with the participle is an indefinite expression. οἱ Ἕλληνες ὕστερον κληθέντες is doubly indefinite because it might refer under certain conditions to a single race whose earlier name is not mentioned, but who, in contrast to some other, were later called Hellenes; or it might refer to a number of different races all later called Hellenes. In the latter case it might well be followed by such an expression as *I need not say who, I need not mention the name of each race* that later was included under the general name Hellenes.

Of the eight sentences that have been particularly discussed, two (I. 98. 4; VII. 74. 2) contain words that fix the reference of ὥς ἕκαστοι to *time* and *place*; in four (I. 3. 4; 15. 3; 89. 2; VI. 17. 4) difference of *place* or separate action (without the element of *time* being particularly involved) is to be inferred from the context; in one (II. 21. 3) the phrase is essentially the object of the verb as well as the subject (i. e. it contains both) and so implies that the different members of the subject did different things; in one passage the traditional reading has been called in question; but, if correct, difference of *place* is implied. In all other passages in Thucydides a definite statement concerning one or two members of the subject makes the *point of difference* for ὥς ἕκαστοι perfectly clear. In Herodotus there are only three examples of ὥς ἕκαστος without a verb. In VI. 31. 5 and VI. 79. 7

the meaning is clearly *one at a time*. I cite the third (I. 114. 5) in full for comparison with the usage of Thucydides: *ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κού τινα αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὥς ἐκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσων*. Thucydides would probably have wound the sentence up with *τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ὥς ἐκάστοις*, the number of particular examples making *ἔργον* unnecessary.

In dealing with *ὥς ἕκαστοι* grammarians and commentators commonly assert, by way of explanation, that the verb of the principal clause is to be supplied with it. According to Krüger, on Thuc. I. 3. 4, this is particularly clear from passages in which the phrase is in an oblique case. There can be no doubt that in origin the idiom goes back to forms with a verb expressed in the *ὥς* clause, but it is none the less true that, as a guide to the meaning in a particular passage, the statement is wholly valueless; in fact it is likely to mislead rather than to assist. In commenting upon Thuc. I. 113. 1 Helmbold (l. c.) makes the remark that *ὥς ἕκαστοι* in this passage "*zu einem distributiven Indefinitum *jeweils so und so viel* erstarrt ist*"; and yet he makes the restoration of the principal verb the basis of his treatment, and constantly restores the verb as a means of arriving at the meaning. Now it is safe to say that a phrase has reached a stereotyped form and spread in use beyond its original sphere, when the meaning is one that could not be easily seen by restoring the original form. If we take the example *πεντήκοντα ὀπλίτας ὥς ἐκάστους ἀπέκτεινε* (cp. Hdt. VI. 79. 7), we have a sentence which a Greek, we may feel sure, could understand as *he killed 50 hoplites one at a time*, without the aid of previous statements; but one unacquainted with the idiom would have great difficulty in reaching that meaning simply by repeating *ἀπέκτεινε* with *ὥς ἐκάστους*. Another indication of the stereotyped stage the phrase had reached may be found, I think, in the use of the plural *ἕκαστοι* where we might expect the singular *ἕκαστος*. It so happens that, in thirteen out of the eighteen cases in Thucydides, the plural is necessary because nations and other collective ideas are referred to. In the remaining five cases, though individuals are in question, the plural is twice used. Thus we have *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ὥς ἕκαστοι διετάξαντο* (VIII. 104. 3), and *πρὸς τε ἄλλα ἐξηρτύσαντο ὥς ἕκαστα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο* (VII. 65. 1). Of the three cases in Herodotus two have the singular, the third has the plural referring to an individual, — *κατὰ πενήκοντα δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἀργείων*

ὥς ἑκάστους ἐκκαλεόμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἔκτεινε VI. 79. 7.¹ In these three cases with the plural it is difficult to see how the verb of the principal sentence could be restored without requiring the singular. It is evident that the plural is used because ὥς ἕκαστοι is felt as an adjective qualifying στρατηγοί, τᾶλλα, and κατὰ πενήτηκοντα. In the five cases in Thucydides and Herodotus that have ὥς ἕκαστος in the singular, the plural could not be used without danger of obscuring the fact that a single individual and not a group is meant. In but one of these does ὥς ἕκαστος follow a plural noun with which it could agree, namely, in Thuc. VII. 74. 2: τὰς δ' ἄλλας (ναῦς)—ὥς ἑκάστην ποι ἐκπεπτωκυῖαν ἀναδησάμενοι. If the position of one or two ships had been previously indicated, I should expect here ὥς ἑκάστας without ποι ἐκπεπτωκυῖαν; but here that would be open to the meaning *they made fast to them one at a time*, so that the reference to *place* was necessary. In the lack of parallel examples it is impossible to determine whether the singular is necessary on account of these adjuncts, and why ὥς ἑκάστας ποι ἐκπεπτωκυῖας should not be used.

With regard to Krüger's remark that the necessity of supplying the principal verb is seen most clearly in those examples that have ὥς ἕκαστοι in an oblique case, it may be admitted that this method seems to give a satisfactory explanation of the case, though in πρὸς τε τᾶλλα ἐξηγτύσαντο ὥς ἕκαστα (VII. 65. 1) it would be necessary to supply πρὸς as well as the verb. On the other hand some of the examples with an oblique case indicate most clearly the idiomatic nature of the phrase. In ἐστράτευσαν ἑαυτῶν μὲν χιλίους ὀπλίταις, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων ὥς ἑκάστοις (I. 113. 1) who can help feeling that ὥς ἑκάστοις is an indefinite distributive numeral (as Helmbold calls it)? Treating ὥς ἕκαστοι, then, as an indefinite distributive adjective or pronoun, we may say in general of its case that it agrees with the noun which it distributes except when the noun is in partitive dependence upon it as in I. 98. 4; 107. 5; 113. 1 (with which may be compared οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὥς ἕκαστοι V. 57. 2). When ὥς ἕκαστοι refers equally to subject and object it is always nominative; so in ἄλλοι—ἐγκλήματα ἐποιούντο ὥς ἕκαστοι (I. 67. 4), where ὥς ἕκαστα in agreement with ἐγκλήματα, would theoretically be equally possible. On this ground it is evident that ὥς ἕκαστα in VII. 65. 1 was felt to be in agreement with τᾶλλα and not to be the object accusative of ἐξηγτύσαντο.

A. G. LAIRD.

¹ Sagawe, Über d. Gebrauch d. Pronomens ἕκαστος bei Herodot p. 5, and Van Herwerden (Mnem. XIII, p. 37) err in restoring ἕκαστον.

III.—CAUSAL CLAUSES IN LIVY.

The causal particles used by Livy are forms of the relative pronouns,—*quia*, *quod*, *quoniam*, *quando*, *quippe*, and *cum*. The last, however, generally expresses temporal relations, and for that reason will be considered in connection with *cum* temporal. *Quia* and *quod* are most freely used, and their original relative force is often indicated by an accompanying demonstrative, and most frequently in the case of *quod*. *Eo* . . . *quod* occurs about fifty times with the indicative, and half as many times with the subjunctive, e. g. 1, 47, 3 *eo nunc peius mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia est scelus*; 44, 37, 11 *prompta defensio erat, non eo solum quod hostis prior . . . in castra copias reduxisset, sed etiam quod in eo loco signa constituisset*. The *eo* is sometimes strengthened by *magis*, as in 2, 18, 9 *eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit*; by *etiam*, e. g. 8, 27, 2 *furere, eo etiam, quod . . . allatum est*; *ipso* may also be added: 29, 24, 4 *periculum erat, ne vera eo ipso, quod celarentur . . . emanarent*.

The occurrences of *eo* with *quia* are not numerous: 1, 46, 2 *eo impensius, quia . . . senserat*; 2, 7, 4 *eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronae . . . eum luxerunt*; 3, 32, 3 *eo cupidius, quia damnatus a plebe erat*; 25, 12, 8 *non eo tantum obscurius, quia incertiora futura praeteritis sunt*; 39, 32, 6 *eo magis debitum, quia primo negatus erat*: 7, 3, 6 *eoque Minervae templo dicatam legem, quia numerus Minervae inventum sit*; 44, 33, 2 *eo magis quia nullos apertos evergerent rivos, occultos continere latices*.

There is also an occasional instance of *ideo*: 4, 5, 3 *an ideo non est dimicatum, quod quae pars firmior, eadem modestior fuit?* 44, 39, 3 *ideo . . . firmabant . . . quod . . . pro victo haberetur*; and in reverse order 28, 32, 10 *non quod . . . videat, ideo se . . . duxisse*. The following occurrences were noticed with *quia*: 9, 34, 7 *et ideo Aemiliae potius legi paruerunt quam illi antiquae . . . quia hanc postremam iusserat populus et quia ubi duae contrariae leges sunt, semper antiquae obrogat nova*; 26, 23, 8 *quia exacto anno mortuus erat, ideo nominatio . . . non est facta*; 36, 15, 12; 38, 48, 14; 44, 39, 3 *et ideo, quia . . . saepta via erat, alio saltu . . . iter*

aperui; 45, 22, 5 qui ideo felicia bella vestra esse, quia iusta sint, prae vobis fertis. Notice, also in an indirect statement, 26, 27, 12 ideo se moenibus inclusos tenere eos, quia . . . velut feras bestias per agros vagari. In these, the order of the clauses might have been inverted, *quia* or *quod* omitted, and the demonstrative statement with *ergo* be made to give the logical conclusion of the causal clause, e. g. 26, 23, 8 might be exacto anno mortuus est, ergo nominatio . . . non est facta.

Akin to these are the instances in which a *quod* clause is used to express the content of an accompanying demonstrative, and stating, not the causal nexus, but merely an explanation of the demonstrative. This is not an unusual phenomenon in relative expression, and but few illustrations need be given: *id* 1, 48, 8, id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt; 37, 28, 11 id quoque movit . . . quod ab terra periculum erat; 4, 2, 7 parum id videri, quod omnia . . . turbentur; 21, 5, 12 id morari victoriam rati quod interesset amnis; 31, 30, 4 id se queri, quod . . . polluerit. The restrictive *modo* is also used with *id*: 6, 30, 8 id modo . . . tumultuatum, quod Praenestini . . . rebellarunt; 23, 4, 7; [24, 49, 8]; 28, 9, 3 id modo in decreto interfuit, quod . . . iusserunt. *Illud* also is used, as in 21, 43, 17 non ego illud parvi aestimo, quod nemo est; 5, 2, 3, hoc illud esse dictitantes, quod aera sint constituta. *Hoc*: 36, 25, 4 hoc maior difficultas . . . erat, quod . . . oppugnabant; 30, 13, 13 hoc in miseriis solacii esse, quod . . . videat. The demonstrative is at times dependent on a preposition, e. g. 3, 7, 8 ad id quod sua quemque mala cogeant; 3, 62, 1; 26, 45, 8 et ad id quod . . . trahebatur aqua, acer etiam septentrio . . . ferebat; 32, 40, 8; 44, 37, 12 ad id quod . . . videbatur: 2, 27, 10 et ad id quod . . . ius non dixisset, adiceret: *in eo* 4, 30, 16; 5, 50, 7; 34, 61, 11 et in eo maxime haesitabat quod . . . arguebant; 1, 54, 1 in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod . . . vires nosset: *pro eo* 9, 8, 15 pro eo quod . . . servassent; 38, 49, 13 pro eo quod . . . fatigavi; *ob id* 43, 7, 5 ob id quod . . . est introlatus; 25, 13, 7 ob id castigatis ab Hannone, quod ne fames quidem . . . curam eorum stimulare posset; 34, 50, 4 ob hoc agere, quod admoniti essent.

In the same way the *quod* clause occasionally defines a preceding *causa*, e. g. (with the indicative): 1, 57, 1 eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus . . . studebat; 5, 8, 6; 23, 42, 11; 35, 35, 3 causam mittendi ad eum habuerunt quod fatigabat precibus;

(with the subjunctive): 2, 4, 3, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati quod . . . sumpsissent; 6, 34, 9; 34, 10, 5; 35, 15, 5; 38, 42, 1; 43, 4, 9 causam excidii fuisse urbi, quod petierint.

Similar to the above are the passages in which the *quod* clause gives the content of adjectives differentiating a general term: 26, 11, 5 duae aliae, parva magnaue res: magna illa, quod . . . milites . . . profectos audiit; parva autem, quod *per* eos dies eum forte agrum . . . venisse . . . cognitum est; 28, 12, 10 in Hispania res quadam ex parte eandem fortunam, quadam longe disparem habebant: eandem, quod proelio victi Carthaginienses . . . compulsi erant; disparem autem, quod Hispania . . . bello reparando aptior erat. The component parts of numerals are also expressed: 34, 16, 1 tria eo die laudabilia fecisse putatur, unum, quod . . . proelium commisit; alterum, quod cohortes ab tergo hostibus obiecit; tertium quod secundam legionem . . . subire ad portam castrorum iussit; and with *una* . . . *altera* 6, 20, 13; 45, 31, 10; 29, 37, 10; 45, 13, 14 duas res ei rubori fuisse, unam, quod rogassent . . . alteram, quod pecuniam . . . misisset. *Alterum* . . . *alterum* is found 43, 13, 6 duo non suscepta prodigia sunt, a. quod in privato loco factum esset . . . a. quod in loco peregrino. The form of statement is varied 35, 27, 16 duae res simul inopinatae perculerunt eum, una praeoccupatus quem petebat locus, altera quod primo agmini occurrisset hostem cernebat. The clause may also refer to a single term: 44, 38, 7 parvum hoc tandem esse credimus, quod ex his castris . . . exituri . . . sumus; 7, 30, 14 parum fuit, quod cecidere? 21, 44, 7 parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam ademisti?

A few of the clauses give causatively, through the accusative, the reason for intellectual activity as in 2, 54, 8 mirari primo, quod non descenderet tribunus; 34, 57, 10; 36, 41, 2; 37, 36, 3; 38, 10, 1 mirante consule quod morarentur; and similarly 7, 34, 12, admiratio incessit quod nec pugnam inirent; 4, 3, 8 quod spiratis, quod vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indignantur; 38, 55, 12 indignantem quod . . . ratio ab se posceretur. 5, 3, 3 et cum laetor . . . finem factum esse, tum, quod . . . error est sublatus; 28, 25, 7 laetari quod nihil tristius nec insanabilius esset; 44, 36, 7 gaudere palam, quod fessos . . . non coegisset pugnare. 9, 34, 18 paenitet enim, quod antiquissimum sollemne . . . ad servorum ministerium . . . deduxisti. Notice with *facere*

6, 18, 9 bene facitis, quod abominamini, where the latter clause merely gives the content of the first.

In pure nominative and accusative relations the *quod* clause is also used without demonstrative correlation, in impersonal statements with *accedere*: 35, 10, 6 accedebat, quod . . . fuerat; 33, 9, 10 accessit, quod . . . poterat; 41, 16, 3 accesserat . . . quod . . . concidit; and as object: 9, 19, 6 adde quod Romanis ad manum domi supplementum esset; 23, 5, 9 adicite ad haec, quod foedus aequum deditis, quod leges vestras, quod ad extremum . . . civitatem dedimus. With transitive verbs the *quod* clause is inferentially causal, for a resultant is expressed by the principal verb. Caused mental states are sometimes given as in 26, 38, 1; 39, 23, 6 angebat; 8, 38, 9 auxerat animos; 39, 23, 10 permulsit iram. Other classes of verbs are presented: *addere* 8, 36, 10; 27, 2, 5; *adiuvabat* 24, 34, 14; *delegebat* 38, 21, 7; *distinebat* 37, 12, 2; *facere* 8, 28, 1; 9, 17, 5; 35, 16, 11; *moverat* 39, 24, 7; *occulebat* 39, 8, 8; *obsit* 45, 24, 8 ne plus obsit nobis quod uno bello cessavimus, quam quod duobus bellis pro vobis pugnāvimus; *prosit* 40, 46, 4 nec tantum rei publicae prosit quod omnibus nobis egregie placetis, quam quod alter alteri displicetis noceat.

As an objective element the *quod* clause is found in connection with *nisi* and *praeterquam*, more frequently with the latter. There are twenty-seven instances of *nisi quod* with the indicative; and seven with the subjunctive, mostly indirect statements, as in 24, 40, 4 quae ob nullam aliam causam nisi quod imminerent Italiae, peterentur; still we find 5, 35, 4 quamquam . . . nullum ius . . . erat, nisi quod . . . non defendissent. The indicative is found with *praeterquam quod* forty-seven times, and with *super quam quod* 22, 3, 14; and 27, 20, 10. There are seventeen occurrences of the subjunctive, all in indirect statements, except that Livy refers to himself 22, 7, 4 praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, Fabium . . . potissimum auctorem habui, and the statement is direct 35, 25, 11 Philopoemen, praeterquam quod ita Quintio placeret, et ipse existimabat.

In the form of statement, causal clauses exhibit all the phases shown by other clauses with respect to connectives, repetition, use with correlatives, and variation. Successive clauses are connected by *et . . . et* as in 30, 21, 1 minuit laetitiam, et quod . . . videbantur, et quod polliciti erant; 30, 42, 8; 31, 48, 2 negabant triumphum et quod alieno exercitu rem gessisset, et quod provinciam reliquisset; 5, 15, 1 prodigia multa nuntiavere . . . et quia singuli auctores

erant . . . et quia hostibus Etruscis . . . haruspices non erant; 9, 12, 6; 10, 35, 2; 30, 2, 1; 38, 9, 1 et quia gravia erant, et quia animos . . . noverant. A single *et* also occurs as in 4, 46, 8; 35, 7, 1; 36, 38, 7 fuisse apparet quod et castra capta sunt et Boi . . . dediderunt sese, et quod supplicatio . . . decreta; and with *quia* 9, 34, 7; 29, 2, 16. The connective is *-que* 35, 14, 7; 42, 30, 10; 37, 52, 4 cum . . . gratulatus esset quod . . . gessissent, quodque regem . . . expulissent. There is at times repetition without a connective, e. g. 25, 6, 14; 42, 25, 8; and with but one verb, 37, 12, 8 quod fraude capti, quod a cive potissimum suo forent; 39, 36, 5 Lycortas et quia praetor et quia Philopoemenis . . . factionis erat. The succession is noticeable 6, 38, 10 quod suffectus est . . . quod habuit . . . simul quod . . . potuit . . . et quod . . . fuit.

Various forms of correlation are used in connection with causal clauses to express different phases in the current of the narration. One of the most common of these is *non modo . . . sed etiam*, and its equivalents: 6, 10, 1 non eo solum quod tota hostium erat, sed etiam quod . . . facta erat deditio; 10, 3, 7 qui terror non eo tantum a Fabio abhorret, quod . . . cognomen suum aequavit . . . sed etiam quod memor Papirianae saevitiae numquam . . . adduci potuisset; 22, 47, 10 pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam quod inclusi adversus circumfusus, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant; 44, 31, 2; 44, 37, 11.

With variation in form: 32, 4, 5 nec altitudine solum tuta urbs, sed quod . . . rupibus imposita est; and 38, 58, 5 famam auxissent non bello solum, sed quod temperantiae fideique specimen . . . dedissent. A similar variation with *cum . . . tum* is not infrequent: 22, 57, 2; 27, 17, 5; 27, 27, 11; 28, 15, 1; 29, 26, 4; 30, 29, 9; 35, 31, 14 magnae cum ob eleganter actam vitam auctoritatis, tum quod semper Romanorum haud dubie partis fuerat.

Partim . . . partim: 26, 21, 16 iratus, p. quod cum imperatore non devectus ex provincia esset, p. quod in oppidis hibernare vetiti erant.

Simul . . . simul: 39, 46, 9 venit ad querendum s. quod non deducerentur, s. quod . . . missa forent.

Alternative clauses are variously expressed:

Aut . . . aut: 33, 38, 2 aut quia locis planis positae erant aut quia parum moenibus . . . fidebant.

Vel . . . vel: 24, 29, 8 censere se liberos esse, vel quod in solo urbis suae tyrannus ceciderit, vel quod ibi primum conclamatum ad libertatem.

Sive . . . sive: 1, 8, 7 s. quia is numerus satis erat, s. quia soli centum erant; 6, 38, 9 abdicavit seu q. vitio creatus erat . . . seu q. . . tulerunt; 10, 14, 9 sive q. . . contraxerant, seu q. . . augebat; 39, 51, 2-3 seu q. . . obiectum Prusiae erat . . . seu q. ipse Prusias . . . consilium cepit; and with but one verb 37, 39, 13 s. q. magnitudine . . . s. robore animorum vincuntur. Now and then there is a variation in the form of statement: 22, 46, 8 sol seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita steterē . . . obliquus erat; 1, 14, 3 seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebatur; 38, 5, 9 seu metu deterrito praetore Aetolorum, seu quia potius visum est; 42, 5, 6 seu fama et maiestate . . . praeoccupati . . . seu mutationis rerum cupidi, seu quia non subiecti Romanis esse volebant. 1, 4, 2 seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat; 30, 3, 1 seu quia . . . cernebant, seu ut Scipioni gratificarentur.

Successive steps in causation are indicated by *primum* . . . *deinde*: 26, 41, 4 obligavit fortuna, p. quod ea pietate . . . fuistis, d. quod . . . obtinuistis; 38, 45, 11 postulas, p. quod . . . noluerant; d. quod . . . obiecerunt; 45, 28, 9 increpuisse traditur . . . p. quod . . . passus esset, d. quod indulsisset militibus.

Contrasted causal clauses are more numerous than those indicating successive periods of causation, and *quam* with *quod* is preceded by a number of particles: *Magis* with *quod* in both members, 10, 18, 5; 45, 10, 12 cum magno adsensu auditus est, non magis eo quod multitudinem noxa levabat, quam quod culpam in auctores verterat; 45, 24, 8; 37, 54, 14 non magis quia fecistis, quam quia id vos facere decet. The subjunctive occurs with one particle: 5, 23, 12; 40, 22, 5 magis credo, ne vanitas itineris ludibrio esset, quam quod . . . potuerint.

Tam precedes the causal statement 2, 44, 7 non tam Veientium gratia concitata, quam quod in spem ventum erat; 27, 37, 5; 28, 22, 2; 37, 11, 4; 38, 18, 8. Notice the double causal statement 25, 27, 8 timentem navale proelium, non tam quod impar . . . esset, quam quod venti aptiores Romanae quam suae classi flarent; and 45, 22, 5 nec tam exitu eorum, quod vincatis, quam principiis, quod non sine causa suscipiatis, gloriimini. The instances with *quia* are similar: 8, 19, 3 non tam quia pacem volebant Samnites quam quia nondum parati erant ad bellum; 10, 10, 11 non tam quia imminui agrum quam quia . . . horrebat; and with variation 44, 25, 1 non tam quia paternae inter eos inimicitiae erant, quam ipsorum odiis inter se accensae, though *etiam* may be the correct reading.

Non tantum precedes 26, 1, 3 non ab ira tantum . . . quam quod urbs . . . traxerat; cf. 40, 46, 4.

Adversative causal clauses with *quia* are occasionally found, and the two parts are usually parallel in form of statement: 7, 30, 13 nec enim nunc, quia dolent iniuriam acceptam Samnites, sed quia gaudent oblatam sibi esse causam, oppugnatum nos veniunt; 21, 40, 6; 33, 27, 6; 40, 33, 2 non quia ipsi cunctati sunt, sed quia . . . tenebant; 4, 57, 3 non quia incertus sententiae fuerit . . . sed quia maluerit; 31, 48, 10 non quia velis, sed quia hostis cogat; 42, 25, 10 non quia probaret, sed quia . . . patienda omnia essent. The statement is also varied as in 10, 41, 12; 21, 31, 2 petit non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus obviam fore Romanum credens. The change of mood is noticeable in a few passages where the negative clause has the subjunctive, and the affirmative the indicative: 35, 40, 1 abstulere me . . . non quia ipsas operae pretium esset perscribere, sed quia causae cum Antiocho fuerunt belli; 38, 33, 11 praetor vim arcuerat, non quia salvos vellet, sed quia perire causa indicta nolebat; 39, 28, 2 reddi mihi aequum censebam, non quia magna accessio ea regni futura esset . . . sed quia multum ad reliquos continendos . . . pertinebat. Cf. 28, 27, 2 non quo verba umquam potius quam res exercuerim, sed quia prope a pueritia . . . adsueram militaribus ingeniis. There is at times a change from a negative ablative statement to an adversative causal clause, as in 2, 65, 7 deditur nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod . . . ceciderant animi; 38, 40, 15 non fuga vulnerum aut mortis, sed quia satis praedae habebant.

Occasionally both *quia* and *quod* are used in successive statements, the variation being apparently merely for rhetorical reasons: 2, 7, 4 insignis quia matronae . . . eum luxerunt, quod . . . fuisset; 9, 29, 6 memoriae felicioris nomen Appi *est*, quod viam munivit et aquam in urbem duxit eaque unus perfecit, quia . . . collega magistratu se abdicavit; 27, 25, 7 dedicatio . . . impediabatur, quod negabant unam cellam duobus diis recte dedicari, quia . . . difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo divina res fieret, sciri non posset; 35, 31, 4 accuratior ibi habenda oratio fuit, quod pars principum alienati . . . erant, quia . . . adlatum erat.

There are also a few instances of change of particles in coordinate clauses with the same mood: 3, 33, 4 Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro

honore honos redditus, et Sestio, quod eam rem collega invito ad patres retulerat; 5, 41, 4 Galli, et quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio; 7, 24, 3 stetit . . . Romanus, et quia iterum fessis subeunda dimicatio erat, et quod consul . . . cesserat; 22, 23, 4 accesserant duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris, una . . . quod . . . vim omnem hostilem abstineri iussit, altera . . . quia non expectata in eo senatus auctoritas est; 39, 41, 2 candidati omnes ad deiciendum eum honore, non solum ut ipsi potius adipiscerentur, nec quia indignabantur novum hominem censorem videre, sed etiam quod tristem censuram . . . expectabant. The subjunctive is used in the same way: 8, 14, 10 Campanis . . . quia cum Latinis rebellare noluisent, Fundanisque et Formianis, quod per fines eorum tuta pacataque semper fuisset via; 34, 23, 8 insimulavit fraudis Romanos, quod . . . tenerent . . . postremo quia facerent; 45, 19, 11 neque eo solum quia tantas praesentes eius opes cernat, sed quod haud ambiguum . . . esset.

The indicative with *quia* is followed by the subjunctive with *quod* in the following passages: 2, 1, 7 libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres; 2, 13, 3 iactatum in condicionibus nequiquam . . . magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis, quam quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret; 27, 28, 16 et primo magis quia improvise id fecerat, quam quod par viribus esset, anceps certamen erat; 32, 12, 5 pars, magis quia locus fugae deerat, quam quod animi satis esset ad pugnam . . . circumventi sunt; 37, 26, 2 est profectus ad classem . . . visendam, magis quia . . . videbat . . . quam quod res navalis . . . certae fiduciae esset; 43, 21, 8 profectus inde magis quia manere non poterat, quam quod tolerabilis aut via aut tempestas esset.

Both indicative and subjunctive are used with *quod*: 10, 3, 7; 10, 18, 5 ceterum magis eo profectum est, quod mature ventum erat . . . quam quod ductu consulis . . . gestum sit; 26, 21, 16; 28, 33, 9 Scipio, pro se esse loci angustias ratus, et quod . . . videbatur, et quod in eum locum detracta hostium acies esset; cf. 38, 36, 4 supplicatio . . . imperata fuit in omnibus compitis, quod luce . . . tenebrae obortae fuerant, et sacrificium indictum est, quod in Aventino lapidibus pluvisset. As may be seen from the table given, the indicative is used nearly twice as frequently

as the subjunctive, though the latter is used most freely with *quod*. This is worthy of notice as *quia* occurs twice as often as *quod* with the indicative, while both are used in indirect presentations. This preponderance of *quod* may be taken to mean that a considerable portion of the *oratio obliqua* in Livy is virtual,—not an actual setting forth of what had once been said or thought, but an indirect putting, according to the usual form of his day, of the results of Livy's own mental activity. About two-fifths of the occurrences of *quia* are in the first decade. Some of these instances are evidently parts of earlier accounts, e. g. 1, 48, 9 id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt. Some are due to a desire for variety in form of statement, as in 2, 55, 4 quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere. Making the proper allowance for these, the small number of subjunctives would be still further reduced. *Quod*, because of its adherescent relative force, is by far the most interesting of the causal particles, and differences in modal expression do not always indicate a difference in logical relationship, e. g. compare 21, 62, 6 quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum; with 39, 22, 3 novemdiale sacrum tenuit, quod in Piceno per triduum lapidibus pluerat.

QUONIAM.

Quoniam occurs forty-six times with the indicative, seven in the parts of Livy's own composition, and thirty-nine times in the speeches. To this number perhaps there should be added 40, 49, 7 q. illos ad me . . . suspicere. The statements represented as Livy's own are: 1, 27, 1 q. recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit; 7, 10, 5 q. id quoque memoria dignum antiquis visum est; 8, 6, 3 auctores q. non omnes sunt, mihi quoque in incerto relictum sit; 29, 30, 2 precibus . . . q. bello non poterat; 33, 2, 9; 34, 27, 3; 44, 45, 13. The occurrences in the speeches are of the same character, e. g. 26, 13, 14 itaque q. aliter dis immortalibus visum est; 40, 13, 7 ut aliam quaererem occasionem, q. semel venenum paraveram?

Of the sixty-two occurrences of the subjunctive, the majority are in indirect discourse, and as illustrations the following will be given: 5, 36, 3 et q. legatione adversus se maluerint . . . ne se quidem pacem . . . aspernari; 4, 11, 3 senatus consultum fecerunt, ut, q. civitas . . . redacta ad paucos esset, coloni . . . scribe-

rentur; 45, 36, 2 postulavit, ut, q. hora iam octava diei esset, rem . . . agerent. In other passages is given the ground for action as it is conceived in the minds of the actors: 2, 31, 11 q. per eum non stetisset quin praestaretur . . . prosecuti sunt; 3, 25, 3; 4, 13, 4; 6, 33, 10; 7, 36, 3; 10, 42, 3; 22, 9, 11 senatus q. Fabium belli cura occupatura esset . . . iubet; 24, 34, 16; 28, 18, 2; 35, 2, 3; 35, 27, 12; 42, 17, 5 petere institit ab eo rex, q. duces omnes legatique Romani hospitio eius uti adsuessent. In a few passages where the same reason is held to account for the subjunctive, the statements might be taken as independent: 1, 6, 4 q. gemini essent . . . ad inaugurandum templa capiunt; 35, 47, 2 ibi, q. primum vanum inceptum evasisset, consultare cum Aetolis rex, quid deinde fieret.

QUANDO.

Quando occurs occasionally with the indicative, the following instances having been noticed: 2, 15, 5; 2, 29, 1 q. ita placet; 4, 42, 8; 4, 45, 8; 5, 13, 5 q. nec causa nec finis inveniebatur; 5, 44, 1; 7, 10, 3; 7, 33, 8; 9, 8, 4 q. neque de noxa nostra neque de poena retulistis; 9, 8, 5; 9, 11, 11; 10, 14, 13*; 10, 17, 5; 24, 3, 13; 26, 30, 12; 29, 24, 4; 30, 20, 4; 30, 30, 26; 31, 24, 8; 34, 34, 2 q. ita placet; 36, 28, 3; 39, 51, 9; 40, 9, 1; 40, 56, 4; 42, 51, 1 q. ita videtur; 45, 39, 18. Of these twenty-six occurrences, twenty are found in the speeches, as is *quandoque*: 8, 7, 15 *quandoque*, inquit, tu, T. Manli, . . . pugnasti; and 9, 10, 9 q. hisce homines . . . spoponderunt atque ob eam rem noxam nocuerunt, ob eam rem . . . hosce homines vobis dedo. It is in speeches that the eight occurrences of *quando quidem* with the indicative are also found: 2, 12, 15; 2, 56, 9; 6, 35, 8; 6, 38, 6; 7, 31, 3; 8, 33, 7; 26, 15, 14; 34, 58, 8 ad haec Quinctius *quando quidem*, inquit, honesta pensamus.

With the subjunctive *quando* is used thirty times, the same as is *quoniam*, either in indirect statements, or to give the conceived ground for action: 2, 44, 2 q. inventum sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi; 2, 55, 3 id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebs q. aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat; 37, 57, 15 desistere . . . se dixit, q., quod taciti indignarentur nobiles homines, id aequae novus competitor . . . incesceret; 45, 3, 6 fortunam populi Romani bene fecisse, q. finito aliter bello gratulandi sibi . . . opportunitatem dedisset. 3, 35, 7 comitiorum illi habendorum, q. minimus natu sit, munus consensu iniungunt; 9, 2, 15 q. nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset . . . conveniunt; 9, 42, 4; 10,

14, 8; 23, 20, 8; 28, 15, 13; 35, 22, 3 consules, q. nihil ab Antiocho instaret, proficisci ambo in provincias placuit.

Quando quidem with the subjunctive seems limited to 1, 54, 5 sciscitatum . . . mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, q. q., ut omnia unus Gabiis posset, ei dei dedissent; 2, 59, 6 victus tandem, q. q. nihil praeter tempus noxae lucrarentur, remissa contione . . . cum iussisset . . . dedit; 3, 54, 2 alii decemviri, q. q. . . nulla mentio fieret, haud quicquam abnuere.

QUIPPE.

Quippe is commonly associated with the relative, and nearly always with the subjunctive,—twenty-two times: Praef. 2 q. qui videam; 1, 9, 1; 1, 35, 3; 1, 50, 6; 2, 37, 5; 3, 11, 4; 3, 39, 4; 6, 37, 3; 6, 39, 8; 7, 5, 6; 7, 38, 9; 21, 60, 6; 23, 2, 6; 26, 31, 4; 26, 43, 5; 26, 48, 2; 28, 12, 2; 28, 42, 16; 30, 16, 14; 37, 7, 4; 37, 20, 7; 41, 10, 6 cum . . . adversis auribus militum, quippe qui primi ipsi fugissent, iactasset. The indicative occurs: 3, 6, 6 referentes, q. quibus per se sustinendum bellum erat; 3, 53, 7 indulgendum est, quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis; 5, 37, 7 q. quibus . . . occursum est; 8, 26, 5; 26, 41, 8 minus obliterari possunt, quippe cui pater et patruus . . . interfecti sunt; 42, 18, 1 quippe quem . . . cernebant. About one-half of the subjunctives are in indirect statements, so that the subjunctives dependent on *quippe* are not greatly in excess of the indicatives.

Without *qui*, *quippe* has the indicative twenty-eight times: 1, 14, 10³ effusius, q. vera fuga . . . oppidum repetebant; 1, 25, 2; 1, 25, 13; 3, 21, 4; 3, 53, 5; 5, 3, 6; 5, 33, 5; 5, 51, 2; 6, 16, 5; 6, 27, 10; 6, 31, 7; 10, 41, 2; 23, 3, 5; 24, 42, 7; 25, 6, 15; 25, 24, 4; 25, 27, 8; 26, 31, 10; 26, 38, 4; 29, 33, 10; 30, 34, 12; 35, 49, 13; 36, 17, 4; 36, 17, 5; 38, 41, 6; 42, 41, 14; 43, 11, 11; 40, 12, 8 quaesivit, ut . . . videretur, q. ex noctis huius metu et tumultu exorta. The subjunctive without *qui* is found 5, 53, 4 q. tum causa nobis in urbem captam migrandi victoria esset; 27, 45, 3 ducere: quippe ad quod bellum collega . . . profectus sit.

Quippe occurs quite freely with the infinitive also: 1, 19, 2 q. efferari animos militum; 1, 55, 9*; 2, 29, 10; 2, 45, 10; 3, 9, 4; 3, 40, 4 q. rem publicam . . . expetituram; 3, 50, 14; 4, 35, 11; 5, 2, 6; 5, 11, 13; 5, 24, 10; 6, 6, 6 q. dicendum eum fuisse; 6, 11, 8; 6, 37, 11; 7, 25, 7; 8, 23, 5; 8, 27, 3; 9, 7, 5; 9, 40, 5 q. illa praedam verius quam arma esse; 22, 25, 5; 27, 9, 3; 27,

44, 8 ; 28, 19, 7 ; 28, 32, 9 q. illic et ducem . . . et . . . praesidium esse ; 28, 34, 9 ; 30, 9, 7 ; 39, 35, 6 ; 42, 62, 14 Perseus hanc ipsam superbiam q. ex fiducia virium esse, timere.

In connection with the entire clause *quippe* is found with *cum* : 4, 24, 8 offensos. q. c. quisque . . . cerneret ; 4, 57, 10 ; 26, 39, 9 ; 28, 45, 4 ; with *si* : 7, 35, 10 q. si lux expectetur, quae spes est ? 29, 17, 2 q. si et culpa . . . absit, et reditum . . . appareat, magis indignemini ; with *ubi* 21, 5, 14 haudquaquam pari certamine concursus, q. ubi pedes . . . perverti posset 26, 48, 11 ; 28, 30, 8 neque erat navali pugna similis, q. ubi nihil voluntarium, nihil artis aut consilii esset.

In addition to the occurrence with the ablative absolute, 3, 63, 2, *quippe* is used with the perfect participle 3, 67, 5 q. totiens fusi fugatique ; and 27, 44, 6 q. et Hasdrubalem patre eodem Hamilcare genitus ; and with the present : 5, 14, 1 cernentibus ; 8, 4, 5 concedentibus ; 27, 39, 14 reputantem ; 27, 9, 4 q. nunc cum maxime florens.

In a few passages *quippe* is found without a verb expressed : 3, 44, 9 q. apud ipsum auctorem argumenti ; 3, 53, 2 q. liberatores ; 6, 34, 8 q. nec satis piam adversus sororem, nec admodum in virum honorificam ; 25, 19, 14 haud dubia res erat, q. inter Hannibalem ducem et centurionem ; 25, 33, 5 q. tam paucis.

Ob and *propter* are somewhat freely used with noun and perfect participle, the complex being equivalent to a causal clause, and as an equivalent will be noticed here. Fifty-four instances were noticed with *ob* and twenty-four with *propter*, the most noticeable difference being in the use of *gestam* and *gestas*. *Propter* is used with the former 33, 25, 1, *ob* eight times, while there are eighteen instances of the plural. A sporadic instance of the extension of the sphere of the participle is 29, 10, 4 propter . . . lapidatum, instead of the common form of statement with a causal clause.

	Indicative.	Subjunctive.	Total.
<i>Quia</i>	637	107	744
<i>Quod</i>	319	395	714
<i>Quoniam</i>	46	62	108
<i>Quando</i>	36	33	69
<i>Quippe</i>	35	24	59 (107)
	1073	621	1694 (1742)
<i>Ob. Propter</i>	—	—	78
			1772

As may be seen five-eighths of the causal clauses are in the indicative and nearly seven-eighths have *quia* or *quod*. Neither *quoniam* nor *quando* is an important element, while *quippe*, independent of *qui*, as a mere asseverative particle, is largely outside the causal sphere. The number of instances of *quod* with the indicative might be increased by 90, and the subjunctives by half as many, by including the passages where the *quod* clause is explicative rather than causal. As the rhetorical construction of Livy's periods is of wider interest than the merely grammatical features, we have sought to emphasize rhetorical rather than grammatical features.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

R. B. STEELE.

IV.—ETYMOLOGICAL MISCELLANY.

I. GREEK AND LATIN ETYMOLOGIES.

1. Gk. *ἄγος* 'guilt,' Skt. *āgas* 'Schuld, Sünde' may represent a base **ēgos-*, **əgos-*, *-es-*, which we may compare with Lat. *eges-las* 'want, poverty', *ego* 'need, want, lack'. The primary meaning of Gk. *ἄγος*, Skt. *āgas*, would in that case be 'lack, deficiency', perhaps referring to failure in the ritual observance. To the same base *ēge-* may also belong OE. *acan* 'ache'.

2. Gk. *ἄβριον* 'to-morrow' is explained as coming from *ἀβριον*- and compared with Skt. *usrā-s* 'morgendlich, rötlich' (cf. Brugmann, Grd. I', 751). May it not rather be connected with Lith. *aurd* 'dort, künftighin'?

3. With Gk. *κυάω* 'stir up, mix, confuse', *κύκηθρον* 'stirring ladle', etc., compare Lith. *kuszū* 'rege mich', *kūszinu* 'rühre an', base *guē-* 'stir, move'. Synonymous bases occur in Lith. *kutu* 'rüttele auf, muntere auf', *kutrus* 'hurtig, rüstig'; Skt. *cōdati* 'treibt an', MHG. *hiuze* 'munter; frech'; Skt. *cōpati* 'bewegt sich, rührt sich', etc.

4. Gk. *κύρω*, *κυρίω* 'hit upon, meet, find, get, obtain', *κύρμα* 'booty, prey, spoil' may be connected with Skt. *cōrāyati* 'stiehlt'. Perhaps here also OE. *hýran* 'hire', MLG. *hüren* 'mieten', MHG. *behüren* 'mieten, kaufen', though these may be otherwise explained (cf. author, PBB. 24, 529).

5. Lat. *caro* 'flesh' is supposed to be from *ger-* 'cut' in Skt. *kṛṇāti* 'verletzt, tötet', etc. But the meanings of *caro* are not such as we should expect from 'cut'. The word is applied rather to the soft flesh as distinguished from bone and brawn, and also to the pulp of fruit. The primary meaning was therefore not 'piece of meat' but 'softness, soft flesh'. We may compare *cariēs* 'rottenness', Skt. *ḥṛṇāti* 'zerbricht, zermalm't', *ḥṛyatī* 'wird zerbrochen, bricht, zerfällt, vergeht', Gk. *κίρ* 'Verderben, Tod', Ir. *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit', etc. We have here a base *ḥēr-*, with derived forms *ḥē-īo-*, *-īē-*, etc. Perhaps we have *ḥroi-uo-* in Germ. *hraiwa-* 'Leichnam', OHG. *hrēo*, OE. *hrāw*, etc. Compare especially Lat. *cariēs*, Skt. *ḥṛyatī*. This possibility makes my former explanation of Germ. *hraiwa-* less probable (cf. Mod. Lang. Notes 18, 15).

6. Lat. *poliō* 'smooth, polish, adorn, decorate' may be compared with OE. *fēlan* 'feel', OHG. *fuolen* 'fühlen, tasten', ON. *falma* 'unsicher tasten'. These words are better separated from OHG. *folma*, Lat. *palma*, etc., which are rather from a base *pelā-* 'extend, make flat' in Lat. *plānus* 'flat', OE. *flōr* 'floor', etc. (cf. Noreen, *Urg. Lautlehre*, 198; Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 284).

The meanings 'touch, feel; rub, polish' come from 'strike, beat; shake': Gk. *πάλλω*, Lat. *pello* etc.

7. Lat. *vigeo* 'be lively, vigorous; thrive, flourish', *vigil* 'active, alert, awake', *vigor* 'liveliness, activity, force' are usually connected with Lat. *vegeo* 'arouse, quicken', Goth. *wakan* 'wachen' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* s. v.; Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *wecken*; Hirt, *Idg. Abl.* 658).

As far as *vigil* is concerned that might be possible, since *vigil* might be for an older **vegil* (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 123). But in meaning *vigil* is better associated with *vigeo*, *vigor*, etc., and there is no ground for supposing a change of *e* to *i* in these words. We may therefore connect them with Skt. *vijāte* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung, fährt los, eilt davon', *vējayati* 'schnellt, regt auf', *vēga-s* 'Ruck, Anprall, Schwall, Drang, Hast, Kraft, Wirkung', *vēgavant* 'wogend, hastig, schnell', ON. *ýkua* 'weichen', *ýkuask* 'sich bewegen', OHG. *wichan* 'weichen', *weich* 'weich, schwach', etc.

The double meaning 'active, strong, quick' and 'yielding, weak' is just what we should expect from 'sway, move quickly'. Compare MHG. *swanc* 'schwankend, stürmisch; biegsam, dünn', OE. *swancor* 'pliant, supple; agile, graceful; weak'; Lith. *sukù* 'drehe', *sukrus* 'agil, beweglich, schnell', *sunkus* 'schwer', MHG. *swanger* 'schwankend; grävda, schwanger', OE. *swangor*, 'träge'.

This double meaning is also in the related base *ueig-*: Lett. *vīkt* 'sich biegen', Gk. *εἴκω* 'weiche': Lith. *veikus* 'schnell', *vėkà* 'Kraft'. We certainly, therefore, have no ground for separating Lat. *vigeo*, *vigor*, *vigil* from Skt. *vēga-s* 'Ruck, Hast, Kraft', *vējayati* 'regt auf', *vijāte* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung', etc. (cf. author, *IE. a²: a²i: a²u*, p. 30).

8. Lat. *vindex* 'claimant; avenger, punisher; maintainer, protector, defender', *vindico* 'claim, demand, assume, appropriate; deliver, liberate, save; avenge, revenge, punish' are, so far as I know, unexplained. All the meanings, however, are easily derivable from 'seek; seize', the latter representing the accomplishment of the former activity. Thus 'avenge, punish' is to

'seek, pursue, go for'; 'claim, appropriate' is to 'seek, seize'; and 'deliver, liberate' is to 'seize, take from'.

We may therefore compare the Skt. base *vid* (in *vindāti*, *vindātē*, *vēttē*) 'finden, treffen, erreichen, erfassen, heimsuchen; bewirken, erwerben, gewinnen, besitzen, aufsuchen, sich zuwenden', etc. Here also we have the double meaning 'seize; punish'. The latter meaning is also in Goth. *fra-weitan* 'rächen, vindicare', etc.

The meaning 'punish' could not have come from 'see to, turn one's attention to', for it is used in too strong a sense. Lat. *animadvertere* is not parallel at all. For *animus* means not only 'mind, soul, feeling, desire,' etc. but also 'violent passion, vehemence, wrath'. Hence *animadvertere* means to turn one's wrath as well as one's mind to a thing. Notice also the double meaning in *animōsitas* 'boldness, spirit; vehemence in anger, impetuosity, ardor'.

If Germ. *wītan* 'strafen' meant simply 'see to', then we must separate from it ON. *vīte*, OE. *wīte* 'punishment; fine; torture; misery', *wītnian* 'punish; torture', OS. *wīti* 'Strafe, Böses, Pein', *wītnon* 'bestrafen, töten', OHG. *wīzzi* 'Strafe, Qual, Höllenstrafe, Hölle', *wīzzinōn* 'strafen, peinigen'. But there is no reason for separating *wītja-* 'Strafe, Qual', from *wītan* 'strafen; vorwerfen'. And yet the various meanings do not necessarily go through the same stages of development. In OSw. *vīta* 'zeihen, beweisen' we have a near approach to the meaning of the causative, OHG. *weizzen* 'zeigen, beweisen', Skt. *vēdāyatē* 'teilt mit, zeigt an', etc. But Goth. *fra-weitan* 'rächen' is more like Skt. *vindāti* 'erreicht, erfasst, sucht heim', etc., Lat. *vindico*.

In Skt. the meaning 'pain' comes from 'feeling, Empfindung' in *vēdanā* 'Empfindung, Schmerz', which may be compared with OHG. *wīzzinōn* 'peinigen, strafen'. Compare also Skt. *ā-vēdana-m* 'Zeigen, Vorführen, Anzeige, Denunciation' with OSw. *vīta* 'zeihen, beweisen', O, Fries. *wīta* 'schelten', OS. *wītan* 'vorwerfen', etc. It is evident, therefore, that though Goth. *wītan* 'wissen' and *fraweitan* 'rächen' are related, they represent two distinct developments in meaning.

The development of the meaning 'perceive: see; know' is seen in the following: OE. *ge-wītan* 'go', whence 'depart, die', OS. *gi-wītan* 'gehen': Skt. *vindāti* 'findet, trifft, erreicht, erfasst, erwirbt', Av. *vindaiti* 'findet, erlangt', Ir. *finnaim* 'finde, mache ausfindig'; Skt. *vētti* 'empfindet, begreift, nimmt wahr, erfährt,

erkennt, weiss', *vēda* 'weiss', Gk. *εἶδον* 'saw', *οἶδα* 'know', Lat. *video* 'perceive, see, understand, comprehend', Goth. *witan* 'wissen', etc. (cf. author, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. XIV, 324).

The development of meaning 'go, go to, reach, get. perceive' is seen in OHG. *faran* 'gehen, wandern, sich begeben', *arfaran* 'erreichen, erlangen; erfahren, erforschen, wahrnehmen', MHG. *ervarn* 'einholen, erreichen; treffen, finden, erwischen, kennen lernen, erkunden, erforschen, erfahren', Lat. *experior, reperio*. Compare also Lat. *peto* 'rush at, attack; seek, demand; fall upon, strive after', OE. *fundian* 'hasten, go to, desire', *sandian* 'investigate, explore', Goth. *finpan* 'finden, erkennen, erfahren', MHG. *ervinden* 'ausfindig machen, bemerken, erfahren', NHG. *empfinden*.—OHG. *sind* 'Gang, Weg, Reise', *sinnan* 'gehen, reisen; trachten, verlangen, sinnen', Lat. *sentio* 'experience, undergo; perceive, feel, observe; hear, see; think, judge'.—OE. *ge-lsian* 'slip, glide', MHG. *leise* 'Spur, Geleise', OHG. *lirnen* 'lernen', Goth. *lais* 'weiss'.—OHG. *spurnan* 'treten', *spor* 'Spur', *spuren* 'der Fährte des Wildes suchend nachgehen, aufsuchen, spüren, untersuchen', ON. *spyrja* 'forschen, erfragen, hören'.—Lat. *vestigium* 'footstep, track, trace', *vestigo* 'track, trace, search after, investigate, find out'.

9. Lat. *vomō*, Gk. *ἐμίω*, Skt. *vamiti*, Lith. *vemiù*, etc. are compared with ON. *váma* 'a qualm, ailment', *vámr* 'a loathsome person' (cf. Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. 271). The ON. words, I should say, are nearer the primary meaning than the others, and may be more closely connected with Skt. *vāma-s* 'verkehrt, widerwärtig; link'. This gives us a base **uēmo-* 'turn; turned', whence 'verkehrt', etc., and 'vomit'. For 'turn': 'vomit' compare the following: OHG. *wallan* 'wallen, aufwallen': *wullōn, willōn* 'nauseare, Ekel empfinden'; *walgōn* 'sich wälzen, sich rollen': MHG. *mir walget* 'mir eckelt', early NHG. *wulgeren* 'nauseare'.

10. Lat. *vitium* 'fault, defect, vice', *vitio* 'injure, spoil, mar, taint' I compared (Mod. Lang. Notes 17,7) with OE. *wīdl*, 'defilement, impurity', *wīdlian* 'defile', referring all to the base *uei-* 'wind, twist', etc. in Skt. *vītá-s* 'gewunden'. I still think the words go back to such a meaning, but I now find other words which show both the literal and the figurative meaning. Skt. *vyáthālī* 'schwankt, taumelt, geht fehl, weicht', *vyáthiṣ* 'schwan-kend, schief, heimlich, heimtückisch', *vyáthā* 'Fehlschlag, Schaden, Verlust, Unruhe, Not, Qual'. To these add OS. *in-wīd* 'Bosheit, Tücke, Übeltat' from pre-Germ. **uītīo-m* = Lat. *vitium*. For

meaning cp. Skt. *skhālati* 'strauchelt, taumelt', Gk. *σκολιός* 'bent, crooked, wrong', Lat. *scelus*.

II. SOME PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES.

1. Base *īo-*.

ON. *at* 'dass' is probably from Germ. **jat*, pre-Germ. **īod*, the neut. of the rel. pronoun *īo-*. It would therefore correspond exactly to Skt. *yād* 'dass, so dass, damit', etc. For similar derivatives of the base *īo-* see Brugmann, *Kurze Vergl. Gr.* 664 ff.

Goth. *jabai* 'wenn' and Lith. *jei* 'wenn' have both been referred to the base *īo-*, and may still be so explained, since the objection raised by Brugmann, *Kurze Vgl. Gr.* 669, against this explanation is removed by the connection of ON. *at* with Skt. *yād*. Compare also Goth. *ja-u* 'ob'.

Goth. *jah* 'and', pre-Germ. **īo-q²e*, OS., OHG. *ja* 'und, auch' are perhaps also from the rel. base *īo-*. Compare Lat. *quo-que*.

With the above compare OS. *jak* 'und, auch', pre-Germ. **īo-ge*. The *-ge* may be compared with Gk. *γῆ* in *αἰ γῆ*, Goth. *auk* 'denn nämlich', OHG. *ouch* 'auch', and is perhaps also in Goth. *ak* 'aber, sondern', OE. *ac* 'aber, und', etc., pre-Germ. **oge*.

Goth. *ja* 'ja', *jai* 'wahrlich, ja', OHG. *jā*, etc. may represent case forms of the pronominal stem *īo-*. Similarly from *o-* comes Skt. *á-ha* 'gewiss, ja'.

2. Base *bho-*.

This base occurs alone, and compounded with other pronominal stems, meaning 'both'. This meaning, of course, did not inhere in the word itself but in the originally dual form. Alone the base occurs in Goth. *bai*, *bans*, etc., and the derivative *bajōps*, in ON. gen. *beggia*, in OE. *bēgen*, *bā*, *bū*, and compounded with 'two' in OE. *bā-twā*, *bū-tu*. It is also combined with the article in ON. *bá-ðer*, OHG. *bei-de*, etc.

Outside of Germ. the base *bho-* is also joined with other pronominal stems, which, however, precede. So Skt. *u-bhāu*; Gk. *ἀμ-φω*, Lat. *am-bo*; Lith. *a-bū*, ChSl. *o-ba*.

The base *bho-* occurs in OHG., OS., OE. *bi*, 'bei, an', Goth. *bi*, OHG. *bi-*, etc. The form with the long *i* is probably an old locative, IE. **bhei*. An original long vowel must also have been in OHG. *um-bi*, OE. *ym-be*, whereas OE. *ymb* presupposes a short vowel as in Gk. *ἀμ-φί(ς)*. IE. **bhi*, which forms instrumentals

to nouns and pronouns, is itself a case form of *bho-* (cf. Brugmann, Kz. Vgl. Gr. 386). Here also may belong Lith. *bei*, OPruss. *be* 'und' and Lith. *baũ* 'ob'.

OHG. *iba* 'Zweifel, Bedingung', ON. *ef(e)*, *if(e)* 'Zweifel' may be derived from a pre-Germ. **e-bhā-* 'doubt' which itself can be a derivative of the base *bho-* after it had taken on the meaning 'both'. Compare Lith. *abejā* 'Zweifelhaftigkeit', *abejoti* 'zweifeln', *abejotinas* 'zweifelhaft', which are derivatives of *abũ*, *abejũ* 'beide'. Lith. *abėjetas* 'beide' and *abejotinas* correspond in formation to Goth. *bajōps*. The first part of Lith. *a-bũ*, ChSl. *o-ba* 'beide' is the pronominal base *o-*, *e-*, which occurs also in Skt. *a-sāu* 'jener', *ā-ha* 'gewiss, ja', gen. *a-syā*, Goth. *i-s*, etc. (cf. Brugmann, Kz. Vgl. Gram. 401).

Goth. *ibai*, *iba* 'ob denn', OHG. *ibu*, OS. *ef*, *af* 'ob, wenn', etc. are regarded as old case forms of OHG. *iba*. With these we can not directly compare OS., ODan., OFries. *of*, OHG. *oba* 'ob, wenn', which are rather made up of the same component parts as Skt. *u-bhāu* 'beide'. The *u-* of these words is from the pronominal base *u-*, *uo-*, *ouo-* (cf. Brugmann, Demonstrativpron. der idg. Spr. 96 ff.)

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

NOTES.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF ΟΔΥΚΚΕΥΚ.

In any discussion of the etymology of the Greek name of Ulysses it is necessary to start from the position reached by Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der gr. Sprache*, pp. 280-2. The basis of this position is the fact that while the familiar form 'Οδυσεύς is found only in the Ionic epos, the literature under its influence, and an Ionic inscription (miswritten 'Οδυσσεύς) on a vase from Apulia, the inscriptions on vases from Attica show 'Ολυττεύς, or under Doric influence 'Ολυσσεύς (once 'Ολισσεύς), from Corinth 'Ολισσεύς or 'Ολυσσεύς (?) and from the Theban Kabeirion 'Ολυσσεύς and 'Ολυσσείδας. This material is collected in *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* (cf. index s. vv.), of the same author, and is supported by Quintilian's statement that the name was 'Ολισσεύς in the Aeolic dialect. From this Kretschmer rightly concludes that the form with λ is original and that the Ionic form is due to a connection by popular etymology with the verb ὀδύσασθαι "to be wroth"—an etymology advanced as early as τ 407 f.

πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε ὀδυσάμενος τόδ' ἱκάνω,
ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀνὰ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν·
τῷ δ' 'Οδυσεὺς ὄνομα' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον.

and which continued to be felt in the time of Sophocles, cf. Frag. 880.

ὀρθῶς δ' 'Οδυσεύς εἰμ' ἐπώνυμος κακῶς
πολλοὶ γὰρ ὠδύσαντο δυσμενεὶς ἐμοί.

This not only explains the *l* of Latin *Ulixes* (for the *x* also Kretschmer, loc. cit., has found the explanation), but also does away with the assumption of a change of δ into λ, which, except for Hesychius' gloss: λάφνη· δάφνη. Περγαῖοι, is entirely without parallel in the Greek language. It also renders impossible all previous attempts at explaining the word, whether by maintaining the ancient view of a connection with ὀδύσασθαι—so recently

Fick-Bechtel, *Die gr. Personennamen*, p. 430: 'Ὀδυσσεύς short form of 'Ὀδυσσι-λαός, or by connecting it with the root of *duco*—so Roscher, *Curtius Studien*, IV 196–201.

Starting, then, from the inscriptional forms we have the correspondence Ionic, Doric (and Aeolic) -σσ- equal to Attic -ττ-¹ which points back to a combination of a surd guttural, followed by the palatal semi-vowel, and to no other source. Bechtel's objection that 'Ὀδυσσεύς with a single sigma cannot be derived phonetically from such a combination loses its force in view of the ease with which these forms can be explained as due to the influence of analogy. For this influence two starting points can be shown: 1st, the variation between ὀδυσσάμενος and ὠδύσαο, ὠδύσατο ὀδύσατο, and 2d, the frequent doubling of consonants in proper names, cf. Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.*², p. 131, could easily have led to the feeling that 'Ὀδυσσεύς had been derived in this way from 'Ὀδυσεύς and so produce the latter form.

The termination -εως is frequently used in the heroic period for the formation of short names, cf. Fick-Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 375: for its origin cf. Brugmann, *IF.* ix 365 ff. For our present purpose it is immaterial whether the name originated with a suffix -εω- or -εω-; either position could be maintained, as the two classes have been confused by analogy, and in either case the basis to be posited would be an *o*-stem.

Applying these facts we reach the conclusion that 'Ὀλυσσεύς is the short form of a name ending in -ολυσσος for -ολυκιος, to which I propose to supply as the full forms *Αἰτολυσσος for *Αἰτολυκιος, the latter being a dedicatory name from Αἰτόλυκος, the name of Odysseus' maternal grandfather. The passage τ 407 f. may then be considered as perhaps the last obscure echo of a tradition of a connection between these names.

Of the difficulties in the way of this explanation I am not oblivious. In the first place, instead of *Αἰτολυκιος, we should rather expect *Αἰτολυκιος in accord with the predominance of this form of the suffix in proper names. But this objection may be offset by the facts that we are dealing with an extremely early formation;³ that the forms in -εως must originally have had by

¹ The forms found in the Theban Kabeirion cannot be pure Boeotian unless one would wish to start from Indo-European -ss- (which leads to nothing) and see in 'Ὀλυττεῖς a hyper-Atticism.

² The names Αἰτόλυκος and *Αἰτολυσσος may well have been in use for grandfather and grandson for generations before applied to our hero.

their side forms in *-ιος*, employed when the preceding syllable was short, cf. Hirt, *Handbuch*, p. 253 f.; and that the later predominance of *-ιος* in proper names is due to the fact that the etymological connection of words formed with it remained clear. Finally, as pointed out above, Ionic Doric *-σσ-* equal Attic *-ττ-* must go back to *ξ* following a surd guttural.

A much more serious difficulty is contained in the fact that according to this etymology the short form of the name consists of the second element of the compound and a portion of the first element. The existence of such a method of formation is not generally recognized, though it is difficult to see why it should not have existed as well as the familiar reverse type *Εὔρυσθενος* for *Εύρυσθένης*. Its existence is posited by Hoffmann, *BB* 22. 135 f., to explain the cases of apparent hyphaeresis and aphaeresis (additional examples are given by Baunack, *Rh. M.* 37. 476), but this interpretation is disputed by Bechtel, *BB*. 20. 243 ff.; 23. 247 ff. It must be remembered also that from the nature of the case such forms would be hard to detect—they could be posited only on confirmatory evidence such as in the present case the occurrence of *Αὐτόλυκος* in the same family—and that consequently other examples may lurk among the numerous puzzles of Greek nomenclature.

It is, however, possible to explain the present case without recourse to such a theory. Phonetic law in obscuring the etymology of **Αἰτο-λυσσος* paved the way for a false division by popular etymology into **Αἰτ-ολυσσος*, the second half being supposedly connected with *δαίσσαι*, *δαλυμι*, and then the formation of *Ὀλυσσέως* was normal.

In conclusion, I may point out that an attempt to provide a Greek etymology for Odysseus possesses at the present time more than a linguistic interest because of the tendency to consider him mythically or ethnically (largely on account of our inability to etymologize upon his name) a non-Hellenic character.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
OF AMERICA.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

NOTE ON PLAUTUS' *MOSTELLARIA*. ACT III, SCENE II.
(Lorenz, Leipsic, 1866).

Professor Edwin W. Fay has written a learned and, to my mind, convincing series of notes on the *Mostellaria* of Plautus in the

American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXIV, No. 3. One of his notes deals with the signification of the name *Tranio*, and with the attributes assigned to this personage in the *Mostellaria*. He assumes the name to mean 'the revealer' (cf. *ραπαρῆς*, clearly, in Aeschylus) but he also points out that *Tranio* seems to assume for himself a bird character throughout his rôle; as if he had been a 'famulus' of *Hermes*. Prof. Fay refers to a note by me in the *Classical Review*, XI. 160, calling attention to the singular number of equivoques in the scene in question. I think that this celebrated passage is even fuller of quips and equivoques than I was then inclined to suppose, and Professor Fay's essay has contributed not a little to elucidate the passage, or, at all events, *Tranio's* office. The story is, it will be remembered, that *Tranio*, the tricky slave, leads *Theopropides*, the father of *Philolaches*, to believe that his son borrowed money, not in order to free *Philematium*, but to buy a house: and on his father asking where the house may be, he lies, saying that it is the house belonging to their neighbour *Simo*. *Tranio* then goes to *Simo* and begs that *Theopropides* may inspect his house, as he wishes to make some improvements in his own. Of course, *Tranio* has to prevent *Simo* from suspecting that *Theopropides* makes any claim upon the house, and at the same time he has to do his best to make *Theopropides* think that he is inspecting a house which is to come into possession of his son. In 799 we must suppose *Tranio* to be making violent gesticulations and establishing an understanding between himself and his audience at the expense of the two old gentlemen, at whom he points. In line 804 '*Viden hoc ante aedes, vestibulum et ambulacrum, quofusmodi?*' it is possible that he intends some joke at the expense of the old gentlemen by the words emphasized, as we might say, 'old clothes store' and 'vagrant', hinting perhaps at 'simulacra'. In l. 805 he certainly points to them and calls them 'postes', 'blocks': cf. Ovid de Rem. Amoris 35, where the lover "modo blanditias, rigido modo iurgia posti Dicat": l. 806 will mean "of what obstinacy are they and of what stupidity": for *crassitudine* cf. 'crassa Minerva'.

In l. 807 *Simo* says that these 'postes' (of whom he is one), have cost him very dear. In 811 *Theopropides* rejoins 'yes: they are more *improbi* than I thought': *improbus* meaning 'exorbitant in their claims' and also 'worthless' as building material. In 812 *Theopropides* remarks 'ambo ab infumo tarmes' (or as the

MSS read) *tramis* secat. Here the poet certainly (as Prof. Fay has noticed), plays upon the name *tramis* which is meant to recall *Tranio*: and secat means 'undermines' as applied to the teredo, and 'annoys' as applied to *Tranio*, cf. Catull. LXXI. 2, 'aut si quem merito tarda podagra secat'; (cf. Modern French use of 'scie' for 'a bore').

In l. 814 *Tranio* says 'intempestivos excisos credo: id eis vitium nocet. Of course, this, in the first place, is spoken of the wood which is cut down at the wrong time and which therefore warps: but I have no doubt that excisos is meant to recall excitos, and the suggestion is hazarded "the two old gentlemen must have been called too early: that is why they are so sleepy". Line 814 means in the first place, of course, "even as they are, cut out of season, they are good enough, if they are only coated with pitch": but the line is also intended to mean "but in any case, sleepy or not, they are goodnatured enough if only they are decoyed by a magpie". I need not go into the arguments whereby Professor Fay has proved that *Tranio* speaks of himself as possessing bird attributes: but I fancy that he is quite right in asserting that *pice* suggests *pica*. That a word ending with a long syllable may suggest a word ending with a short syllable is plain from the two senses of *arte* (*arcte*) two lines below. But we may gather that the pronunciation of *pice* and *pica* cannot have sounded to some ears so unlike, from the fact that the Spanish word *pega* represents at once *picem* and *picam*. Line 815 non enim *multiphagus* operam fecit barbarus is, of course, a contrast between Roman clumsiness and Greek wiles: and would tickle the ears of a Roman audience. L. 816, *Tranio* says 'Viden coagmenta in foribus? Th. Video. Tr. Specta, quam arte dormiunt'. The first meaning of this is, of course, "See the joinings of the doors! Th. I see—Tr. mark how sound they sleep". But the spectators by *Tranio*'s gestures are made to understand the words: 'You see the joinings of their eyes . . . see how they sleep—by my art!' L. 817. Dormiunt? Tr. illud quidem, ut connivent, volui dicere. In this line *Tranio* corrects himself and substitutes the word *Conniveo* which is used for "to close so as to fit", see Forcellini s. v.

In 835 *Tranio* speaks of himself as the crow—the *experienced* bird, and of the two old gentlemen as *greedy* vultures.

This, I think, brings out the humour of this diverting passage.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis VI. Erklärt von Eduard Norden.
Leipzig, Teubner, 1903. 8vo, pp. x, 484. 13 Marks.

This valuable book, of prime importance to all students of Vergil, belongs to the Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu Griechischen und Römischen Schriftstellern.

On page v the author sets forth his plan and purpose: "Heinze <see A. J. P. XXVI 330-342> ist an der poetischen Analyse im Grossen gelegen und sein Blick ist auf das Ganze gerichtet; mir kam es neben der sachlichen Exegese vor allem auch auf das Einzelne an, auf die Erkenntniss auch der kleinen Materialien, aus denen der Dichter sein bedeutendes Gebäude errichtet hat. So steht für mich teils die Quellenanalyse, teils das formal-technische Element im Mittelpunkt des Interesses: was übernahm Vergil der Überlieferung, was tat er selbst hinzu und wie hat er dies Entlehnte oder Eigene gestaltet? das sind für mich die entscheidenden Fragen".

He, therefore, divides his book thus: I. Einleitung (pp. 3-48), dealing with die Eschatologie des sechsten Buches und ihre Quellen; II. Text und Übersetzung (49-103); III. Kommentar (105-355); IV. Stilistisch-metrische Anhänge, eleven in all, (357-458). Then come Nachträge (459-465), a Register (466-483), and Druckfehler (484).

In constructing the text Norden uses M (as collated by Hoffman, 1889), F (in photographic facsimile, 1899), G, P, R. The facsimile of F shows that Ribbeck's exhibit of its readings needs revision. The apparatus criticus at the bottom of the several pages consumes in all but 46 lines; it is supplemented, however, by numerous important discussions in the Commentary.

The editor does not, however, anywhere set forth his theory of the interrelation of the MSS, nor does he indicate the principles he followed in deciding between their variant readings and in weighing the evidence supplied by Servius, Donatus, etc. Sometimes he lays stress on the readings of the grammarians; in 20 he reads *Androgeo* with them against all the MSS. Yet he disregards their evidence more often than he accepts it. One would have liked to see a list of the divergences between his text and Ribbeck's (second edition, 1894). The stereotyped Teubner text of 1898 hardly differs from this). We have here a defect of the book; it is often concerned in too large measure with "das Einzelne"; sufficient pains were not taken to group materials together; the Anhänge, and the Register, valuable as they are, do not in any great degree offset this shortcoming. For example,

vss. 740-750 are discussed in the Kommentar (pp. 304, 305), and three times in the Einleitung (pp. 17 ff., 31-32, 32-33).

The main divergences from Ribbeck's text are in verses 96, 126, 177, 254, 255, 273, 332, 433, 486, 524, 528, 559, 561, 586, 602, 724, 806, 846, 890, 897. Only twice does Norden bracket verses, 242, 901 (so Ribbeck). Nowhere does he assume a lacuna or transpose verses; in this he is clearly right, as against Ribbeck. As a rule he discusses Ribbeck's transpositions, but Ribbeck's bracketing of 716 and his transpositions in 805-840 he passes over in silence. Good notes on textual matters where his text agrees with Ribbeck's may be found on 33, 37, 141, 203, 335, 383, 495.

Some textual matters may now receive more particular attention. In 96 Norden reads *quam* (*qua*¹). He has not noted, however, that in Seneca Epp. 82. 18, cited by him as showing *qua* though Seneca's argument demands *quam*, some MSS give *quam* (so Hense, who reads *qua*). He has not seen, either, that *quam* is supported by Seneca, Medea 566, 567 *perge, nunc aude, incipe/quicquid potest Medea, quicquid non potest*, and by Catullus, 76. 15, 16 *Una salus haec est, hoc est tibi pervincendum: hoc facias, sive id non pote sive pote*. The hyperbole in these passages, one in a poet whom Vergil knew well, the other in a poet who knew Vergil well, justifies us in joining *quam* in its ordinary sense closely with *audentior*. Cf. also Cicero De Officiis, II. 64. Cicero is saying that to win the good-will of others and thereby to make them useful to oneself *conveniet . . . in dando munificum esse — multa multis de suo iure cedentem, a litibus vero quantum liceat et nescio an paullo plus etiam quam liceat abhorrentem*. 254. *pingue super oleum infundens ardentibus extis* (*pingue superque oleum fundens ardentibus extis*, with assumption of a lacuna after the verse). The older MSS are all for *superque*: so in I. 668 MSS and grammarians support *iacteturque*. In both places, however, says our editor, *-que* was inserted to get rid of the irrational lengthening of the final syllable. In I. 668 Ribbeck himself refused to assume a lacuna. In Anhang X, page 441 Norden compares *super* with the Homeric *ὑνείπ*. I agree throughout with him. Yet in reading *infundens* he has but slight MS support. 602. *quos super (quo super*, with assumption of a lacuna after the verse). Norden writes a very sensible note on the refusal of the Roman poets to allow themselves to be tied down to any one version of a story; indeed, says he, they rather glory in presenting variations. In 897 *ubi (ibi)* may be right; it lacks MS authority, but is supported by Vergil's usage elsewhere and by Lucretius's practice. Norden seems right also in 177 *sepulcri (sepulcro)*, 273 *primisque in (primis in)*, 484 *frequentes (frementes)*, 561 *plangor (clangor)*, 806 *virtutem extendere factis (virtute extendere vires)*, 846 *restituis (restitues)*, 848 *credo equidem (cedo equidem)*. His

¹ Ribbeck's reading is given in parenthesis.

defence of 1-2, which Ribbeck sets at the end of Aeneid V, is good, though something may be added, for not only does *sic fatur* at the beginning of a book correspond to *ὅς εἰπών*, Il. VII. 1, *ὅς ἱφαθ'*, Od. XIII. 1, but to *ὅς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἥρᾳτο*, Od. VII. 1. Again, *ὅς* = *sic*, gathering up the close of a preceding book, occurs in the first verse of Il. IX, XII, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXII, XXIII, Od. VI.

On the whole, then, Norden's text is a much better and saner text than Ribbeck's (I sympathize with Professor Tyrrell's words, *Latin Poetry*, 317-319). It is interesting to note that it differs in but four or five places from that of W. Klouček (1891).

In a few instances, however, his readings cannot be justified. In 255 he prints *Ecce autem primi sub limina solis et ortus*, etc. *limina* is given by F M, *lumina* by P R and Donatus. The phrase *limina solis* is *per se* unobjectionable, but it is not in place here; the passages cited by Norden from Catullus and Statius do not apply, since in both there is a verb of motion. In his commentary our editor does not attempt to interpret *limina*; in his translation he gives: *Es naht die Sonne den Toren des Lichts: Da brüllt der Boden*, etc., but it does not appear how he derives this from the text. So in 559 and 433 he fails to make out his case.

In punctuation the book departs widely from current systems. The vocative is but rarely cut off by commas. The semicolon appears often where the connection is too close to allow this heavy stop. The exclamation point is not used; on page 379 the author denounces this point as "<das> in antiken Texten die Augen verletzende Ausrufungszeichen". Yet, inasmuch as he admits (*ibid.*) that in using the modern punctuation points at all he was deserting MS example, he might as well have been consistent. The comma is worked to exhaustion (of point and reader both), a result due to the application of the principles elaborated by the author in Anhang II, pages 369-381. Vergil, he says, kept ever in mind the laws of artistic prose. These demanded not only that as a rule the sentence should not exceed a given length, but also that it should be properly divided. We have, therefore, in Vergil *κῶλα* and *κόμματα*, the combinations known as *τρικῶλα* and *τετράκῶλα* being the favorites.¹ Originally, he continues, punctuation marks were employed to set off these divisions; they were the hallmarks of artistic prose, doing for the eye what pauses in

¹ Norden goes much further, in holding that 'triadic' and 'tetradic' groupings were the rule even in the arrangement of materials, e. g. in Pindar, Horace, Vergil. This idea has been once again elaborately applied to Vergil in a paper by A. J. Bell, in *The School Review*, XIII. (1905), 458-474.—Norden refers to Cicero *De Orat.* III. 173 ff., 181, *Orat.* 228 as making for his system of rhetorical punctuation, as he calls it. I do not think these passages help him. In the first Cicero declares that punctuation depends not on the need of taking breath nor on *librarium notae*, but on the *verborum et sententiarum modus*; in the second passage he says: *clausulas . . . atque interpuncta verborum animae interclusio atque angustiae spiritus attulerunt*. What support is there here for the doctrine that every *κῶλον* must be pointed off?

delivery did for the ear. He claims, finally, that this system is exhibited in two MSS, the Vatican fragment (F: available in photographic reproduction) and M (in Foggini's apographon, 1741). He sums up: "Die Interpunktionsstellen meines Textes sind also im wesentlichen, vor allem in dem zugrunde liegenden Prinzip, dieselben wie die der genannten Hss".

With all this in mind he lays stress everywhere on "die Periodisierung"; he divides Vergil's sentences into *κᾶλα* and *κόμματα*, which are, he insists, neatly balanced off one against the other; often too, he declares, these divisions have exactly the same number of syllables.

This whole line of inquiry is most suggestive and contains, no doubt, much truth. Yet there is ever present the danger of carrying it too far, a danger which Norden by no means escapes (see e. g. on 45-55). When this is done Vergil's writing becomes not art, but mechanics. We may remember that Vergil took seven years or more to write the Georgics, we may recall the stories told by Donatus and Gellius of his modes of composition, and yet be loath to believe that Norden is wholly right; one hates to think that Vergil had always a straightjacket at hand into which to force his verses.

Let us look at some results of Norden's system. 1-2 are printed thus: Sic fatur lacrimans, classique immittit habenas, et tandem, etc. Cf. 95 ff. tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, quam tua te Fortuna sinet; 583 ff. Hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum adgressi, superis Iovem detrudere regnis. In these examples, taken at random out of hundreds, the comma is, to me at least, a hindrance rather than a help, and, in course of time, an exasperation.

The translation, printed opposite the text, need not detain us long. The author evidently had serious doubts concerning it, for to it he devotes two of the five pages of his Vorrede; these doubts are entirely justified. It is but fair to point out, however, that he printed the translation reluctantly, and only because he felt that a translation is a necessary part of a commentary. No single German metre, he says, can possibly reproduce the manifold variety of the Vergilian hexameter. Hence in the narrative portions he uses the iambic pentameter; in passages which, by access of emotional force, are rather rhythmical or dramatic in character, he uses trochaic rhythms or free anapaests ("Verse mit vier Hebungen und freien Senkungen"). Rhyme too is employed. He is aware that much is lost by this sacrifice of metrical homogeneity, but he hopes that on the other hand he has been better able to preserve the variations in tone in the original. Others, with far greater poetic powers than Norden can boast, have come far short of reproducing Vergil in verse; one wishes that he had read and pondered the admirable discussion of metrical translations of Vergil in Tyrrell's *Latin Poetry*, 295-313.

I am afraid that a careful examination of the book, made with a view to verifying references and detecting misprints, would reveal many such blemishes. Norden's studies in Vergil are no new thing; he refers to articles of his own on Aeneid VI published as long ago as 1892. Yet there are indications that the actual putting together of the materials for the book, or at any rate its printing, was done in some haste. The book, to be sure, presented enormous difficulties, the references are so many; yet an editor of Vergil may well catch from his very Vergilian studies the feeling that no measure of pains is too great to expend on the form in which he presents his results. There is but little room in this review to note errors of this sort, but I may indicate the following (there is a brief list of other Druckfehler on p. 484). On page 111, l. 24 correct Aristoph. Av. 398 to Vesp. 399; 112, 22: correct Lucr. I 475 to I 474; 115, 45: correct IX 411 to IX 413; 119, 13: I have not been able to locate the reference to Aen. VII 664; 130, 1: read *poscit* for *possit*; 172 (on 141): *χρυσόκομος* is thrice made paroxytone; 185, 1: at the close of his discussion of the ablative in 182 Norden refers to his note on 539, but there is nothing there on the point; 186, 12: read *Iuturna* for *Turnus*; 191, 17-22: the note on *velamen* is out of place, for it belongs on 221, not on 218 ff.; 235: the note on 398 is made to follow that on 399 ff.; 244, 15: correct λ 225 to λ 321, and correct 321 at the end of this line to 326. On page 381, footnote 5, the references to III. 433, IV. 416, V. 635 are not in point; add VI. 117. Anhang X, pp. 439-441 is concerned with VI. 254; yet in the very heading of the Anhang, as on page 441, we read VI. 234. Not only are references to pertinent passages wrongly given; references are given to passages not really germane. Compare remarks just above on page 381. Finally, add what is said below (p. 77) on the references to Ennius's *Annales*.

As one reads the commentary he is amazed at the author's industry and learning. There is proof everywhere of wide reading of the classics, often in out-of-the-way fields, as of careful study of special treatises, dissertations and commentaries by the moderns. Good use is made of the Roman commentators, especially Servius. Norden refers not merely to Servius's note on the particular passage under discussion, but often groups together all Servius's remarks on the matter in hand. Controversy is in the main avoided; the editor aims to give himself rather than others. It may be noted, however, that the author seems unfamiliar with the work of American scholars; at any rate, on page 115, in discussing primitive ways of producing fire, he does not refer to Professor Morgan's paper *De ignis eliciendi modis apud antiquos*, Harvard Studies I. (1890), 13-64, but cites a German treatise published in 1884. So, on 78, *magnum si pectore possit excussisse deum*, in discussing the tense of the infinitive, he makes no allusion to Professor Howard's elaborate paper on this subject in the same volume of Harvard Studies, 111-138. Again, the note

on *fauces*, 273, would have been quite different, I think, had Norden read Greenough's paper, Harvard Studies, I. 1-12 (or if he had visited Pompeii). On 162 (page 179) reference might have been made, in the discussion of *aique*, to Professor Lodge's Lexicon Plautinum, s. v. *aique*, 14. On page 369, first paragraph, a reference might have been made to Tyrrell, Latin Poetry, pp. 28-30, on the prosaic character of much of Early Latin poetry. Lastly, the editor does not wear his learning lightly as a flower; hence the arrangement of materials at times leaves something to be desired.

Reference may be specially made to a very few of the good things in the commentary. (a) On points of Vergilian technic. 2. On enallage, its history in Latin poetry and the motives for its use (cf. on 268). 9. On Vergil's use of contrasts. 88. Servius, on Aen. II. 27, *Dorica castra*, remarks that it is faulty composition to let a word begin with the syllable with which the preceding word closes. Norden notes that in VII. 28, X. 299 Vergil uses Ennius's *lonsa* instead of *remus*, in order to avoid the repetition of *-re* (this rule, however is often enough violated; I have noted a good many examples, e. g. in Plautus, though Plautus, to be sure, is no observer of the rules of Kunstprosa). 165. On onomatopoeia. 204. On paronomasia. 269. On the use of two phrases for the one idea or thing; the ancients, says Norden, regarded such repetitions as *ornatus* (contrast Dr. Lease's edition of Livy, page 181, footnote). Alliteration receives ample attention; so too, word-order: see notes on 7, 82, 329, and Anhang III. (b) On matters of vocabulary. 10. On *antrum*. 141. On Vergil's use of compound adjectives. 221. On words like *velamen* (= *velamentum*, etc.). 281. On adjectives in *-eus* coined by Vergil. 298. On *portitor*. (See my discussion of this word and of Norden's note in the School Review, XIII, 493.) Stress is laid on the fact that Vergil's words are at times but translations of familiar Greek words (cf. the light which has been shed on Horace by the discussions of his equivalents for Greek epithets, especially of the gods): e. g. *grave olens*, 201, is a rendering of βαρύωδμος, as in Eclogues II, 48 *bene olens* is of ἰδύπνοος. See also on 304. Frequently, too, the author gives Greek paraphrases or metrical renderings of Vergil's phrases, because "manche Stellen lassen sich leichter griechisch als deutsch denken". One good example of this may be cited from the Commentary. On page 210 he insists that 274-281 are Greek in origin, not Italo-Etruscan, as Roscher had held; one important argument for his view he finds in the fact that 289 Gorgones Harpyiaequae et forma tricorniporis umbrae "ist fast unverändert zu übersetzen Γοργόνες Ἀρπυιαὶ τε σκιάς τε τρισώματων εἶδος". Better still is the Greek paraphrase made by our editor of VI. 724-751 (p. 16), and of Georg. IV. 219 ff. (pp. 16, 17). (c) On forms. 24. On syncopated forms like *supposta*. 57. On *direxti*. Here, as elsewhere, Norden compares or contrasts Vergil's practice with that of his predecessors (Ennius, Lucretius), his contemporaries (Horace, Propertius)

or his successors (Ovid). To Catullus, he says, forms like *direxti* were still full of life; he regarded them as vulgar, however, for he never uses them in his Epyllion (LXIV). Horace uses them only in his *Sermones*. They are rare in Propertius and Ovid. Vergil, therefore, must have regarded them as archaisms and so in place in the epic style. But the matter can hardly be disposed of so easily. An examination of Dr. Lease's paper on Contracted Forms of the Perfect in Livy, *Class. Rev.* XVIII. 27-36, and his paper on Livy's use of *arunt*, *erunt*, *ere*, *A. J. P.* XXIV 408-422, would show how complicated such problems are. (d) On metrical matters. See on 30, 33, 58, 60, 61, 72, 81, 146, 280. Anhänge VIII-XI contain an array of valuable matter, too great to admit of presentation here. (e) Syntax. See on 66 (*da*+infinitive in prayers), 243, 281 (on the so-called Greek accusative). In syntactical matters, however, the book is relatively weak. Norden seems to lack the instinct which tells an editor what syntactical points require comment and then enables him to say the right thing. For example, there is no note on *palus Acheronte refuso*, 107, or on *fuso crateres olivo*, 225, though one looks with interest to see what a wissenschaftlicher Kommentator has to say on such matters. Certain notes are positively wrong. So, on 20, he makes *letum* object of *fecit*, to be got out of *posuit*, 19, and then declares that on this *fecit* the following infinitive, *pendere*, depends. But this is inconceivably harsh, and the passage is in no way like *Aen.* VIII. 630, with which he compares it.

The problem that receives most of Norden's attention, however, is the determination of Vergil's sources. This is considered generally in the *Einleitung* and, in detail, in notes innumerable. This is at once the weakest and the strongest phase of the book, strongest in that here the author's profound learning, industry, his wide reading and ingenuity come out in sharpest relief, weakest in that inevitably the results are unsatisfactory. Much of the Greek and Latin writing to which Vergil was indebted is lost to us (how much of Latin is lost Professor West has reminded us in his paper, *The Lost Parts of Latin Literature*, *The School Review*, XIII. 371-381). Our editor was sensible of the difficulties (see page VI), yet this did not deter him from pushing his *Kombinationen* again and again beyond all bounds. Take one line of inquiry. In his attempt to connect Vergil's language with Ennius's, Norden lays special stress on an investigation made by Mr. Stacey, *Archiv* X., 17-82, especially 22-33. According to Stacey and Norden if a word or phrase is markedly characteristic of Vergil and of Livy, it follows that both writers derived it directly from Ennius. Considered as a general proposition this is surely a non-sequitur. Between Ennius and Vergil lay not only Roman tragedy but Roman epic and elegiac poetry, all now in largest part non-existent. It is altogether probable that many of the usages characterized by Norden as derived by Vergil from Ennius belonged rather, by Vergil's time, to the general stock of the poets.

It cannot be denied that the whole subsequent course of hexameter poetry among the Romans was largely determined by Ennius (cf. e. g., if references be needed, L. Mueller's *Quintus Ennius*, 3 ff., Conington, *Miscellaneous Writings*, I. 333-335); in this general heritage Vergil, as true Roman, shared. To say this is, however, a very different thing from declaring that this or that bit was taken by him directly and consciously from Ennius. The very fact that the hexameter was to Latin an unnatural form, which imposed severe restraints on the Roman poets, must inevitably have tended to make the language of the hexameter poets stereotyped. Norden has himself remarked (on vs. 4) that we are in sore need of a full and scientific discussion of the extent to which the language of poetry was affected by the shackles of the metre. Yet until we have such a scientific discussion, the speculations of Stacey and Norden lack true starting-point and are minus secure foundation. A word to prevent misapprehension: the reader will learn much from Norden's discussions, even though he remains unmoved by his combinations. It is to be regretted that the references to Ennius are not to Mueller's edition or Baehrens' text or to Vahlen's new edition (which, by the way, was in process of printing, contemporaneously with Norden's book, by the same firm). Indeed there is not a word to show to what edition the references are made; one is obliged therefore to keep Mueller's and Vahlen's indexes constantly at hand, in order to locate the references.¹ Another unfortunate thing about all this is, that the older editions of Ennius (to some one of which Norden must be referring), as of the early Latin poets in general, proceeded in ignorance or disregard of the fact that the Roman grammarians and lexicographers were content to cite complete verses without troubling themselves to give a complete sentence or sense: see especially Lindsay's edition of Nonius, I, XXXVIII, XXXIX.

It remains now in this connection to analyze the 45 inspiring pages of the *Einleitung*, which deal with the eschatology and the sources of Aeneid VI. Side by side, says our editor, with Vergil's desire to produce a *κατάβασις Αλφειῶν* which should rival the *κατάβασις Ὀδυσσεύς* in Od. XI goes another motive. In Vergil's day, for divers reasons, men were deeply interested in the question, What is the fate of the soul? Of the various attempts at an answer some were largely affected by the influence of the younger Stoic school, especially of Posidonius; cf. Varro's *Antiquitates*, Book I, Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, and the first book of the *Tusculans*.² Resort, too, had been made to necromancy: see *Tusc.* I. 37. This interest in the subject led Vergil to introduce into the framework of his epic, which rests ultimately on Homer,

¹ Take one example. On page 115, near the bottom, reference is made to (Ennius) ann. 246; no words are quoted. The pertinent verse is Baehrens 194. 8, Müller 301, Vahlen 241. N.'s references are to Vahlen's first ed. (1854).

² Cf. here the recent edition of *Tusculans* I, II, by T. W. Dougan, pp. xx-xxiv.

thoughts philosophical and theological on the fate of the soul (pp. 3-5).

Our author now passes on to note that in Vergil's eschatology there are two elements, the one mythological, the other philosophical, or, better, theological. The former is treated in the commentary; the attempt is made there to show that Vergil used not only the Homeric Nekyia, but also a *κατάβασις* 'Ηρακλείους and a *κατάβασις* 'Ορφέως. On the *κατάβασις* 'Ηρακλείους Bacchylides, Sophocles and Aristophanes had already drawn; Vergil used this, probably, only indirectly, through some mythographic handbook. The *κατάβασις* 'Ορφέως he used directly. The theological elements of Vergil's eschatology are now discussed in the *Einleitung*. The works on which he drew here are non-existent, says our author, for we cannot say that he drew directly on Plato's Republic or on Pindar (Olym. II, and fragments of the *θρήνοι*); the divergences between Vergil and these writings are too great, both in number and kind, the coincidences too few.

To get at Vergil's real sources Norden studied apocalyptic literature from the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., the date of the sources used by Pindar and Plato, down to Dante's time. The apocalyptic writings of the fathers of the Church are often in direct contact with Vergil; those of the Middle Ages, however, aside from two slight reminiscences, purely stylistic, afford no evidence of such direct contact. This literature, then, "ist der letzte, trübe Ausläufer jenes langen Stromes apokalyptischer Schriftstellerei, in dem Vergil selbst steht". Hence, he continues, when we do find points of contact between these writings and Vergil, we may feel sure that the motives common to both were not invented by Vergil, but were taken by him from a tradition which had already won a certain consistency and unity. Dante's case is different; he was the first to combine the apocalyptic literature of the Middle Ages, which he knew well and freely used, with the Vergilian Nekyia. The extent to which Vergil influenced Dante makes, to one who sees aright, for Vergil's greatness, but it also renders Dante of less importance to the seeker of Vergil's sources (pp. 5-9).

Turning now to the composition of Aeneid VI, our author accepts the view that the book shows a union of popular views concerning the underworld with philosophical teaching on the same subject. To the popular account of the underworld belongs the assignment to a special place there of those who die prematurely (430-547); to the philosophical account belongs, e. g., the doctrine that all souls need purification. In this philosophical view, carried to its logical conclusion, there is no room for the thought that the souls of the good are rewarded, those of the bad punished. These two views are not fully unified (the line of cleavage is at 547). We can show, however, that Vergil was not the first to attempt to unite them; that attempt goes back to

Plato and Pindar, nay, further, even to the sources used by them. This last point is well argued: see pages 10-16.

Norden comes now directly to the question of Vergil's sources. He holds that the main source followed by Vergil was in prose and was a work by Posidonius. The main argument for this runs as follows (p. 20). On 703, with which the account of metempsychosis begins, Servius declares that of the matter now in hand etiam Varro in primo divinarum plenissime tractavit. On 733 Servius again refers to Varro. We may infer, then, says Norden, that in the first book of his *Res Divinae* Varro had written at length of the soul and its fate after death, and that he followed Posidonius (cf. what was said above at the beginning of this discussion of the *Einleitung*). According to all this Vergil in 724-751 followed the same lines as Varro and Posidonius. One cannot help feeling that at the outset of this Vergil-Posidonius theory we are on very shaky ground. Granting that we know that Posidonius, Varro and Vergil all wrote on the soul, it by no means follows, at least from anything thus far said, that Varro and Vergil both followed Posidonius. Indeed, the very wording of Servius's note on 733, quoted by Norden, might have given pause: Varro et omnes philosophi dicunt quattuor esse passiones. This offers little support, surely, to a hypothesis which makes Varro (Posidonius) Vergil's sole source. The view thus far set forth was held by predecessors of Norden; the latter modifies it somewhat. He points out that the doctrine of metempsychosis had, by Vergil's time, been repeatedly treated both in prose and verse. He concludes that Vergil took as the base of his own account an apocalyptic prose work of Posidonius, and then worked up the materials thus obtained in the conventional style of the transcendental *Offenbarungspoesie*. So in writing his *Georgica* he got his materials from authorities who had written in prose but for the form he relied on Nikander's *Georgica* and on Lucretius; in writing the *Aeneid* he derived much of the matter from Varro but owed the form in large part to the poetical *κρίσις* literature of Hellenistic times (21, 22).

Norden then proceeds to discuss some ten or more passages of *Aeneid* VI as affording tests of his theory that Vergil's ultimate source is Posidonius (23-48). Lack of space makes it impossible to follow him here. In some cases his arguments seem quite unconvincing (e. g. the discussion of 887: pp. 23-29): elsewhere he seems to make out a good case (pp. 47, 48). The cumulative effect, however, of the whole series of arguments is strong enough to entitle this Posidonius-Vergil theory to respectful consideration by all scholars. One point, which is made repeatedly, is of importance, the resemblances between Vergil and Cicero's first *Tusculan* and the *Somnium Scipionis*. The resemblances between the latter and Vergil are especially marked. The theory that in *Tusc. I* and in the *Somnium* Cicero was deeply indebted to Posidonius is not new; Corssen treated the matter in 1878.

Norden's final word is this. Posidonius is Vergil's source, as he had been Cicero's. Cicero's booklet has to do with a dream; at the close of Aeneid VI, too, we deal with dreams. We may, therefore, infer that Posidonius's apocalypse took the form of a Traumvision.

Brief reference may here be made to the fact that repeatedly in the *Einleitung*, as in the commentary, we have masterly studies in Vergil's 'contamination' of materials got from widely different sources. These studies may not always be right; they never fail to interest and to instruct. Especially do they bring out the point made by Heinze (as by others before him, e. g. Conington), that side by side with imitation goes much independence. Cf. A. J. P. XXVI 338.

Much as Norden has said in his Commentary, he has not given all that might be written, nor has he, in my opinion, always said the right thing. A very few such matters I may now discuss. On 2 Norden holds that enallage of the adjective came into Latin from Greek tragedy. He might have referred here to Conington's discussion of the relation of the Aeneid to Greek tragedy, II. XXX-XXXVI. We may add now Glover, *Studies in Virgil*, 50, 51 (an inadequate discussion), and Mr. Bell's paper (see above, p. 72). Again, other factors than those discussed by our editor counted in this matter. In Georg. I. 309 *stuppea* . . . *Balearis verbera fundae, stuppeae* would, of course, be impossible. Yet, had it been possible, its use would have been bad, for it would have overloaded *fundae*. Cf. Horace's *quadrimum Sabina . . . merum diota*. In each passage one noun ought logically to have two modifiers, the other none. But the poets' love of concinnity led them regularly in such cases to divide the epithets between the nouns. Cf. Catullus 64. 75 *iniusti regis Gortynia tecta*. So, too, in Greek: cf. e. g., Soph. Ai. 8 *κυνὸς Λακκαίνης εὐρινὸς βάσις* Eur. Med. 841 *εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων*.—31. Norden holds that in *sineret dolor, Icare, haberes, si* is omitted. He had done better to accept the view of P. Cauer, *Grammatica Militans*, 136, to which he refers, that we have here a wish, 'liesse es der Schmerz nur zu'. Nothing is said of the tenses in our passage, but then Norden often deals imperfectly with tenses, explaining difficult uses by the doctrine of metrical convenience.—49. The combination *maiorque videri* receives no notice. But this use of the infinitive is not common in the Aeneid; in this respect the Aeneid is more national than the Eclogues or Horace's Odes.—51. *cessas in vota?* The editor compares such Vergilian phrases as *audere in proelia, ardere in arma, irasci in cornua*. Yet these all contain a verb expressing, or at least easily suggesting, an idea of motion, whereas *cessas* connotes complete inaction. Seneca, *Medea* 406, has *numquam meus cessabit in poenas furor crescetque semper*. Cf., too, perhaps, Plaut. Ep. 191 *nam ego illum audivi in amorem haerere apud nescio quam fidicinam*, Cas. 242 *ubi in lustra iacuisti? ego in lustra?* and the Plautine-Terentian *est in mentem*. I may

be allowed to refer to the note on this passage in my school edition of the Aeneid.—93, 94. There is no note, so far as I have observed, on the metrical treatment of repeated words. Words like *iterum*, if repeated at all, as in our passage, must, of course, receive exactly the same metrical treatment; they can come into the verse in only one way. But the case is different with *bis . . . bis*, 32, 33, 134, *centum . . . centum*, 43, *tantus . . . tanta*, 133, *nunc . . . nunc*, 261. This matter has never, so far as I know, received proper treatment. In so far as editors notice the point, they incline to the doctrine that in such cases the metrical treatment is commonly varied: see e. g. Sonnenschein's critical note on Most. 12, Munro on Lucr. IV 1259, Merrill on Catullus, LXII. 28, Page on Horace Carm. I. 32. 11 (a note wholly dependent, it would seem, on Munro's referred to above, though Munro is not named), Friedländer on Martial I. 36. 1. Yet the repeated word or form often receives precisely the same metrical treatment. Cf. Plautus Most. 580–631, where the money-lender repeatedly uses *faenus* in such a way that word and metrical accent agree, till Tranio exclaims *faenus illic*, *faenus hic*, 'faenus to right of us, faenus to left of us' (605). So cf. the use of *aedis*, *ibid.* 637–642.—In the Aeneid cf., for identical treatment, I. 421, 422 *miratur*, I. 222 *fortem*, III. 433–435 *unum*, III. 623–627 *vidi*, etc., etc. I hope some day to work this matter out in detail.—125 ff. Like many others, our editor sees many troubles here; he thinks these verses the weakest part of the Sibyl's speech. One who has imaginative faculty will smile more than once as he reads his note. I have space to discuss only one thing. He declares that in 129 ff. the Sibyl tells Aeneas nothing that he did not know before; she tells him something "das er selbst sogar mit Nennung jener Gottbegnadeten genauer gesagt hat". This is not true. The mortal who wishes to go down to Hades alive and return alive must fulfil three conditions: he must be *dis genitus*, he must have *ardens virtus*, he must have the favor of *aecus Iuppiter*. Now, in 125, the Sibyl begins purposely with *sate sanguine divom*, in full recognition of Aeneas's claim in 123, and his plea in 119–123, and in acknowledgment of the fact that he has condition one precedent to the granting of his heart's desire. His possession of qualification 2 she had already admitted in the first words of her prophecy in 83. The crucial question now is (and *this* is the *new* element in 129 ff.), has Aeneas the divine favor? This the test of the Golden Bough is to settle. 141. To the excellent note on compound adjectives something may be added. The Augustan poets, says Norden, used compounds sparingly, because the freedom in this matter shown by the older poets "durch das Verdikt der Analogisten, speziell Caesars, gebrandmarkt war". It might have been worth while to cite Quintilian's utterance on compounds (I. 5. 65–70) and the excellent passage in Livy XXVII. 11. 4 et Sinuessae natum ambiguo inter marem ac feminam sexu infantem, quos androgynos vulgus, ut pleraque, faciliore ad du-

plicanda verba Graeco sermone appellat. See also Cooper, Word-Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius, pages 289-294 (though the point of view is somewhat different) and Munro's Lucretius, II, 16, 17.—184. The editor takes *armis* as a translation of ἄρμους, Werkzeuge, and declares that the Thesaurus knows no example of this use before Vergil. In Aen. I. 177, Georg. I. 160, he says, the use of *arma* obviates the necessity of employing *sordida verba* of everyday life, i. e. the exact names of *instrumenta agrestica* or *domestica*. Yet, I note, in Georg. I. 162, *vomer* occurs. In our passage it seems to me far better to take *armis* of weapons: we are to think of a warfare between the trees and Aeneas sociique.—185. *atque* receives no note. In reality it introduces 190 ff. (not the clause in which it stands); the whole passage thus = *atque* ('and lo': cf. 162) *dum ipse suo . . . precatur, geminae forte*, etc. So *praeterea*, 149, really introduces *refer* and *conde*, 152. Cf. also my note on *elenim*, Cicero C. M. 15, in Class. Rev. XIV. 216.—186. Norden, after Servius, finds difficulty here in *forte*. He approves Donatus's remark, hoc solum protulerat, ut optare potius videretur quam rogare; the fact that *si* is Aeneas's first word, 187, and the repetition of *forte*, 190, proves, he says, that Donatus is right. *forte*, he continues, is needless there: hence we may infer that Vergil borrowed *sic forte precatur* from some old poet. It is hard to be patient at this. In 193, be it noted, *precatur* appears, in the same verse-position, of formal, earnest prayer. Our passage says: "He happened to be praying . . . two doves happened to be flying"; the verses = *forte dum precatur, (forte) geminae*, etc. Neither *forte* is really otiose; the repetition is like Vergil's repetition of *simul*, e. g. I. 513, or like *dum . . . dum* in Catullus, LXII. 45, 56, if interpreted as Quintilian interpreted those verses (see my paper in the Class. Rev. X. 365-368). Further, *forte*, spite of my rendering above, is not the same thing as our "by chance": see e. g., Lease on Livy I. 4. 4, *forte quadam divinitus*.—229. *ter* had no interest for our editor. A good recent note on the point is Lease's, on *novendiale*, Livy I. 31. 4.—373. *o Palinure* is passed over in silence. Yet the emotional *o* is worth noting. Cf. e. g. Terence Andria 267 PA. *Mysis, salve*. MY. *O salve, Pamphile*. *Mysis* is highly excited, *Pamphilus* is not, as yet. In 282, when his emotions are fully roused, he says *O Mysis, Mysis*. Cf. *ibid.* 318 *O salve, Pamphile*: ad te advenio spem, salutem, auxilium, consilium expetens; so 344, etc.—Finally I turn to 427. What shall we do with *in limine primo*? I have discussed this question recently in The School Review, XIII. 505, 506. One point there made I may emphasize further. Norden, following Cerda, holds that Lucan II. 106 ff., is so closely parallel to our passage that it proves conclusively how we must interpret Vergil. I have tried to show that the Lucan passage is not parallel at all to ours. I am convinced that in many a note in divers editions similarly erroneous doctrine is preached. So e. g. on Horace C. I. 1.6 *terrarum dominos evehit ad deos*, Kiessling held that *terra-*

rum dominos was in apposition with *deos*, "wie schon Ovid die Worte verstand: ex Ponto I 9, 36 *terrarum dominos quam colis ipse deos*". Surely, Ovid's phrase has no significance in relation to Horace's. That is a suggestive remark of Conington's (II, xlv); "Virgil imitated Homer, but imitated him as a rival, not as a disciple" (Cf. A. J. P. XXVI 336). Of this statement we may say, *quod in una re positum transferri in permultas potest* (De Off. I. 51). If we remember how fond the Roman poets were of using old materials in new combinations, we shall think twice before we say that a verbal resemblance in a later author is proof positive for a given interpretation of a passage in an earlier author.

But I must have done. Let my last word be this, that I shall be sorry if my criticisms of this monumental book shall lead any one to believe that I do not appreciate it as it deserves to be valued.

CHARLES KNAPP.

Attis; Seine Mythen und Sein Kult. Von HUGO HEPDING, Assistant a. d. Grossh. Universitäts-Bibliothek in Giessen. Pp. 224. Giessen, J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903.

Dr. Hepding's work, which forms Volume I of Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten herausgegeben von Albrecht Dieterich in Heidelberg und Richard Wünsch in Giessen, is divided into an introduction and six chapters, as follows: Einleitung; I. Urkunden des Attiskults; II. Attismythen; III. Der Attiskult; IV. Mysterien und Taurobolien; V. Beinamen des Attis; VI. Zur Entwicklung der Attismythen und des Attiskults.

A brief indication of the contents of each chapter will serve to make the nature of the book intelligible. I. Urkunden des Attiskults (pp. 5-97): The literary (5-77) and epigraphical (78-97) sources. The former extend over a period from Herodotus (really from Theopompus, who is the first to use the actual name of Attis, or better, the Alexandrians, in whose writings occurs the first sure mention of the myth), to Gregory of Tours in Latin and Suidas and Eustathius in Greek, and are arranged chronologically without classification according to language. The latter are divided into Greek (78-85) and Latin (85-97) sources, the Greek covering a period from the Peiraic inscriptions of the second century B. C. (C. I. A. II 1, 622, 624; IV 2, 624 b) to an inscription of Cephissia dating 387 A. D. (C. I. A. III 1, 173), the Latin representing the reign of Domitian at one extreme (VI 10098) and the year 390 A. D. at the other (VI 503). The fact that only 34 of the 69 Greek and Latin inscriptions can be even approximately dated explains the author's choice of the linguistic rather than the chronological arrangement. Those which admit it, however, are chronologically tabulated on p. 97. There are no literary and epigraphical sources other than Greek and Latin.

II. Attismythen. A critical account of the myth as presented in the foregoing sources, with the conclusion that there are in the main two versions to be distinguished: one the Lydian, in which Attis is slain by a boar; the other the Phrygian, in which his death is the consequence of self-castration. The latter form of the myth became the more common because of the Phrygian provenance of the Roman Cybele-Attis cult. The wide variation in detail which is so characteristic of religious myth and so confusing in the study of ancient worship is explained (after W. Robertson Smith: *The Religion of the Semites*, 1894) as due to the fact that dogmatism did not exist among the ancients, orthodoxy meaning to them the exact performance of traditional rites rather than subscription to theory regarding their origin. The importance of myth in the study of religion may therefore easily be overestimated.

III. Der Attiskult. In Herod. IV 76, which contains the first mention of the Phrygian cult of the Great Mother, though the chief peculiarities of her worship are presented—orgiastic music, enthusiasm, the wearing of *ἀγάλματα* by the priests, the celebration of rites in a sacred grove—neither Attis nor the emasculated Galloi are mentioned, the inference being that the latter, at least, had not yet been communicated from the Semitic worship to that of the Phrygian Mother. The Alexandrian writers are our first positive evidence of the presence of both, though neither they nor later writers (comparatively little evidence is of earlier date than the Christian era) afford much direct information regarding the cult in its original home in Phrygia beyond the general facts that a festival took place each spring at which the death of Attis was commemorated by the lamentation of worshipers and the self-laceration of priests, and his resurrection by unrestrained rejoicing, the whole being concluded by the bathing of the idol of the Mother. In Greece the cult of Attis seems never to have become popular because of the peculiarities of its rites, which could hardly fail to be objectionable to a people who were noted for their contempt for foreign deities. At the Peiraeus, the most important of the few places in Greece where Attis is known to have been worshiped, there is no evidence of the existence of Galloi. At Rome he was worshiped unofficially, so to speak, during the Republic, and with the sanction of the State only from the Emperor Claudius on, when his rites attained to great importance. Dr. Hepding devotes the greater portion of the chapter to the annual Roman festival of March 15–27, which in his opinion is practically identical with the native Phrygian celebration.

IV. Mysterien und Taurobolien. The Phrygian mysteries, like those of many primitive nations, were originally the rites of initiation through which all up-growing members of the race became full participants in the social, religious, and political life of the community. Their existence outside of Phrygia was the

result of the acceptance of aliens to membership by Phrygian communities which had settled among them. When Claudius made the full cult of the Great Mother and Attis a State institution, participation in its ordinary rites was thrown open to all *ipso facto*, though only such as specially desired it were initiated into the full mysteries, which were celebrated during the March festival. The circle of the fully initiated was thus smaller than that of the whole community of worshipers. Our knowledge of the mysteries is for the most part limited to the evidence of analogy. Confessing the instability of this, Dr. Hepding, by utilizing with great acumen the few scraps of available literary evidence, constructs the qualifications and initiatory ceremonies of the Cybele-Attis mystic. Beginning with the 15th of March, *Canna intrat*, sexual abstinence and fasting were prescribed, bread, pork, wine, fish, and root and grain foods being among forbidden articles of diet. Two degrees of fasting may have existed, the fuller degree beginning on March 22, *Arbor intrat*. Lustral purification probably accompanied the fasting. The whole period was preparatory to a sacrament occurring on the night of March 24, *Dies Sanguinis*, which seems to have been administered from the characteristic instruments of the cult, the tympanum and the cymbal, and which had the effect of admitting the novice to full communion with the divine objects of his adoration as well as with the brotherhood of mystic worshipers. After the sacrament the candidate carried in solemn procession the *képros*, which Dr. Hepding interprets as the sacred vessel in which were deposited, during their disposition according to ritual, the *vires* of newly consecrated priests. Following this, the mystic took part in the most solemn and trying ceremony of all. To the accompaniment of weird *θρήνοι*, he was conducted at dead of night into the inner grot of the goddess, where, having descended into the sacrificial foss, he received the baptism of blood in the taurobolium. Then, with the breaking of wondrous light and the lifting of cries of jubilation, he awoke from the mystic death *in aeternum renatus*. Honey and milk were given him, he received a crown, and was saluted by all. The *Hilaria*, March 25, began at the moment of his rebirth. The mystic enjoyed the expectation of a happy life of the soul after death.

V. Beinamen des Attis. Greek and Latin epithets of Attis to the number of sixty, with eight of the Mother and Attis together. By far the greater number of those which reflect the character of Attis date from the late Empire.

VI. Zur Entwicklung der Attismythen und des Attiskults. The Phrygians, an Aryan race invading Asia Minor from Thrace, blended their own goddess Kotys with the native Asiatic Mother-goddess Mâ, and their Dionysus-Sabazius with Attis-Papas, the native Asiatic male deity whom they found existing side by side with Mâ, the belief in immortality and the orgiastic worship which characterized the cult of Dionysus being grafted onto the cult of

the newly adopted deity of Asia. With the growth of Syrian power came intimate contact with the Semitic religions, resulting in the modification of the Phrygian cult, one especial change being the introduction of castration into the priesthood. In time, through the need of an *αἵτιον* to justify the cruel and revolting deed of the priests, grew up the legend of the self-castration of Attis. This, made popular by the Alexandrian writers, soon found place in the official cult-legends, and the character of Attis as a great and independent deity was gradually lost sight of. In the mysteries he became the symbol of immortality and the sharer of it with those who were united to him. Syncretism next made him a great solar deity. Finally, such was his character and such the body of doctrine underlying his mysteries that his worshippers could even compare him with Christ.

It will have been immediately noticed that Dr. Hepding's work as it stands takes no account of monumental evidence. From beginning to end the reader is consequently burdened with a sense of its incompleteness, and the keenness of his disappointment (which is a tribute to the genius of Cumont) is only partially assuaged by the author's promise to present the monuments in a separate instalment of the work. This Dr. Hepding is certainly bound to do, for, deprecate comparison though he may, he will be judged according to the measure in which he has availed himself of the model which Cumont in his *Mithras* has set before students of oriental religion. It will be regretted, we fear, both by Dr. Hepding and his readers, that his treatment of the literary and epigraphical evidence in the present volume was not deferred until the completion of his study of the monuments; for the clearness of vision which he confesses to have grown with his study of the former (*Diese wichtige Periode [the decline of Paganism] pflegt zunächst dem jungen Philologen ferner zu liegen, und auch mir entwickelte sich erst allmählich im Verlauf meiner Arbeit das Bild derselben in deutlicheren Farben* [p. 2]) will no doubt have so increased with a thorough study of the latter that the present work will in many respects imperfectly represent his knowledge.

But Dr. Hepding has nevertheless merited well of the students of ancient religion. Besides a convenient presentation of the literary and epigraphical sources, which is itself no slight service, his work presents an interpretation of them which is characterized by logical arrangement of the whole and soberness and sanity in the treatment of detail. It reflects credit both upon the author and upon his confessed guide and inspirer, Albrecht Dieterich, and one is almost surprised at the confession that the book is the first fruit of the author's studies.

A work like the one before us, aiming as it does to sum up present knowledge of a single subject necessarily partakes of the nature of a compilation whose content comprises the evidence of antiquity and the views of modern scholarship. Were it no

more than this, we should still be greatly in Dr. Hepding's debt; but besides clearly presenting modern interpretation of the ancient evidence, he frequently contributes by the expression of decided conclusions of his own. He holds (102) against Ellis (Catullus' p. 252) that the *μυστικός δὲ ὁ λόγος* of Harpocration refers merely to the *ὑψις ἀττης ἀττης ὑψις* of Demosthenes rather than to a book on Attis by Neanthes of Cyzicus He supports (136 f.) Rohde against Foucart in interpreting the *κλίση* and *θρόνοι* of C. I. A. II 1, 622, 624 as indicating the theoxenia rather than the mystery-drama of Attis and the Great Mother He accepts Cumont's view (De Ruggiero, Diz. Epig. s. v. Attis) that Attis was worshiped with the Mother at Rome from the introduction of the cult in 204, but in an unofficial way by the Phrygian priests alone, against Rapp (Roschers Lex. s. v. Attis, 724; cf. Showerman, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. XXXI, 1900, pp. 46-59: Was Attis at Rome under the Republic?), basing his conclusion (142 ff.) on the coin of Cethegus, the existence of the *Lavatio* on the evidence of Ovid Fast. IV 337 ff. and Menolog. Rust., and the general improbability of the separation of the two deities. I still hold, however, that the representation on the coin is best interpreted as a general, not a specific, Phrygian allusion, because of the uncertainty as to the date, the striker, and the identity of the figure on it; that the universal silence of the easily scandalized Romans of the Republic is difficult to explain if we are to assume that Attis was worshiped in their midst even privately; and that the general improbability of his separation from the Mother is not sufficient to counterbalance this silence in authors like Lucretius and Cicero, who speak freely of the goddess herself, especially when due regard is had to the unimportance of Attis in Greece, where the worship of the Mother existed in some instances alone, and in Asia itself, where he is not heard of before the Alexandrian period. A glance at Dr. Hepding's assemblage of Beinamen shows that the employment of epithets which indicate the greatness of Attis dates from the late Empire. The Attis of pre-Roman times must not be invested with attributes for which the philosophy of a much later period is responsible. As to the *Lavatio*, Dr. Hepding's view that in Ovid's time it was celebrated on March 27, and that its presence during the Republic indicates the existence of the whole cycle of ceremonies in honor of both deities, though it alone was public, seems to me untenable. The *Lavatio* which Ovid mentions is the original ceremony of April 4, 204. If the poet means to explain a custom of his own time by giving its *αἴτιον*, it is certainly a custom of April 4, not of March 27. The whole passage (IV 179-372) indicates an official one-day celebration of the rites of the Great Mother of which the *Lavatio* formed a single feature. The *Megalesia* followed, beginning on the next day. That the *Lavatio* had not yet been set apart on a day of its own, but was still only one item in a whole day's program, accounts for its not being named in the official Calendar which

was Ovid's source. The *Lavatio* of Menolog. Rust., on the contrary, occurred on March 27, which indicates the expansion of the cult on the model of its Phrygian prototype, and consequently the presence of Attis. It is plain from Ovid that the Menolog. Rust. did not exist in his time, for the *Lavatio* of the poet is on April 4, and he makes no mention of a *Lavatio* in March, an omission which could not have occurred had these Calendars (which cannot be supposed to record unofficial festivals) been in existence. Their date must be placed as late as Claudius, under whom the cult was expanded (Cf. Huebner, *Exempla* 979: *litterae videntur saeculi primi circiter medii esse*). The omission in them of all other events of the annual festival is due to necessary brevity; they give the fewest possible data, and include the *Lavatio* rather than the *Hilaria* or other festivals of the cult because of its having through long existence become a naturalized celebration.... The nationalization of the full Phrygian cult under Claudius is accepted by Dr. Hepding (145) on the authority of Lydus *De Mens.* IV 59, against Wissowa (*Relig. u. Kult. der Römer* 266 f.) and Bloch (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1902, 722), and the question seems to be settled.... The reference of the self-laceration of the Galloi particularly to the *Dies Sanguinis* (159) rather than to general and undefined occasions is also maintained against Wissowa.... The identification by Becker, Henzen, and Mommsen of *hastiferi* *sive pastores* and *dendrophori* is disputed by Hepding (169 f.), who sees in *hastiferi* the Latinization of the *αλχοφόροι* mentioned by Herodian I 10 as taking part in a Roman procession in the time of Commodus, and in *pastores* the analogy of the *βουκόλοι* of the orgiastic cults of Asia Minor.... Finally, with what seems good reason, Dr. Hepding takes ground (170 f.) against Cumont's view that the *hastiferi* were connected with the cult of Bellona, and that the taurobolium found its way into the Mother's cult only after it had been introduced into Italy in the worship of Bellona, into which it had come through the kindred cult of Anahita or Artemis Tauropolos. Dr. Hepding is inclined to the view (201) that the sacrifice existed in the Asiatic cult of the Great Mother prior to her arrival in Rome.

To pass now from the author's judicial contributions, if his positive advancement of our knowledge is after all slight, it is rather because of inherent difficulties than from any lack of either industry or insight. His inclination (157) is to believe with Mommsen that the Tubilustrium, March 23, was in latter times a part of the March festival of the Mother; that a night celebration with torches, on the analogy of the Eleusinian mysteries, took place between *Dies Sanguinis* and *Hilaria*, concluding with jubilation at the announcement of the rise of Attis (165 ff.); and that (176) *Initium Caiani*, March 28, was a feature of the March festival—but the evidence presented is not conclusive.... His reconstruction of the process of initiation into the mysteries of the cult (ch. IV), which is the part of the work in which his vision is

keenest and his originality most noticeable, is after all, as the author himself confesses, only reconstruction grounded for the most part on analogy. That fasting and abstinence preceded a sacrament seems probable, but of the author's conclusions as to the time, manner, material, and effect of the sacred meal the best that can be said is that he has made them seem possible, though not in all cases probable. Especially regarding the reconstruction of the events of the night between *Dies Sanguinis* and *Hilaria*, with its torchlight procession, mystic feast, and blood baptism in the taurobolium does one feel sceptical. (In connection with the effect of the baptism it should be noted that C. I. L. 736, cited on p. 197, is false. Cf. Cumont II p. 179, no. 584, note.) Finally (ch. VI), Dr. Hepding's view that Attis existed in Asia Minor in pre-Phrygian times as a great male deity corresponding to the Great Mother, that subsequently the story of the self-castration of Attis was invented as an *αἴτιον* to account for the bloody rite which had fastened itself upon the Phrygian cult as a result of Semitic influence, and that in consequence of this he sank from his independent position to the level of the minor deity in a duality, will seem unnecessarily involved to those who see in Attis at most a comparatively late blending of Adonis with a Phrygian analogue.

In conclusion, let me barely mention a suspicion which has occurred to me regarding the significance of the *cannophori*, or reed-bearers. Paul Baur (Am. Jour. Arch. IX 2: Tityrus) notes the use of Sk. *nadá* = reed as a synonym for *ἀνδρείον αἰδοίων*, and also points out the connection of the flute, or reed-pipe, with obscene gesticulation. It is possible that the *cannophori*, on March 15, the opening day of the annual festival of this Great Mother of Generation, when the bull was sacrificed in behalf of the fields, carried reeds as symbols of fruitfulness, the custom being descended from remote antiquity. In such a case we should see in *Canna intrat* only a metamorphosed phallic procession.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

GRANT SHOWERMAN.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, Vol. VI.¹

Pp. 1-7. E. Wölfflin, Die ersten Spuren des afrikanischen Lateins. An examination of the language of the historian Florus shows certain resemblances to that of the rhetorician and poet of the same name. W. agrees with Ritschl, Mommsen, and Halm in regarding the two as identical. The poet Florus tells us in the introduction to the dialogue Vergilius orator an poeta that he was born in Africa, and an examination of the language of the historian shows an acquaintance with Africa, as well as some striking characteristics of the so-called African Latin. If the identification is sound, Florus is the earliest representative of the writers of African Latin.

7-8. A. Funck, Cultor. Eine Retractatio. The connection of cultoribus with dis in CIL. VII. 980 requires further support. Would now take cultoribus in its usual sense. Tervium. The occurrence of this word for trivium in CIL. IX. 2476 is taken as evidence that Plautus's variants teruenefice (Bacch. 813) and triuenefica (Aul. 86) were characteristic of colloquial speech. Satullo. An addition (conjectural) to the examples of this word given in ALL. IV. 87.

9-24. A. Otto, Landwirtschaft, Jagd und Seeleben im Sprichwort. A continuation of O's study of the Latin proverbs. The importance of agriculture among the Romans, and the honorable nature of the farmer's calling, are testified to by the large number of proverbs from that source.

25-45. A. Köhler, Die Partikel en (em). Classical en is a composite of interrogative en and demonstrative em. The two are clearly distinguished in Plautus and Terence. The former has en only as an interrogative and no demonstrative en has good MS authority in the latter. Interrogative en in Plautus is always accompanied by umquam and is used mainly, if not wholly, in excited questions implying a negative answer. The same usage is the rule in Terence and continues down to the Augustan Age. Later instances are imitations of earlier writers. The union of em and en was brought about by the double meaning of such sentences as en haec promissa fides est (Verg. Aen. VI. 346),

¹ The summaries of the Archiv, which have been suspended since A. J. P. XVII 373, are herewith resumed with a welcome promise of continuance; how welcome, only an editor can tell, who has learned to appreciate both the usefulness and the difficulty of the task. B. L. G.

which may be regarded either as interrogative or exclamatory, rather than in imperative sentences as Ribbeck maintains. Demonstrative *em*, which was formerly confused with *hem*, is now established as frequent in Plautus and Terence. The uses of *em* and *hem* are clearly distinguished, the former always being connected with an object, actual or implied. Demonstrative *em* is found in most of its uses in the writers of comedy. It is found alone, sometimes supported by *tibi*, or followed by a noun in the accusative or by a clause. In a clause *em* is closely connected with some emphatic word or phrase. It is also used in exclamatory clauses introduced by a relative. *Em* began to give place to *en*, with an extension of the meaning of the latter, about the middle of the first century B. C., the last instance of the word being found in Varro, *De Re Rust.* The demonstrative use of *en* became predominant in Sallust and especially in Vergil. The survival of *en* rather than *em* was due to the confusion of the latter with *hem*, and to the fact that *en* did not cause hiatus with a following word beginning with a vowel. The extension of the uses of *en* in prose begins with Sallust and Livy. The poets allow themselves great freedom as regards the position of *en* in the sentence, and established certain formulas: *en ego*, *en iterum*, etc.

46. L. Havet, *Pulpitare*. Would read *pulpitavit* for *publucavit* in Euanthius et Donati Comm. de Comoedia, ed. Reifferscheid, p. 9, 7. The word is found also in Sidonius and in Gregory of Tours.

W. Brandes, *Culpator*. *Fomen*. The former word occurs in line 17 of the poem *De Baebiani baptismo et uxoris Aprae obitu*, which B. ascribes to a younger contemporary of Paulinus Nolanus. In line 28 of the same poem he would read *fomen* instead of *omen*.

47-58. A. Otto, *Geldverkehr und Besitz im Sprichwort*. A continuation of his study of the Latin proverbs.

58. E. Hauler, *Sincerare*. In Augustine, XXXIX, 1596, 8 Migne, the oldest MS reads *sincerauerunt* instead of the usual *superauerunt*.

59-84. Ph. Thielmann, *Usque mit Konjunktionen und Adverbien*. *Usque ex, ab, de*. A thoroughgoing examination of these uses of *usque*, with a large collection of examples.

84. F. Becher, *Oricula*. Would read this form, with cod. Med., in Cicero ad Quint. Frat. II. 13, 4, thus furnishing a third instance of Cicero's use in his letters of colloquial *o* for *au*.

85-106. E. Wölfflin, *Ueber die Latinität des Asinius Polio*. A discussion of the writer's theory, since abandoned, that Polio was the author of the *Bell. Afr.* is followed by an examination of the language of the *Bell. Afr.* based on the new recension of the text by the writer and A. Miodoński.

107-116. K. Sittl, *Addenda lexicis Latinis*. *Tablicius-vulum*, with a supplement, *aralia-majorius*. *Addenda zum Tensaurus italograecus*. *Abarimon-dysparacoluthetos*.

117-149. G. Gröber, *Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter*. Conclusion: *Tabānus-zīrulare*.

149-150. H. Nettleship. *Notes ad Glossas latino-graecas*.

151-167. Ph. Thielmann, *Abcondo*. A lexicon article with explanatory notes.

167-168. L. Traube, *Bombo*. *tabo*. The word *bombonos*, read by de Reiffenberg in *De discipulis et magistris sermo Nili monachi*, should be *bombones*, an onomatopoetic word meaning "drones". In the *Egloga des Naso* (poet. Karol. 1, 388, line 21) *tabano*, read by Dümmler, should be *tabone*, = Fr. *taon*.

168. W. Brandes, *Fomen*. Confirms his conjecture made on p. 46 above by the reading *fomen* in cod. Parisin. 7558, of the ninth century.

169-184. H. Ploen, *Absolubilis-absolutus*. Lexicon articles.

185-195. E. Wölfflin, *Absonans-absterreo*. Lexicon articles with explanatory notes.

195-196. E. Wölfflin, *Oppidum*. *oppido*. If the connection of the adverb with the noun is to be accepted, the case of *oppido* must be instrumental and the meaning "fortification, stronghold". *Uvidulus*. In place of *uvidulam*, the conjecture of Guarinus in Catull. 66, 63, suggests *umidulam*.

197-212. J. Praun, *Absque*. Lexicon article with explanatory notes.

213-218. A. Weinhold, *Abstergeo*. *abstergo*. *abstersio*. Lexicon articles with explanatory notes.

219-253. H. Landwehr, *Studien über das antike Buchwesen*. An examination, based on a fuller collection of material, of some of the views expressed by Birt in *Das antike Buchwesen*. L. questions the soundness of Birt's view that the large roll system prevailed until the time of Callimachus. *Volumen* does not occur in the earlier literature. Whether a division into books was made at this period is uncertain. *Liber* means book in the sense of a work and also in the sense of a division of such a work made on the basis of its contents. It is not synonymous with *volumen*, which is used of extent. Its predominant meaning is that of a division of a work, and it is used without reference to the material of which a book is made. It sometimes has the meaning of a letter or a lampoon.

In later times *volumen* was used with the same meaning as *codex*, which finally displaced *volumen*. *Liber*, too, is used in this sense after the disuse of the roll, and in rare instances at an

earlier date. *Volumen* was often, but not always, identical in meaning with *liber*, and is sometimes used of an entire work. No conclusions can be drawn as to the form of a book from the use of *volumen*. The diminutive *libellus* is used often, but not always, of a small work. The diminutive force was wholly lost by the fourth century. It is often used of poetry, especially lyric and elegiac poetry. *Corpus* and *corpusculum* are used of a collection of *libri*, but not of a definite number of books. *Corpus* occurs first in Cicero, who also uses the Greek equivalent *σῶμα*. *Corpus* is rarely used of a single book; most frequently of three and multiples of three, triad, hexad, etc. *Opus* is the most general designation of the work of a writer. It is first applied to literary work by Cicero, who uses it of a single tragedy, for example, or of a work like Varro's *De Lingua Latina*. In later writers it is most commonly used with the latter force. *Opusculum* is used of a work of small extent or in a depreciatory sense, actual or affected.

253. C. Zander, *Cunio. vapio*. These words occur in CIL. IX. 6089¹ and IX. 6089.⁶ The latter is connected with *vappa*, Hor. Sat. I, 1, 104.

253-254. G. Schepfs, *Zum Grammatiker Terentius*. Cod. mp. th. f. 56, in the University library at Würzburg, agrees with cod. Valentinianus in omitting Scaurus from the grammarian's name.

254. L. Traube, *Iussulentus*. Would read instead of this word *iurulentus* in Apul. Apol. 39. In *Metam.* 2, 7 suggests *tomacla assulatim iurulenta* for *†ambacu pascuę iurulenta* of cod. F.

255-259. Miscellen. A. Funck, *Lesefrüchte aus dem Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Notes on *columnatus*, CIL. IX. 2448; *indemnis*, IX. 2438; in *se=insimul*. *Malacia*. Suggests that in Caes. B. G. III, 15 this word is used of the loose and flapping sails and not in the ordinary sense of "a calm".

J. W. Beck, *Ein verkanntes Suetonfragment*. Regards only the first half of the *Differentiae Sermonum* as the work of Suetonius.

L. Traube, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Wörterbücher*. There existed besides the *Liber glossarum* a *Liber derivationum*, which was used by Papias. This was enlarged and was used in its later form by Osbernus, Hugutio, and the authors of the *Derivationes*. This latter version was known as the *Glossae magistri Stephani*. *Bannita. cassidile*. Notes on the Deacon Mico, of the ninth century, in whose works these two words occur. The former is overlooked by Dümmler, and the latter probably had a long penult.

M. Petschenig, *Zur Latinität des Juvenecus*. Cites four instances of *mox = simul atque*, and four of *per = ad* and *in*. Zu

Ammianus Marcellinus. *Quidam* = *aliquis*, *quisquam*; *quisque* = *quisquis*. The latter is the first instance of this use since Plautus, but *quisque* occurs 27 times with this meaning in Cassianus.

A. Zimmerman, *Zu den römischen Eigennamen*. *Cinna*, to be compared with *Alba*, *Galba*, and the like, is an adjective used as a substantive, *cinna* (*coma*). *Secus* and *Proculus* occur as cognomina CIL. IV. 693 and 737 and IV. 1081, where Zangemeister would read *Secundus* and *Proculus*. The ending *-idius* in gentile names arises from false analogy with names in *-id-ius*, such as *Aufidius*, *Avidius*, etc.

E. Dombart, *Telesticha bei Commodian*. Notes on the writer's edition of Commodian, giving credit to Comte and Havet and making a new conjecture for Instr. II, 27, 6. *Tricesima Sabbata*, Hor. Sat. I, 9, 69, refers to the festival at the time of the new moon (*neomeniae*), i. e. it means the day of rest on the thirtieth of the month. For the syntax cf. Ovid, A. A. I. 76.

W. Heraeus, *Adnotatiunculæ in Placidi Glossas*.

279-306. Review of the Literature for 1888-1889.

307-308. Fifth Annual Report. Corrections.

309-340. A. Otto, *Der menschliche Körper und seine Teile im Sprichwort*. A continuation of the writer's study of the Latin proverbs.

341-376. F. Cramer, *Was heisst "Leute"?* An historical and lexicographical study of the various words for "people" (*homines*, *mortales*, *populares*, *populus* and *populi*, *gentes*, etc.), with due regard to stylistic and geographical considerations.

377-397. G. Gröber, *Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter*. Supplement, *ab-tollitus*.

398. W. K., *Herbam dare*. This phrase, in the sense of "to acknowledge oneself beaten", forms an addition to the proverbs derived from the vegetable kingdom.

P. Mohr, *Censetor*. Would read this word, instead of *censitor*, in Sidonius, Epist. VIII, 8, 3.

399-417. H. Blümner, *Die rote Farbe im Lateinischen*. A study of the various Latin words meaning "red", with especial attention to the writers of prose, since B. has already treated the subject elsewhere so far as the poets are concerned.

418. P. Mohr, *Zum Konjunctiv nach Komparativ mit quam*. This construction is frequent in Sidonius and should be read in Epist. III, 7, 4. *Hortulo* = *hortulanus*. Should be read in Sidonius, Epist. V, 14, 2, with cod. L.

419-433. H. Landwehr, *Studien über die antike Buchterminologie*. A continuation of the article on pp. 219 ff. The transition

from the roll to the codex was a gradual one, in spite of the greater convenience and durability of the latter form. The codex had gained a complete victory by the time of Gregory the Great, though as late as the second century the roll was still the more common form. The giving up of a division into books in some writers, for example Juvenal and Suetonius, is an indication of a change of form.

433. H. Nettleship, *Ordium* = *exordium*. Would read this word in this sense in Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 33. It is cited by the lexicons only for *Lucr.* IV, 28.

434. E. Wölfflin, *Iubere ut im Bell. Hispaniense*. The instance of this construction, cited by Merguet for *Bell. Hisp.* 27, 4, is eliminated by the reading of the oldest MS, the *cod. Ashburnhamensis*.

J. Stowasser, *Satisagus*. *Satis agus* in *Porph.* in *Hor. Epist.* II, 2, 208 should be read as one word; cf. *satagius*, *Sen. Epist.* 98, 8. The word is very probably a coinage of Porphyrio's.

435-446. K. Sittl, *Addenda zum Tensaurus italograecus. Echedermia-zopyre*.

447-467. E. Wölfflin, *Der Ablativus comparationis*. A study of the construction mainly from the lexicographical standpoint, with notes on the genitive and dative of comparison.

467-468. D. Engländer, *Donec als coordinierende Partikel*. Examples from *Petronius* 40 and 55.

469-507. Ph. Thielmann, *Usque ad, usque in*. A continuation of the study on pp. 151 ff. above, along the same lines.

507. W. Schmitz, *Nochmals Maenianum und Solarium*. The orthography of the former word in the Tironian Notes shows that it cannot be an adjective from *moenia*. A gloss in the Parisian MS of the Notes, 190, confirms the view of Sittl that the two words are synonymous in meaning.

508. E. Wölfflin, *Surus* = *surculus* bei Ennius. *Surus* is the name of an elephant. Cf. *Cato apud Plin. NH.* VIII, 11.

K. Sittl, *Zum Suffix aster*. A Greek parallel in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (col. 14, *Sturz*).

509-527. A. Weinhold, *Abstinere*. *Lexicon Article with explanatory notes*.

528. C. Zander, *Callicula*. A sepulchral inscription from *Confinium*, *CIL.* IX. 3193, shows that the word began with c, not with g as in a Lucilian gloss in *Placidus*.

529-552. E. Wölfflin, *Abstentatio-absumedo*. *Lexicon articles with explanatory notes*.

553-568. *Miscellen*.—W. Heraeus, *Adnotatiunculae in Placidi glossas*.

K. Sittl, *Die Heimat der Appendix Probi*. Written in Africa and for pagan readers. Punismen. Instances from African writers and inscriptions. Apuleius über seinen Stil. Apuleius implies in the preface to the *Metamorphoses* that he acquired his Latin style from reading the earlier writers, and this is confirmed by his numerous archaisms. These are for the most part derived from comedy, which was the source of the higher colloquial style during the later Empire. Latinitas. Means higher Latin; see Auct. ad Herenn. IV, 17, and cf. Varro and the epitaph of Naevius. Rusticitas der theologischen Schriftsteller. Originally the language of peasants, rusticitas was extended to mean a plain, unrhethorical style. Hieronymus. Though an exception to the opposition of the ecclesiastical writers to Roman culture, he nevertheless recognized the necessity of using language which should be intelligible to all classes, and did not concern himself with a high standard of Latinity.

J. M. Stowasser, *Coturnix*. The -urnix in this word is Doric *κορνίξ*. So in spinturnix and cornix = *cora-ornix. Clanculum, clandestino. Regards the former not as a diminutive, but as formed by gemination from clam clam. In the latter gemination is avoided by the use of a synonym as the second part of the word, = clam *destus (desitus).

A. Miodoński. Praestitus = praestes. Occurs in CIL. III. 4037. Praestes (praestitus) is used as an epithet of Jupiter on account of the ambiguity of antistes, which might be associated with anti = ἀντί.

O. Schütte, *Insopor*. This word, which occurs in Ovid, Heroid. XII. 101, is not cited by the lexicons, Dräger, or Seitz, *De adjectivis poetarum Latinorum compositis*. It is related to sopor as insopitus is to sopio and is suggested by Greek *ἀνπνος*.

A. Funck, *Cecurrit*. Trigarium. These words occur in a sepulchral inscription from Thevesta, published in Rhein. Mus. XLIV, p. 485. The latter is perhaps the pure Latin equivalent of stadium or hippodromus.

C. Frick, *Assis, asse*. Dipondium. Vitria. Curis = Curibus. Cites examples of these words from the Chronographers.

L. Bürchner, *Mafortium*. Auricaesor. These words occur in the fragment of the Edict of Diocletian found by the French at Elataea.

K. Sittl, *Nochmals die Hauskatze*. The supposed "cats" in ancient monuments are tame weasels. *κάττα* is applied to a kind of panther by Timotheus of Gaza.

H. Kothe, *Ueber die Bedeutung von passus*. The word applies not to the double pace but to the space covered by the outstretched arms.

E. Wölfflin, *Zur Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*. Sella, p. 38, Gamurr, may mean "saddle" removing an objection to assigning the authorship of the work to Silvia of Aquitania. Abstruo. Doubts the existence of the word; abstruendum, cited from Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 27, should be abstrudendum.

569-597. Review of the Literature for 1889.

597-604. Necrology. Eduard Lübbert by Max Ihm. W. Studemund by R. Schöll.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, VOL. XXIX, NOS. 1, 2.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-29. The *Lex Rhodia*, by R. Dareste. This article contains 1) a history of the Rhodian laws relating to maritime affairs, 2) the text of the laws with translation and brief commentary, and 3) some regulations that evidently accompanied the laws. The whole article is of great historical interest.

2. Pp. 30-32. Latin Studies. VII. The Subjunctive of repetition so-called in Plaut. *Bacch.* 420-434, by Félix Gaffiot. The object of the article is to show that the subjunctives are not due to the idea of repetition.

3. P. 32. In *Cic. Orat.* 30 M. L. Earle writes "multas ita" for "ita multas",—a seemingly necessary correction.

4. Pp. 33-35. Critical notes on *Lucr.* V 566 ff., 573 f., 585 ff., by A. Cartault. These passages are discussed as samples of the numerous instances in which erroneous emendations have been accepted as final.

5. Pp. 35-37. Two notes by M. L. Earle, the first inserting "ut" before "quaeramus" in *Hor. Sat.* I. 1. 27, the second substituting "graves" for "leves" in *Hor. Od.* I. 6, last line, and briefly touching other points in this ode.

6. Pp. 38-39. In *Eur. Bacch.* 294 Georges Dalmeyda proposes *διάλυσιν* for *Διόνυσον*.

7. Pp. 40-50. The metrical clausulae in *Cic. Orator*, by Henri Bornecque. As all interested in the rhythmical laws of prose will consult this elaborate article, it is not necessary even to state the conclusions reached.

8. Pp. 51-52. Critical notes on *Tac. Ann.* XI. 4, XII, 65, XIII. 26, by René Walt

9. Pp. 53-56. *Pompa Diaboli*, by A. d'Alès. The object of the article is to show that the modern acceptation of the "pompa" or "pompaë" of the devil existed at an early day, being found already in Tertullian.

10. Pp. 57-72. Book Notices. 1) W. Christ. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur bis auf die Zeit Justinians*. 4 ed. revised, 1904. Mentioned by L. Bodin, who regrets that so excellent a work should be marred by serious defects in its bibliography, such, for example, as the omission of Jebb's edition of Sophocles. The improvement in the illustrations is commended. 2) *Ausgewählte Tragödien des Euripides für den Schulgebrauch erklärt* von N. Wecklein. Drittes Bändchen: *Bakchen*. Zweite Auflage, Leipzig, 1903. Reviewed by E. Chambry. The author *now* holds that the piece is not a recantation of the poet's philosophical utterances, but is directed at the atheistic sophists; that Euripides believed in a divinity superior to the gods of popular mythology. The changes, which are numerous, in this edition are commended. Several illustrations of the improvement of the text are given, and a few are unfavorably mentioned. The commentary is highly praised. 3) Konrad Schodorf, *Beiträge zur genaueren Kenntniss der attischen Gerichtssprache aus den zehn Rednern*. Würzburg, 1903 (Fasc. 17 of the *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache* hggbn. von Schanz). B. Haussoullier gives a general description of the work, and expresses disappointment at some important characteristics, which he discusses. 4) *Aeschinis quae feruntur epistolae* ed. Engelbertus Drerup. Leipzig, 1904. A. Roersch briefly describes, and says the work marks great progress, and is useful also in determining the value of MSS of the orations themselves. 5) Flickinger. *Plutarch as a source of information on the Greek Theatre*. Chicago, 1904. L. Bodin gives an analysis, and commends the work highly. 6) Max Niedermann. *Spécimen d'un précis de phonétique du latin*, par A. Meillet. *La Chaux-de-fonds*, 1904. J. Vendryes briefly describes. The work treats only vocalism. It is highly praised and the author encouraged to write a complete grammar. 7) Augusto Romizi, *Compendio di storia della letteratura latina*; sesta edizione. Milano—Palermo—Napoli, 1905. Philippe Fabia commends the work and finds improvements over previous editions. 8) Theodor Hingst. *De spondeis et anapaestis in antepenultimo pede versuum generis duplicis latinorum*. Diss. Lipsiae, 1904. Félix Gaffiot mentions briefly. Only the third foot from the end of the verse is investigated, with results that disprove the current rule. 9) A. G. Amatucci. *Emendazioni ed interpretazioni Plautine. Parte I. Amphitruo*. Félix Gaffiot briefly summarizes. Emendations of the text in sixteen different passages. All the emendations deserve attention; but the reviewer emphasizes two restorations of the MS reading. 10) F. Dušánek. *De formis enuntiationum conditionalium apud Livium*. (Sonder-Abdruck aus dem Jahresb. des K. K. Real- und Obergymnasiums in Chrudim, Austria), 1904. Mentioned by Félix Gaffiot, who finds it very useful for grammarians, but not without faults in the method of treatment. 11) P. Cornelius Tacitus, erklärt von Karl Nipperdey. Erster Band: *Ab excessu Divi Augusti I-VI*. Zehnte verbesserte

Auflage besorgt von Georg Andresen. Berlin, 1904. Philippe Fabia briefly describes this work, and commends it highly as maintaining the characteristics of Nipperdey's original work and still bringing it up to the present requirements of philology. 12) P. Cornelli Taciti opera quae supersunt. Recensuit Joannes Müller. Editio minor. Vol. I, libros ab excessu Divi Augusti continens. Editio altera emendata, etc. Lipsiae, Vindobonae, 1903. Philippe Fabia highly praises this work as exhibiting a text "carefully established and faithfully conformed to the latest results of philological research." 13) Santi Consoli. La Germania comparata con la Naturalis Historia di Plinio e con le opere di Tacito. Roma, 1903. Mentioned by Philippe Fabia who finds it erudite and ingenious, but does not accept the main result. The author published a work in 1902 attempting to prove that the Germania was not written by Tacitus but by Pliny the Elder; hence the peculiar title of the present work. 14) Heinrich Hoppe. Syntax und Stil des Tertullian. Leipzig, 1903. Mentioned by Philippe Fabia. This able work develops the fact that the prose of Tertullian is to a high degree artistic. 15) Louis Bellanger. Le Poème d'Orientius. Paris, 1903. Reviewed at some length by Georges Ramain. Text with critical apparatus; philological and literary study, in which are examined the date of the poem, the personality of the author, the language, versification, style, thought; finally an elegant translation. The reviewer bestows high praise on the whole work. 16) T. Mommsen. Gesammelte Schriften. I Abteilung: Juristische Schriften. Erster Band. Berlin, 1905. A. Merlin gives a brief narrative of the circumstances under which Hirschfeld brings out this first volume, to be followed by two more in the near future. The work, as Mommsen's, needs no commendation, but the reviewer highly praises the part done by Hirschfeld and his collaborators. 17) Fasti sacerdotum P. R. publicorum aetatis imperatoriae. Leipzig, 1904. Briefly, but very favorably, mentioned by A. Merlin. 18) G. H. Allen. Centurions as substitute commanders of auxiliary corps. (University of Michigan Studies, pp. 333-394.) A. Merlin analyzes this work and finds it good and useful.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 73-93. The testimony of ancient Christian literature on the authenticity of a *Περὶ Ἀναστάσεως* attributed to Justin Martyr. By G. Archambault. It is not possible to present in a brief summary the elaborate and learned discussions contained in this article. The conclusion reached is that we have no satisfactory evidence that Justin was the author and no proof that he was not.

2. Pp. 94-103. Studies on Plautus, *Asinaria*. By Louis Havet. I. The second and third scenes and the general composition. This article, which appears to be the beginning of a series, will be consulted by all Plautinian scholars and no attempt is made here to summarize it. The name of the author guarantees its importance.

3. P. 103. P. Foucart in one of the first sentences of Hype-rides κατ' Ἀθηναίους proposes γυναῖκας [πονηρ]ίαν.

4. Pp. 104-139. Critical studies on Lactantius. By Paul Monceaux. This elaborate article treats the following topics : I. Name of Lactantius. II. Biography. III. Lost works and spurious works. IV. Chronology of works. V. Lactantius and the De Mortibus Persecutorum. VI. Lactantius and the Carmen de Ave Phoenixe.

5. Pp. 140-144. On the Hippodrome at Olympia. By Camille Gaspar. The excavations have as yet not thrown any light on this subject, and probably never will because of the ravages of the Alpheus ; but there is extant testimony as to the size and shape of the hippodrome. The author's able discussion of this testimony will be examined by all interested, and a summary would be useless.

6. Pp. 145-151. Latin Studies. By Félix Gaffiot. VIII. Some passages of the Amphytrio. Passages discussed ; 861-882, 576 and 769, 891-896.

7. P. 152. Pompa Diaboli. A reply of Salomon Reinach to a criticism of A. d'Alès in the preceding number of the Review (p. 56).

8. Pp. 153-166. Epigraphic notes on some inscriptions of Magnesia ad Maeandrum. By J. de Decker. The author's object in studying these inscriptions (still inaccessible to the public, in Berlin) was to familiarize himself with the science of epigraphy ; but incidentally he found that he could contribute some new facts despite the excellence of the work of Otto Kern, Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander. The article discusses with great acumen eight or ten inscriptions.

9. Pp. 167-176. Book Notices. 1) Problems in Greek Syntax, by Basil L. Gildersleeve. Baltimore, 1903. Briefly mentioned by Albert Martin, who makes no attempt to summarize the work, but devotes his space chiefly to an appreciative characterization of the author. 2) Catalogue des manuscrits conservés au gymnase grec de Salonique, par Daniel Serruys. Paris, 1903. Albert Martin deplores the ruinous neglect of the MSS named, but finds some consolation in the fact that they are nearly all without value. 3) Prolegomena ad Arriani Anabaseos et Indicae editionem criticam edendam, adjecto Anabaseos lib. I specimine. A. G. Roos. Groningen, 1904. Reviewed at considerable length by A. J., who closes his analysis with "Telle est cette édition du premier livre qui donne une nouvelle base à la critique du texte d'Arrien et fait désirer que l'auteur procure bientôt les autres". 4) A. G. Amatucci, Emendazioni ed interpretazioni Plautine. Parte I (Amphytruo). Napoli, 1904. Reviewed by Georges Romain. The chief object of the work is to justify the corrections and readings which the author introduced and admitted into his

edition of the play named. The reviewer finds that the author shares the fault of some others, treating the text of Plautus as if it were no more nor less corrupt than that of other authors. But for this, he is well qualified to render material service. 5) Aug. Audollent. *Carthage romaine*, 146 av. J. C.—698 ap. J. C. (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 84). Paris, 1901. Reviewed at considerable length by A. Grenier. This work of xxxii-850 pp., published in 1901, has been modified in view of more recent discoveries and contributions, and presented as a doctor-dissertation. The reviewer analyzes the whole work and highly commends it. 6) Aug. Audollent. *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt, tam in Graecis Orientis, quam in totius Occidentis partibus, praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas*. Paris, 1904. Reviewed at some length by A. Grenier, who says: "La seconde thèse de M. Audollent, que l'on ne s'étonne plus d'avoir en à attendre si longtemps, forme à elle seule un monument considérable. C'est un véritable Corpus des tablettes magiques recueillies dans tout le monde grec et romain". The reviewer thinks that the author goes too far in denying that the "defixiones" had anything in common with the "devotiones". He closes with the statement: "Cette seconde thèse, jointe à l'étude de 'Carthage romaine', a valu à son auteur le titre de docteur avec la mention 'très honorable', amplement méritée".

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

BRIEF MENTION.

In this corner of the Journal I am always frankly personal and I might head *Brief Mention* as a French man of letters headed a book of his, *Mon franc parler*. It is not always an *angulus ridens*, a 'riant nook', to use the affected language of a once famous pulpit orator; and the losses that I have sustained personally and professionally in the last few months have made even the semblance of cheerfulness difficult. The daily press keeps us Americans informed as to the passing of the great lights of English scholarship, and the shock of Jebb's death was transmitted to this side on the same day it befell; but it has happened over and over again that I have missed the brief necrologies of German journals and have found out only long afterwards, sometimes by the cruel medium of a book sale, that some one in whom I took a special interest had ceased from his labours. Such was the case with Wachsmuth, the son-in-law of Ritschl, who by reason of my cult of the great master, (A. J. P. V 339 foll.), had taken me into the life of his family in 1880. Such was the case with Kaibel, of whose work I had more than once expressed my great admiration (A. J. P. XVII 127; XVIII 353; XX 108). But all my 'weather-beaten hardihood of soul' was not proof against the news of USENER's death, which did not reach me until I read the tribute paid to him by his illustrious friend and colleague, BUCHELER, in the *Neue Jahrbücher*. I knew that he had been ill, but I understood from one of his connexions in Göttingen last summer that he had rallied and the end, it seems, came suddenly after all. The state of his eyes had long rendered personal correspondence impossible, but I had hailed with pleasure every few weeks the familiar initials on the wrapper of the *Rheinisches Museum*, or on some special brochure, for he wrote unremittingly to the last. In 1904 his friends and pupils celebrated his jubilee and as a *Nachfeier* there appeared last summer a special number of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, dedicated to him as the founder and upholder of that admirable repertory. No opportunity was given me of joining the throng that hailed the completion of his fifty years in the doctorate, and more pressing matter crowded out a notice of the *Archiv* tribute. If I were an astrologer, I might account for the fascination that both the man and his writings have had for me, from the beginning of our acquaintance in 1880, by the fact that we were born on the same day of the month, though some years apart; but no such explanation is needed by any one who has enjoyed his hospitality or has followed the range of his studies. 'Ein

Junge, geboren im Monat Oktober, wird ein Kritiker und das ein recht grober' is a distich that comes up to my mind from Pückler-Muskau's 'Briefe eines Verstorbenen'. But there was no such astral influence that dominated his bearing towards me. Criticism there was, but it was as mellow as the October sun. The side of his manifold activity, by which he is perhaps best known, is one that had interested me years ago, as may be gathered from my paper on *The Legend of Venus in Essays and Studies*, a very inadequate performance as judged by the light of recent research; and it was a special pleasure to me when I had an opportunity of summarizing a book of his, as I have done for the Journal more than once, *Epicurea* (A. J. P. IX 229), *Götternamen* (A. J. P. XVII 356-366), *Sintfluthsagen* (A. J. P. XX 210-215); not to speak of minor notices. I cannot undertake to characterize the work of his life here. I have never named him but to praise, and now he is beyond my praise in every sense.

I remember well when Lachmann's Lucretius came out. There was great excitement in the philological world and as the old grammarian wrote of Persius: editum librum mirari et diripere homines coeperunt. But there was disappointment as well as excitement and I recall how a favorite teacher of mine cut the leaves of the Lucretius with feverish haste to find what Lachmann had said of one of his pet emendations. He found it and his face fell. But perhaps he would have been more chafallen had there been no mention of him. *περὶ ἐμοῦ δ' οὐδεὶς λόγος* is the unuttered cry of many a fardel-bearing Xanthias, and no one can understand the plural *silentia* better than a neglected commentator, unless it be a pilfered grammarian. But a long career has made me silence-proof, though I must confess to a queer sentimentality, when the Harpers proposed some years ago to break up the plates of my Persius as an utterly unavailable asset. It was a forerunner of the doom that overtakes us all. So it may be imagined that I was not in the least surprised to find that RAMORINO has taken no notice of my *Persius* in his *Persio* (Turin, Loescher), though recent editions are few, and the present generation of Italian scholars are nothing, if not exhaustive in the matter of 'literature', (A. J. P. XXIV 108). Besides, my Persius was a bookseller's job—honestly done, it is true, but without much heart in it, and the chief pleasure I had in the work was in the study of the congeneric literature, seeking if haply I might find something that had escaped the vision of such scholars as Casaubon and Jahn. The proportion is about the proportion of gold in sea-water. And yet I took RAMORINO with me on my travels last summer, intending to see whether he had lost anything by not consulting my work. Unfortunately or fortunately, RAMORINO's style is unbearably diffuse, his new MS seemed to me rather infructuous, and besides he

is a Neronian, so that I was hopelessly prejudiced from the start, and soon lost patience over the quest. Of course, something is to be got out of RAMORINO, and I will not repeat the contemptuous German formula 'Nichts zu holen'. The medley called satire is readily illustrated from the medley we call life, and everybody can contribute something. Only the other day I found in a newspaper correspondence the following sentence, 'Teachers do turn pale inwardly if not outwardly'. It is safe to say that the woman who wrote those words was not alluding to Pers. 3, 42: *intus palleat*, which has bothered some commentators. After I had turned my back on Persius, the alembicated heathen, and attacked Justin Martyr, the slovenly Christian, I began in the interest of my edition to read Clement of Alexandria, and other patristic writers, and, while reading, found a number of illustrations for Persius, that had been overlooked or rejected by previous editors; and not so long ago I stumbled on yet another in Lykophron (A. J. P. XXII 345), so that if I were re-editing Persius, which God forbid, I should not neglect RAMORINO, as he has neglected me, but I must frankly say, that so far as I have examined him, I do not think that he has earned the right to criticize Némethy as he has done, for like Némethy, his 'note' are 'copiose, ma non prive di errori.' Indeed, nothing could be worse in Némethy than RAMORINO's note on 1, 52: *lectis citreis* which he translates 'sofà di legno di cedro', a blunder that reminds one of Lessing's caustic remarks on the blockhead who mistranslated Horace's *trabe Cypria*. On 1, 66 he follows his own MS in reading *dirigat* for *derigat*, and takes no notice of the difference between the two words. 1, 73, the long note on Remus might have been shortened to explain the popularity of Romulus's double, (Mommsen, Hermes, XVI 1, A. J. P. III 107); or else the utterly useless note on the 'bel quadretto' of the wife of Cincinnatus, omitted. 1, 114: *secuit urbem*, he understands *secuit* of an anatomical section, 'quasi fece una sezione anatomica della sua città per mostrarne i difetti'—to me an extraordinary interpretation. But time fails me to make an anatomical section of RAMORINO.

The chief interest in the Septuagint must always lie in its relation to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament; but there are subordinate problems enough to challenge the attention of the Greek scholar proper, although the introduction of CONYBEARE and STORK'S *Selections from the Septuagint into a College Series of Greek Authors* (Ginn & Co.) seems to have been prompted mainly by international comity. It is hardly more apposite than the appearance of SCHODORF'S treatise on Greek juridical terms in SCHANZ'S contributions to Greek historical syntax. At all events the editors find it necessary to justify their presence in

such company and at the close of their discussion of the language of the LXX they remark :

The result of these various causes is often such as to cause disgust to the classical student. Indeed a learned Jesuit Father has confessed to us what a shock he received on first making acquaintance with the Greek of the Septuagint. But the fastidiousness of the classical scholar must not be nourished at the expense of narrowing the bounds of thought. The Greek language did not die with Plato ; it is not dead yet ; like the Roman Empire, it is interesting in all stages of its growth and decline. One important stage of its life-history is the ecclesiastical Greek which followed the introduction of Christianity. This could never have been but for the New Testament. But neither could the New Testament itself have been but for the Septuagint.

But if I were pleading the cause of Septuagint Greek, I should go farther than that. There are important lessons to be learned from the decay of a language even for its earlier estate, even for the days of its classical perfection. 'Language', as I have said elsewhere, (A. J. P. XXIII 258) 'remains organic. The laws of the death are the laws of the life. Deorganization is unravelling, and the unweaving teaches us the weaving'. Why, even the rag carpet enables us to reproduce the product of the fairy loom. And as for disgust, every scholar knows that those who are most shocked by later Greek are apt to be those who know precious little of the language at its best. Fastidious exactness is not incompatible with historical vision. The student of language must not pray for an imperforate nose like the slave in the Peace. Smell and vision help one another. At any rate one says with fine old Sophokles of Harvard, *συνεκποτία καὶ τὴν τρύγα*.

Now 'as the life of a language' according to CONYBEARE and STORK 'lies rather in the syntax than in the vocabulary' and 'as the modes of thought of the Septuagint are purely Hebraic', it is necessary to penetrate into the recesses of classical syntax in order to appreciate the full extent of the divergence. The rough facts every one knows. No one expects style of the Septuagint. In fact, it is the absurd literalness of the Septuagint that constitutes its great value. But after all, there are limits to literalness and there are curious concessions to Greek idiom. It is not enough to say that the noteworthy absence of the participle is explained by the paratactic character of the Hebrew narrative. That is a point that has been amply illustrated in this Journal (IX 153 foll.). But one asks: Why does it persist where it persists? The Hebrew does not suggest *ἀναστάντες κατέβητε* (Gen. XLIII 13) any more than it suggests *κύψαντες προσεκύνησαν* (v. 28) *ἀναβλέψας ἶδεν* (v. 29) *νιψάμενος τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξελθὼν ἐνεκρατεύσατο* (v. 31)—to take only one chapter. And the first example is highly idiomatic. The absence of the *μέν* and *δέ* group is a familiar characteristic of this

sphere and makes it impossible to repress a smile, when unqualified persons claim classical perfection for the Epistle of St. James (A. J. P. XVI 526), but the Greeks themselves vary much in their use of *μή* and *δέ*, though Benn went absurdly far when he maintained that the predominance of the antithetic structure of Greek is due to Pythagorean influence. It is of the essence of Greekdom. *οὐδ' ἐπὶ δεξιά, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νομήσαι βῶν*. Then there is the use of *τοῦ* with the infinitive of purpose. It has after all only a limited scope in classical Greek, and it is amusing to remember that when Schanz started his 'Beiträge' he announced his intention to write a treatise about it (A. J. P. IV 419). The book would not have had many pages. But when CONYBEARE and STORK say that there is nothing in the Hebrew to suggest it, I am not so thoroughly convinced. Hebrew ordinarily represents the genitive relation by the construct case, an instructive reversal of the Greek process, but the genitive itself is usually represented by *ל*, as in I. Sam. XIV 16, where *לַיהוָה* = *τοῦ Θεοῦ*

(LXX) and the Hebrew infinitive with the prefix *ל* would at once suggest a rendering by the Greek genitive of the articular infinitive, which is treated by the Septuagint people with the same freedom as we treat our pseudo-infinitive with *to*. And not unrelated to this group is the free employment in the Septuagint of prepositions with the articular infinitive for the rendering of Hebrew idioms. Nothing, in fact shows more distinctly the vulgarity of the Greek on which the Septuagint drew than this whole sphere of usage. The learned Jesuit, who, if he had lived in the time of Julian, would doubtless have shared the Emperor's contempt for Matthew and Luke, might not condescend to details of statistical syntax; might, in fact, be too busy holding his aesthetic nose to notice the consistence of the offensive mess, and yet it seems to me that a scholar, alive to Greek usage, would have been struck with the abnormal frequency of the aorist imperative in the LXX. In the orators, f. i. present and aorist nearly balance. In LXX Greek the aorist is monotonously predominant. This is explicable enough in the Psalms, (see my Justin Martyr, Apol. I 16, 6), but the predominance elsewhere is a significant fact which calls for some explanation or, at all events, some animadversion (see A. J. P. XXIV 482). There are other points that I have noticed, as for instance, the large use of *οὐ μή* in this sphere of Greek (XVIII 460) and one of my contributors undertook some time ago to explain *δε τὰν* (A. J. P. XXIV 447), but while Mr. CONYBEARE has not disdained to use the Journal as a medium of publication for his own researches, he has evidently not paid it the compliment of reading the contributions that have been made by it to the very subject in which he professes an especial interest and claims especial achievements.

Egypt continues to yield document after document for the illumination of the life of Mizraim under the Ptolemies, under

the Romans, all of them exceeding precious to the Egyptologist, though the vast majority lack human interest. And this is true of the *Papyrus Th. Reinach* (Paris, Leroux), a large part of which is given up to loans of wheat with only an occasional receipt. But one cannot make the same complaint of the absence of wine as was made in regard to the absence of beer in the first volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri* (A. J. P. XXIV, 110); and one of the most interesting numbers is an order for wine in which the customer bids the furnisher follow his nose in making the selection, but distinctly states that if there is any bad wine in the lot he will throw the whole thing on the contractor's hands. And highly vinous is a bit of titubant, Bacchanal poetry which will recall to every one the famous Grenfell Erotic Fragment, both by its metre and by its theme, for love figures here also, though it is a mere *κῆμος* love. 'We have here' as M. REINACH says, 'the same abrupt, passionate, asyndetic style, the same realism, with the same preciousity, (*réalisme précieux*), the same mixture of poetic expressions and of vulgarisms borrowed from the language of everyday conversation, and the same Ionisms, which betray the source of all this literature'. The run of the metre is paeonian, but M. REINACH discourages the restoration on dochmiac lines, nay, he will not even decide that it is either prose or poetry. 'En grec il n'est pas vrai de dire avec Molière: Tout ce qui n'est point prose est vers et tout ce qui n'est point vers est prose'—and he quotes Dionysius to his purpose, *De Comp.* cc. 25, 26.

Professor ALCIDE MACÉ, of Rennes, well known as a special student of Latin pronunciation, has given circulation to an address delivered by him before the International Congress of Historical Sciences, Rome, 1903, in which he urged the adoption of a uniform pronunciation of Latin, not the pronunciation of the late Republic or of the early Empire, with clear discrimination as to quantity and due regard to pitch accent. No! We must go back, not to Cicero, but to Constantine, pronounce the vowels as they are pronounced in Italian, give C, G and T, before E and I the same sound as before A, hold on to the sledge-hammer stress accent, and let the quantity go to the place in which quantity has a decided advantage over quality. The strict observance of quantity, he maintains, is practically nothing but a *pium desiderium*. 'Aliud esse scis', writes Buecheler to MACÉ, 'uelle ac posse, aliud praecipere ac perficere', for despite the pains the teachers take, there seems to be great carelessness in Germany still, as there was in my time fifty years ago. Of course, such an agreement as M. MACÉ advocates, would help forward the cause of international communication. The professional scholar might be as accurate as he pleased in his pronunciation, as beautifully accurate as Buecheler himself, but

the average man of letters and science could make himself understood all over Europe, and that is the main thing, for Latin could then be restored to its old function of a universal language. Years ago when I was struggling with the difficulties of French pronunciation a cynical Frenchman said to me, 'Why don't you and your countrymen go to Chambéry and learn to speak Savoyard French? To be sure, it is not French of the right sort, but you can never learn the real French pronunciation, and the Savoyard pronunciation anybody can learn. And then every Frenchman will understand you, which is more than can be said now'. M. MACÉ reminds me of my cynical friend. The proposition is a sad one as coming from a student of the ancient pronunciation, but 'le mieux est l'ennemi du bien', and the return to Latin seems to be more and more a necessity for the scholarly world.

Raphael Kühner tells us that in order to fit himself for writing elementary books on Greek and Latin grammar, he emptied himself of his glory as the Rector of the Lyceum at Hanover, and taught the lower classes in the school. Now I do not know whether Professor HALE was inspired by the example of Raphael Kühner or not. Indeed I have often found to my surprise that the works as well as the ways of Raphael Kühner are not so familiar even to eminent Greek scholars as they might be, and in the last few years I have noticed more than one discovery that were not discoveries to those who had waded through the *Ausführliche Grammatik* (A. J. P. XII 70, XVII 516). But whether inspired by Kühner's example or not, Professor HALE has in like manner come down from his Headship in the University of Chicago, and in order to put the practical value of his syntactical theories to the test has taught elementary classes in Latin with the satisfactory results which he has set forth in the first number of the new *Classical Journal*. Now I do not wish to discourage such experiments, and have great hesitation about intruding into such illustrious company, but I feel it my duty to say that my own experience has made me very skeptical as to the value of such tests. It has been my fortune to conduct classes in elementary Greek—not from choice, Heaven forbid—but from sheer necessity, and it always seemed to me that I acquitted myself there better than anywhere else; and yet I am popularly supposed to be a thing made up of impracticalities. At least a scholar whom I hold in high esteem told the world some years ago that he could not avail himself of my grammatical work on account of the elementary character of his own manual. 'For young students' he says, 'a simple, clear, and brief statement is essential', from which I draw the unflattering, but inevitable inference that my presentation of Greek syntax is 'complicated', 'obscure' and 'prolix'. Now

I do not undertake to defend myself against these charges, at least in this place; but the fact abides that as a teacher I have always made my nostrums go down and have had abundant evidence that once down they did their office, whereas so many grammatical rules simply come up undamaged by the digestive process of their recipients. However, any enthusiastic teacher, any theorist enamored of his own tenets, can tell of the same experience; and I have no doubt that Rector Raphael Kühner found the boys very ready to take in the optative for the subjunctive of the historical tenses and the interrogative nature of the negative $\mu\eta$ in sentences of fear, and all the other things that even the piety of his editors has not enabled them to swallow. So perhaps Professor HALE's experiments with what I have ventured to call his spectrum gratings of the Latin subjunctive may not be so conclusive as he fancies. Just think with what docility the boys of the past generation took in 'absolute' and 'relative' time, as nonsensical a notion, I venture to say, as was ever foisted on a credulous grammatical public. Some years went by and the relative and absolute flag was hauled down by those who had flown it most resolutely before the world; and those of us who were deemed behind the times because we refused to accept the terminology, were justified of our reserve and by no one more effectively than by Professor HALE himself. Of Professor HALE's methods in Latin I have no criticism to make, however we may differ in our interpretation of the phenomena of Greek. All that I venture to suggest is that the acceptance of a teacher's methods in the practice of the school is not quite so conclusive an argument for their didactic value as Professor HALE seems to think.

The bare title, *Kultur der Gegenwart* (Teubner), recalls the golden days when everybody believed in the mission of the classical literatures and languages, to which one of the volumes of this new Cyclopaedia is consecrated. Like the *Companion to Greek Studies*, edited by Mr. WHIBLEY, it is a wholesome reminder that there is something besides grammar. Grammar is needful. It is the iron in the ferro-concrete mass, but it is not the whole building. In the German work, *Greek Literature* is handled by WILAMOWITZ, *Roman Literature* by LEO, two masters, rarely equipped for the task; in the English work, *Greek Literature* has fallen to the peerless JEBB: and it would be interesting to note the differences between WILAMOWITZ and JEBB; for the comparative study of literature extends to the varying national conceptions of foreign literatures as well. But as I write, the death of the veteran, WILHELM VON CHRIST reminds me that I have thus far failed to notice the appearance of the fourth edition of his *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* with considerable

additions to the iconography by FURTWÄNGLER and SIEVEKING (Munich, Beck). Those who remember the days when there was practically nothing but Nicolai for the post-classical time, will be grateful to the unwearied scholar, whose individual contributions to a wide range of Greek studies entitled him to draw on the resources of others. For no history of Greek literature can be autoptical throughout. To read reflectively all the Greek that can be called literature from Homer, say, even to Nonnos, does not seem feasible. And if it were feasible, the cloistered soul who should accomplish it, would not be fit to deal with literature, which is not to be divorced from life. Even classical Greek literature is a severe strain. A gallant spirit, like Mr. Gilbert Murray, may take up classical Greek literature as a very little thing; and doubtless one can scamper through it after a fashion in a few months, but to form a personal estimate of every author even of the classical period, an estimate reposing on close study is another matter. Impressions have a certain interest. Epigrams may serve to amuse. But what does the specialist care for the judgment of these nimble wits? Read the originals, of course, rather than the commentators. But it is impossible to characterize an author aright without attacking the problems of genesis, the problems of genuineness. Homer alone is the study of a lifetime. The vision of Plato shifts according to the order, according to the range of the canon. Euripides suggests a long list of questions, and we cannot escape a library of treatises from A. W. Schlegel to Wilamowitz. One must read DECHARME, whose *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre* has recently been translated into English by Mr. LOEB for those who are so unfortunate as not to read French (Macmillan). NESTLE is not negligible (A. J. P. XXIII 111); and who would not surrender for a while to the charm of the ingenious Dr. VERRALL, who has just added *Four Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge University Press), to his other remarkable Euripidean studies? Then an author out of his setting is naught. You can read all the fragments of Archilochos in a little while, but M. HAUETTE's *Archiloque* (Fontemoing) is a serious proposition of some 300 pages. But, wholly autoptical or not, CHRIST's *History of Greek Literature* is a valuable compend, so valuable that I made a summary of it for my own use, when it first appeared. Compilers, according to their own confession, 'lean heavily' on it. If in my summary I have borne down on it heavily, here and there, the world will never know it. *Sit tibi terra levis*.

I never join in the chorus of lamentations over the lost points in antique comedy. The type is the main thing. Archedemus serves my purpose in characterizing an immature commentator just as well as if I knew the date of his ἀμφιδρόμια, if he had any.

Allusions fifty years old are as dead as allusions two thousand years old. Dickens requires an annotator as much as Aristophanes. In a letter from Bismarck to his sister Malwine (SCHÖNFELD's *Bismarck's Letters and Speeches*, p. 210, Appleton), I read, 'Meine Kinder rufen "Pietsch kommt" in der Freude dass ich einen Schönhauser Diener dieses Namens habe'. 'Erebo obscurius', as Kock exclaimed when he took St. Paul's ἐγὼ γὰρ ᾄδω σπένδομαι (2 Tim., 4, 6), for a comic fragment. 'Pietsch kommt' was a bit of slang out of my student days in Berlin more than fifty years ago, and the explanation must be sought in the Kladderadatsch of the period. To me the joy of the children at the living incorporation of a slang phrase is quite comprehensible. To the same epoch belongs the story of the boy with frost-bitten hands (p. 243, 26)—wrong reference in SCHÖNFELD. 'Geschieft meenen Vater schon recht. Warum kooft er mich keene Handschuhe nicht'. But a Berlin friend tells me that my dialect is wrong.¹ I wonder if Aristophanes' Laconian was any better than my Berlinesse.

C. K.: For nearly a century no edition of the *Disputationes Tusculanae* has appeared in the British Islands. Mr. T. W. DOUGAN, of Queen's College, Belfast, undertakes to remedy this omission; volume I of his edition, covering Books I–II, in octavo form, costing ten shillings, appeared last summer. Mr. DOUGAN prides himself on presenting a revised text; he lays stress in his preface on the many MSS he has collated or examined, and devotes to them about 31 of the 51 pages of his introduction. It is a great pity, therefore, that he did not put together a table of the passages in which his text is, in his judgment, an improvement over Mueller's. Why should the reader be compelled to trace this point out himself, line by line? The sources of I–II are discussed on pages xx–xxvi. The editor seems to be entirely unaware of the numerous other writings with which in certain places Tusculans I has affinities. Had he surmised this and then read the Einleitung to Norden's edition of Aeneid VI he could have made solid additions to his scrappy and inadequate treatment.

Some of the grammatical notes are beneath the dignity of a book of this form: will any one who uses such an edition need two notes within the first five lines of the Latin text on the subjunctive in *cum*-causal clauses? Akin to this is the editor's habit of giving full accounts of familiar stories (e. g. in a note on II. 20 he gives in detail the story of the shirt of Nessus, etc.) instead of merely referring to a classical dictionary or to some classical account, such as Ovid's.

¹ S'is meenen Vater schon recht, wenn ick mir de Fingern verfrierte; warum kooft er mer keene Handschuhe nicht?

The work of American scholars seems to be unknown to our editor. In I 3 he brackets the last clause, *qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Ennius*. A study of Professor Hendrickson's paper on Pre-Varronian Literary History (A. J. P. XIX 285 ff.: see especially 295) would have helped him much here. For my own part I may say that I have long felt that this clause could easily be retained. Since the ablative absolute *C. Claudio . . . Ennium* is after all a wholly subordinate phrase, a mere temporal adverb in effect, why may not *qui* refer back to *Livius*, spite of the adjacent *Ennium*? On II 20-22, Cicero's translation of Sophocles Trach. 1046-1102, there is no reference to Professor Earle's careful discussion of this passage in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, XXXIII (1902), 21-29.

I miss many things, too, in the account on pages lvi-lxii of the argument of I-II. I hope some day to see an edition of a philosophical work of Cicero in which each book shall be plotted out, so to say, and the relations of the various sections to one another shall receive entirely adequate treatment. For example, it would be worth while, even in an edition such as this aims to be, to point out that I 35 is a summing up of I 27-34. §§36-52 of this book do not receive sufficient attention, either in the commentary or in the introduction. How do they fit into the scheme of this book? Cicero's purpose is to prove that the soul is immortal: yet in 36 ff. he writes as if, fully convinced that he had demonstrated the immortality of the soul, he were at liberty to talk of the state of the soul and its abiding place after death. It would be worth an editor's while, too, to consider afresh the paragraphing and sectioning; while retaining, of course, for purposes of reference, the traditional division, he might well indicate also the results of a more rigidly logical system of analysis. Recent class-room work of this sort on the first book of the *De Officiis* has convinced me anew of its value. So, to return to the *Tusculans*, if chapter XVIII and section 41 of Book I were both made to begin with *Horum igitur aliquid*, etc., two or three lines above the point where in the traditional division XVIII begins, and if everything from *Horum igitur aliquid* through *concalescunt*, 42, were set in a single paragraph, the connection of ideas would, I think, be far more readily grasped.

The octavo form of this book, its price, the preface and the elaborate apparatus criticus excite high expectations, but these the introduction and the commentary do not fulfill. It is instructive to contrast the editor's notes with the contributions he has included from the pen of Dr. Reid; the latter are as good as everything is which Dr. Reid writes on Cicero.

D. M. R.: *Die Hellenische Kultur*, by the triumvirate FRITZ BAUMGARTEN, FRANZ POLAND and RICHARD WAGNER (Teub-

ner, Leipzig, 1905), is a book in every way to be commended. An introduction on 'Land und Leute' and on 'Sprache und Religion' is followed by an excellent account of the Mycenaean Age (part I), of the political and private and religious life of the Greeks, of Greek architecture and sculpture and painting (including vases), and of Greek literature and philosophy in the Greek Middle Ages (part II), and in the fifth and fourth centuries down to the time of Alexander the Great (part III). The work is concluded with a good index and a comparative chronological table for history, literature and art. Though written for the home as well as for the school and though entirely void of bibliography, the book is very scholarly, and has taken into account the latest investigations, archaeological and philological. For example, on the archaeological side a brief but good account is given of the excavations at Delphi with an excellent plan and reconstruction from the *Nouvelles Fouilles de Delphes*. On the philological side might be cited the excellent treatment of Bacchylides and Timotheos. Especially to be praised is the beautiful make-up of the book, printed as it is on the best paper and adorned with seven colored plates and 355 illustrations, many of which are not to be found in other handbooks. Every classical student will welcome the book because of these fine reproductions, which are taken from the best and most recent publications. But there are a few exceptions. Many vase-paintings are reproduced from Furtwängler und Reichhold, but the François vase is taken from the antiquated work of Rayet et Collignon. The frontispiece gives a colored reproduction of a corner of the pre-Peisisistratean Hekatompedon from Wiegand's *Poros-architektur*, but on p. 138 we have the old restoration of its pedimental sculptures given by Brueckner in the *Athen. Mitth.* XIV. Nor is any account taken in the text of the work of Wiegand or of Furtwängler. P. 209 the illustration of the Pnyx is taken from an inadequate drawing in Curtius' *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, and Curtius' view that the so-called Pnyx served a religious purpose is accepted. This betrays an ignorance of Crow's paper on the Athenian Pnyx (cf. *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. IV). P. 298 the head of Iris, discovered by Waldstein, is omitted from the east frieze of the Parthenon.

There are many statements which one could dispute. But attention may be limited to the following more obvious errors. P. 108, pl. II the stoa of the Athenians at Delphi, dated about 506 B. C., is said to have been built after the battle of Salamis. Pp. 272, 273 the sculptures of the Treasury of the Cnidians, which belong to the last quarter of the sixth century, are dated after the Persian wars, and are placed after the Olympia pedimental sculptures. P. 242 on the well-known Berlin cylix of Duris, representing a school scene, a flute-case is called "ein Futteral für eine Rolle mit daranhängendem Titelzettel", and

p. 243 a papyrus-roll is called a flute-case. P. 251 30,000 is given as the seating capacity of the theatre at Athens, 60,000 for the theatre at Ephesus. If these numbers were divided by two, we should have a more correct statement. P. 424 the Ionic vase of the sixth century, representing the comical scene of Heracles slaying Busiris, is classed as late-Etruscan. But for a work covering such a large field, the book is extremely accurate and deserves all praise. A high standard has been set for the second volume which will picture "Die Kultur des Hellenismus und des Römervolkes". In this day, when Jebb the philologist (Bacchylides p. 225) says with regard to the Theseus cylix (*Die Hellenische Kultur*, pl. VIII) that "Amphitrite bestows no wreath on Theseus" as in Ode XVI of Bacchylides, and when Walters the archaeologist (*History of Ancient Pottery* II p. 110) says of this same vase that "the subject cannot be placed in literary tradition", such a book as *Die Hellenische Kultur* supplies the needed link between philology and archaeology.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 11 E. 17th St., New York, for material furnished.

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I.—ANCIENT SINOPE.

FIRST PART.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

No monograph on Sinope has been written since 1855. In that year, when interest in the Black Sea towns had been for some time stimulated by the Crimean war, and Sinope had been forced into temporary prominence by a naval battle near the town between the Turks and Russians, appeared W. T. Streuber's historical sketch (*Sinope, ein Historisch-Antiquarischer Umriss*, Basel, 1855). It was marred by many mistakes, and the author could not avail himself of the numerous inscriptions and coins which have since thrown so much light upon the city's annals. Many of the best histories of Greece and of the Greek colonies, moreover, have been written during the half-century that has elapsed since that time. In 1902, while I was studying as fellow at the American School in Athens, Professor Edward Capps suggested that I use the opportunity to make a thorough investigation of all material connected with ancient Sinope and, if practicable, embody the results in a connected account. Kindly letters from Professor Edward Meyer of Berlin and Professor George Busolt of Göttingen encouraged me to make the attempt. After much preliminary study I went in June, 1903, to live in the town itself, made journeys in different directions through the immediate locality and sought to quicken and unify my investigations into a living, historic portrayal. How far I have succeeded the reader must judge for himself.

The indebtednesses of the author are of course many and varied, as the notes and references indicate. In addition to the geographical works cited on page 126, mention should be made of the brief *Sinopicarum Quaestionum Specimen* by M. Sengebusch (Berlin, 1846), of the article by Six on coins of Sinope in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1885, of the general histories, and especially of Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos*, and Reinach-Götz, *Mithradates Eupator*. The ancient sources and other modern works will be found cited throughout the paper.

CHAPTER I.

THE SITE.

The configuration of the country round Sinope, its geographic position, its products, the security of its double harbor, and the impregnability of its rocky promontory, have conspired to write its name in the annals of war, of commerce, of popular and governmental independence and development, and of biography, literature, and art.

The northern coast of Asia Minor is like a central mounting billow with a trough on each side. The billow and the two troughs taken together, form the entire southern shore of the Pontus, and the outline is symmetrical, so that the crest of the wave is the middle point of the shore. The crest, however, is somewhat flattened, and just at its eastern edge, before it begins to fall away, it throws out a bold promontory.¹ From the eastern corner of this main promontory² juts out in a north-easterly direction the smaller peninsula on whose low landward neck Sinope is built.³

The peninsula itself is a promontory,⁴ about 600 feet in height, with precipitous sides and a broad level table-land at the top. Its outline somewhat resembles that of a boar's head with the

¹ Called Syrias in Marcian, *Epitome Peripli Maris Interni*. 9; but Lepte in Arrian, *Peripl.* 21; and Syrias Acrulepte in the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 20. Cf. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* I, pp. 571, 387, 406. The modern Turkish name is Indjé-burun.

² *Geographi Minores*, pl. XVIII.

³ Cf. Strabo XII 545 ἰδρνται γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐχένι Χερρονήσου; cf. Polybius IV 56, οἰκεῖται δ' ἐπὶ τινος Χερρονήσου προτεινόμενης εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἥς τὸν μὲν αὐχένα τὸν συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅς ἐστιν οὐ πλείων ὀνοῖν σταδίων, ἢ πόλις ἐπικειμένη διακλεῖται κυρίως. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς Χερρονήσου πρόκειται μὲν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἐστὶ δ' ἐπίπεδον καὶ πανευέφωδον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, κύκλῳ δ' ἐκ θαλάττης ἀπότομον καὶ δυσπροσέρμυστον καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγας ἔχον προσβάσεις; Herod. IV 12; Eust. *Commentarii* 248, 773, 970; Plut. Luc. 23.

⁴ Several travellers and geographers mention this promontory, which to-day is called Boz-tepé (gray hill), a name which is also applied to the Greek quarter of Sinope, just outside the walls of the Turkish village, itself called Sinub or Sinob or Sinab; and also to the eastern cape where the modern lighthouse stands: cf. Meletios, *Geographie* p. 482; Ritter, *Kleinasien* I, pp. 784, 794; Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*. II, p. 344 ff; Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, p. 275; Taitbout de Marigny,

highest point at the snout in the extreme east. It is about two miles in length and one mile in width at the widest part. It appears to have been of volcanic formation and, judging by the cretaceous over the volcanic deposits, to have been at one time below the level of the sea and afterwards heaved up slowly into its present position. The rock is evidently of volcanic nature and is of the same quality with those in eastern Anatolia. In the north central part of the nearly level plateau there still exists a lake which is at present very shallow, but which probably is an old crater.¹ Such geologic formation, after decomposition by the weather, has considerable fertility.² At the time of my visit cows, horses, and goats were pasturing upon the short grass. There were also abundant wild flowers and shrubbery, including juniper and laurel. Under the conditions of an ancient siege the produce of the entire area might support a considerable army even when all other supplies were cut off. Water also would be abundant. A short distance down the slope by which the promontory descends to the town,³ there is a cave in which there is an underground stream of cool, drinkable water.⁴ Both the inflow and the outflow are secure from pollution. An underground passage-way leads from the cave down to the town. Its date is later than the Greek or Roman period, but the idea of reaching the hidden water in this protected way might have suggested itself at any time. There are springs also on the plateau itself,⁵ one of which in the

Pilote de la Mer Noire et de la Mer d'Azov, p. 159; Tozer, *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor*, p. 7. A view of Sinope and Boz-tepé from the southeast is given in Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant* II, lettre 17, p. 203; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* IX, p. 566 (with map and photograph of Sinope); Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*, p. 394; cf. also page 128, note 4 of this paper and Mannert, *Géographie* 6, 3, 15.

¹ This is the opinion of Brauns, who wrote a good article on the geology of the peninsula of Sinope, entitled *Beobachtungen in Sinope*, in the *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* N. F. II (1857), p. 28 ff. He gives a good geological map.

² Cf. Strabo XII 545, ἀνωθεν μέντοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐγείων ἐστὶ τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἀγροκηπίους κεκόσμηται πυκνοῖς, πολλὸν δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ πρόσταται.

³ Cf. Polybius IV 56.

⁴ The cave to-day is called 'Byzana' by the Greeks, because the water seems to flow from breasts. A religious ceremony is performed there in the spring-time. Perhaps Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, p. 312, refers to this cave.

⁵ The modern town gets its water from the peninsula; cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.* p. 312.

southeasterly portion sends its stream out horizontally from a hillock into a sarcophagus of Roman date bearing a Greek inscription.¹

While the general outline of the promontory may be compared to a boar's head, its steep bristling sides have caused it to be likened to a petrified hedgehog.² The action of the sea against rocks of varying hardness, such as trachyte, black volcanic breccia, red chalky scaglia, also varying greatly in density, shelly limestone, and sandstone,³ has left a mass of sharp projections around the coast. Down at the water-line, and below the surface, the sea has hollowed out caves and water-filled holes, the "Choenicides" of Strabo.⁴ Upon such a shore⁵ it was almost impossible to effect a landing, and still more difficult to reach the easily defended plateau above.

Descending in a southwesterly direction along the axis of the promontory, we cross through the low neck, narrowed by the double harbor to about a quarter of a mile⁶ in width and ascend to the mainland, a region of extraordinary beauty and fertility. Southward the foreground shows scattered areas of wheat, barley, corn, rice, and other grain interspersed with vineyards and orchards of fruit-trees of the widest variety. There are apples, pears, figs, peaches, plums, medlars, apricots and cherries. The last are natives of this southern shore and are believed to have been carried from this place of origin to Italy and thence to other lands. Cerasus, a colony of Sinope on this same shore,⁷ got its name from the abundance of its cherry-trees.⁸ The olive tree

¹ Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905) p. 315, no. 44.

² Cf. Reinach-Götz, Mithradates Eupator p. 352 and the epithet *ἐχινώδης* applied to the rock in Strabo XII 545. Cf. also Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 14.

³ Cf. the article of Brauns, p. 28 ff. and Hamilton, op. cit. p. 312 for the geology of the promontory of Sinope.

⁴ Cf. Strabo XII 545. καὶ κύκλῳ δ' ἡ Ξερρόνησος προβέβληται ραχιδέεις ἀκτὰς ἐχοῦσας καὶ κοιλάδας τινὰς ὥσανεὶ βόθρους πετρίνους οὓς καλοῦσι χοινικίδας. πληροῦνται δὲ οὗτοι μετεωρισθείσης τῆς θαλάττης, ὥς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐπρόσιτον τὸ χωρίον καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς πέτρας ἐπιφάνειαν ἐχινώδη καὶ ἀνεπίβατον εἶναι γυμνῷ ποδί. For the Choenicides, cf. Hamilton, op. cit. p. 310 and Ritter, Kleinasien I, p. 776.

⁵ Orph. Argonautika 757, τρηχύν τ' ἀγκῶνα Σινώπης; Polyb. IV 56, 5 and note 4 on this page.

⁶ Cf. Polyb. ibid., οὐ πλεον δυοῖν σταδίων.

⁷ Xen. Anab. V 3, 2.

⁸ Athen. II 51 a; Plin. N. H. XV 30; Ammianus XXII 8, 16; Steph. s. Κέρασος Eust. II. II 853; Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere,⁸ pp. 327, 345 f.

was anciently more abundant than now,¹ and Sinope is its westward limit on the Pontus.² I saw but few groves,³ whereas Strabo seems to think of the whole region as covered with them. Further away in the background and to the eastward and westward are noble forests of oak, pine, walnut, chestnut, maple, elm, beech, box, cypress, and other trees, with an undergrowth of shrubs. There are also many of the latter out in the open. In the distance is the purple, waving outline of the mountain rampart, which separated the old Greek civilization of the coast from the barbarian people of the interior,⁴ and, in fact, performs a similar function to-day. The mountainous district, however, must not be thought of as rugged and unfertile; for, on the contrary, it is like the maritime plain, richly productive, the mountain slopes and valleys especially possessing a high degree of fertility.

The exact area of the territory of the state of Sinope⁵ cannot now be determined. It was much less than that of the province of Paphlagonia to which it belonged,⁶ whether the eastern limit of that province be drawn at the Thermodon, the Iris, or the town of Amisus;⁷ for Strabo indicates a separation between the district

¹ Cf. Strabo XII 546, ἀπασα δὲ καὶ ἐλαιόφυτρός ἐστιν ἡ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης γεωργουμένη and 73, τὰ δὲ τῆς Σινώπης προάστεια καὶ τῆς Ἀμισοῦ καὶ τῆς Φαναροίας τὸ πλεον ἐλαιόφυτά ἐστι; Cf. Eust. II. II 853.

² Xen. Anab. VI 4, 6, and Jaubert op. cit. p. 395 "Plus près de Constantinople l'humidité du sol et l'inconstance des vents empêchent que cet arbre délicat ne prospère". Perhaps the southwestern wind that blew from Phrygia, called *βερεκυντίας* was the cause of the growth of the olives at Sinope; cf. Aristotle 973 a, 24; frag. 238, 1521 b, 17.

³ On Boz-tepé just outside the Greek quarter as you go toward the Quarantine Station, Nesi Kieui, there is to-day a grove of olives, and there are some on the mainland, but the tree is not in favor among the present inhabitants.

⁴ Cf. Cic. de Rep. 2, 4.

⁵ The name of the city itself is Σινώπη. L. and S. give a short ι, but cf. Herodian, *περὶ Ὁρθογραφίας* ed. Lentz II 580, 26. Xenophon says also ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις. The name of the Sinopean district is in Xen. (Anab. V 6, 11) ἡ Σινωπέων χώρα, in Strabo (XII 546, 561 and elsewhere) ἡ Σινωπίτις or Σινωπὶς. Steph. Byz. gives also Σινωπὶς and Σινωπικόν. The male inhabitant is Σινωπέης, Herodian, ed. Lentz II 891, 27, or Σινωπίτης (cf. Dion. Orb. Descr. 255 and Herodian, ed. Lentz I 77; II 869, 37), in Latin Sinopensis or Sinopeus; the female inhabitant Σινωπὶς (cf. Herodian II 891, 1). The adjective is Σινωπικός (Steph. Byz.). Σινωπαῖος occurs in C. I. G. 7074.

⁶ Xen. Anab. VI 1, 15. Σινωπεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ. So also Strabo XII 544 f., Diodorus XIV 31, Pliny N. H. VI 2 and Arrian, *Peripl.* 20, 21.

⁷ Herodotus I 72 and Strabo XII 1, 1; 3, 9, 25 seem to make the Halys the eastern boundary, but Scylax and Marcian, the river Evarchus. In Xeno-

of Amisus and the district of Sinope at the river Halys,¹ still further to the west. On the other hand it is equally clear that Sinope did not extend its power westward to the Bithynian border.² Nature erected a southern limit in the Olgassys mountains.³ Perhaps we should not be far from the truth if we bounded the ancient Sinopean district by the Pontus on the north, the Halys on the east, the Olgassys mountains on the south, and an indefinite line on the west drawn at about the 32nd parallel.⁴

Returning to the town on the neck of the promontory we find upon the site of the ancient city an inner walled enclosure with a Turkish castle and prison, probably the site of the Sinopean acropolis, and outside the wall northeastward, toward the promontory, the Greek and Christian quarter.⁵ Unhappily there are few certain data for reconstructing the ancient city. Looking down from the height above I tried in vain to make a mental plan which would include the stoas, gymnasium, and market-place,⁶ the Palace of Mithradates,⁷ and the Temple of Serapis. There are no ruins or even any mounded outlines for points of departure. However, we have the two walls across the isthmus which have been built and razed and rebuilt in the same positions and out of the most heterogeneous materials arranged in the most disorderly manner. There are foundation stones from buildings; columns of Roman date whose unfluted sides indicate their previous position in stoas;⁸ pieces of sculpture scattered at random, including a lion built into the top of the wall, in one case, while a similar one lies upon the ground;⁹ and pieces of architraves and of cor-

phon's time the Thermodon was the boundary. Plin. VI 2 makes Amisus a city in Paphlagonia. Ptolemy makes a mistake when he (V 4 and VIII 17, 26) includes Sinope in Galatia. It belonged later to the Roman province of Bithynia and Pontus, but never to Galatia (cf. on this Cumont, *Revue des Études Grecques* XVI (1903), pp. 25-27.

¹ Cf. Strabo, XII 546, 560; Arrian Peripl. 22; Anonym. Peripl. 25.

² Strabo, XII 546.

³ Strabo, XII 561, 562.

⁴ Armene, fifty stadia to the west, was part of Sinope: cf. *Ἀρμένην τῆς Σινώπης*, Xen. Anab. VI 1, 15; Strabo, XII 545. But the district of Sinope certainly extended still further west.

⁵ Cf. the geographers and travellers quoted above.

⁶ Cf. Strabo XII 546 αὐτὴ δ' ἡ πόλις τετείχισται καλῶς, καὶ γυμνασίῳ δὲ καὶ ἀγορᾷ καὶ στοαῖς κεκόσμηται λαμπρῶς.

⁷ What the inhabitants call "the Palace of Mithradates", a large structure in Boz-tepé with three vaulted chambers and a Byzantine chapel in its midst, is of later date than Mithradates. Hamilton, op. cit. p. 312 refers to it.

⁸ Perhaps they come from the stoas mentioned by Strabo.

⁹ Cf. Hommaire de Hell, op. cit. p. 346; Hamilton, op. cit., p. 309.

nices. Many other pieces of carving have been carried away by individuals or have found their way into museums, especially that at Constantinople. In the wall nearest the mainland, but on the inside, are arches indicating the remains of a Roman aqueduct.¹ This part of this wall is better built than the rest and probably goes back to Roman date, whereas the greater portion of it, like the other walls, was built by the Genoese and later by Turks.

The main factor in the making of Sinope, as in the making of Cyzicus, has been its double harbor² commanding the eastward and westward sea and in both ancient and modern times the best on the southern shore of the Pontus. In ancient times the southerly harbor was improved and ruins exist of a mole³ which seems to be as old as Mithradates the Great. No river flows into either harbor to silt it up, but the northerly harbor has been shallowed by sand deposits and is no longer usable by vessels of modern draft. The deeper water and the lighter draft vessels of the ancient day, however, made it accessible for commercial purposes.⁴ It may be that even in the time of Pericles and later in the days of Mithradates the northerly harbor was deep enough for their full-sized craft.

CHAPTER II.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SITE.

It may well be believed that, however unimportant, through distance and misrule, Sinope may have come to be in the eyes of our western world, the ancient Greeks would hold in high esteem a city-state so fertile, so fortified, and so far-reaching in its natural command of the land and of the sea. An examination

¹ Cf. Hommaire de Hell, op. cit. p. 346; Hamilton, op. cit. p. 309; Ritter, op. cit. p. 789-790; cf. also Pliny Ep., X 91.

² Cf. Strabo XII 545, *ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ λιμένες*.

³ Taitbout de Marigny, op. cit. p. 159; Hamilton, op. cit. p. 310.

⁴ In his epitome of the journey of Menippus, Marcian of Heraclea 9 speaks of an island lying off Sinope, *κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων νησίον, ὃ καλεῖται Σκόπελος. Ἐχει δὲ δίκπλουν τοῖς ἐλάττωσι πλοίοις, τὰ δὲ μείζονα περιπλεῖν δεῖ καὶ οὕτω καταίρειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ τοῖς περιπλέονσι τὴν νῆσον πλείους ἄλλοι στάδιοι μ'* (Müller, Geog. Gr. Min. I, p. 571). An anonymous Byzantine writer (Müller, p. 407) of the fifth century uses the same words, doubtless derived from the same source, which is of about the time of Augustus. But the only island existing to-day at Sinope is a small low-lying rock off the promontory, mentioned by Taitbout de Marigny, op. cit. p. 159, the détour of which could not possibly

of their literature shows that such was the actual fact. Strabo¹ and Diodorus² thought it the most notable and important of all cities on the southern shore of the Pontus. Mela³ joins it with Amisus as one of the two most famous cities of the whole region. Valerius Flaccus⁴ calls it "great and wealthy", Eutropius⁵ "most noble" and Stephanus of Byzantium⁶ and Eustathius⁷ "most eminent". Among later writers, Ammianus⁸ and Phrantzes⁹ class it among important cities of antiquity.

More significant testimonies, however, are watermarked rather than expressed. Plautus' Curculio (v. 443) sneers at the *leno* that he, all by himself, within the last twenty days has conquered half of all the nations, including Persians, Paphlagonians, Sinopeans, Arabs, Carians, Cretans, etc. But while his whole long list contains the names of so many nationalities the only city important enough to be included in the sneer is Sinope.

increase the necessary sailing distance by more than a small fraction of 40 stadia. Moreover, the water between this island and the mainland is very deep, and even the largest modern steamer sails boldly through the passage. The solution of the difficulty seems to lie in the word *νησίον*. A peninsula was a land island, (*χερσόνησος*, Halb-insel). The village at the Quarantine station on the promontory to-day is called Nesi Kieu (the island village). The modern Greeks as a matter of fact at present speak of the whole promontory as *νησί*. The confusion between the little island and the promontory has extended to modern writers. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 15 says, "ante hunc portum insula quaedam sita erat, *Σκόπελος* vocata. Naviculis per fretum navigare licebat, quod inter illam est et terram continentem, XL vel L stadium iter; magnae naves onerariae Scopelum circumnavigabant per altum mare, LXXX vel LXXXX stadium iter". And even Ritter (Kleinasien, p. 794), following the authority of a Black Sea pilot (Taitbout de Marigny), connects the little island with the Scopelus of Marcian, while in an earlier passage (p. 776) he has made the same word of the same passage refer to the promontory. The increased sailing distance of vessels going round the promontory corresponds quite exactly to the 40 stadia of the writer whom Marcian epitomizes. (Sengebusch wrongly gives 80 or 90 stadia.) And *δέκπλουν* evidently refers not to sailing between the little island and the mainland, but simply to the passage from the town out through the northerly harbor into the open sea. The true interpretation then, of the original writer whom Marcian epitomizes, is that vessels of light draft could sail directly out from or directly into the northerly harbor, while those drawing more water must circumnavigate the promontory for an extra distance of 40 stadia in order to reach the other harbor.

¹ Cf. XII 545, ἀξιολογωτάτη τῶν ταύτη πόλεων.

² XIV 31 μέγιστον εἶχεν ἀξίωμα τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους.

³ I 19.

⁴ V 109.

⁵ VI 8.

⁶ Cf. s. v. Σινώπη.

⁷ Eust. Commentarii 773.

⁸ XXII 8, 16.

⁹ I 32; IV 19.

Sinope was also the name of a prominent courtesan at Athens who either took or received the name Sinope in the same fashion as other harlots were called Megara and Cyrene.¹ Nor was she a mere individual, or subordinate character, but rather the mistress of an establishment of some size, the inmates of which included the celebrated Pythionike.² The woman also figured in Athenian comedies,³ and even caused a verbal coinage, *σινωπίζειν*,⁴ which meant "to be debauched or dissolute". She seems moreover to have been a marked figure in Athenian life for a long enough period to be called at last Abydos, διὰ τὸ γράυς εἶναι.⁵

Sinope, however, has much more reputable associations than these. The scholiast, on the *Odyssey* XII 257, mentions one Sinopos as a companion of Odysseus who was engulfed by the whirlpool at Scylla and Charybdis.⁶ One of the seven editions of Homer was the Sinopic.⁷ One of the cities whose constitution Aristotle thought worthy of a treatise was Sinope.⁸ One of the deliberative orations ascribed, however inaccurately, to Isocrates was the *Σινωπικός*.⁹ The earliest Greek writers¹⁰ celebrated the mythology of this town.

We may note in passing that Sinope was considered to be the headquarters of the Cimmerians,¹¹ that its fortifications were

¹ Sinope was a harlot also in Aegina and Corinth, cf. Athenaeus XIII 595 a; Suidas, s. *Ἐραῖραι Κορίνθιαι*; Schol. Arist. Plut. 149; Dem. XXII 610; LIX 1385; Athenaeus XIII 594 a. For fact that harlots as slaves were often named after their birth-place, cf. Bechtel, *Die Attischen Frauennamen*, p. 57 f. (Bechtel omits the names of the harlots Sinope and Cyrene. For Cyrene cf. Arist. Thesm. 98; Frogs 1328.

² Cf. Athenaeus XIII 595 a; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, I 2, p. 239.

³ Cf. Athenaeus VIII 339 a; XIII 558 b, 567 f, 586 a.

⁴ Cf. Apostol. XV 50 in Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, II, p. 641; and Suidas, Photius, Hesychius, s. v. *σινωπίζειν*.

⁵ Cf. Athenaeus XIII 558 b, 586 a; cf. Photius, Suidas, Harpocration s. v. *Σινώπη*.

⁶ Cf. Eustathius 1721, 9; Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unters* VII 167; Maass, (*Hermes*, XXIII 618) identifies him, rather improbably with Sinon who played an important part in the taking of Troy in the *Little Iliad*. Cf. Virgil *Aeneid* II, 29 and also Paus. X 27, 3.

⁷ Schol. Il. I 298, 423, 435; II 258; V 461. Wolf's *Prolegomena*, p. 175; Pauly, *Realencyclop.* s. v. *Homerus*; Ludwig, *Aristarchs Hom Text-kritik*, I, p. 4.

⁸ Schol. Ap. Rhod. II 948; Arist. fr. 540, 1567 b23. ⁹ Cf. Anonym. Vit. Isoc.

¹⁰ Eumelus of Corinth and Hecataeus of Miletus. Cf. Schol. Ap. Rhod. II 946; Eudocia s. v. *Σινώπη* and Arist. l. c.

¹¹ Her. IV 12; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I, p. 453.

renowned,¹ and that its fleet dominated the Pontus and even sailed away for contests in other seas.²

As a last testimony to the consequence of Sinope, and in order to put it in immediate connection with our discussion of the commerce of the port in the next chapter, we here note that Sinope was a frequent point from which to reckon distances and for elucidating geographical relations.³ Although Pteria is not near Sinope, as was formerly supposed, but was considerably south of it, as Ramsay shows,⁴ it was nevertheless spoken of as *κατὰ Σινώπην*,⁵ or as we might say, on the same parallel with Sinope. And again, although the narrowest part of Asia Minor was on the line from the gulf of Issus to Amisus, the superior importance of Sinope led Strabo to draw his line of shortest transit to that city and not to Amisus.⁶ It was from Sinope that Carusa was distant 150 stadia,⁷ Amisus 900 stadia,⁸ Phasis 2 or 3 days' journey⁹ and, in the westerly direction, Armene 40 stadia,¹⁰ Cape Carambis 700 stadia,¹¹ further away Cytorus 1312 stadia,¹² Amastris 1450 stadia,¹³ Heraclea 2000 stadia¹⁴ and the Hieron of Jupiter Urius at the Thracian Bosphorus, 3500 stadia.¹⁵ Many places are said to be situated "near Sinope", though some of them as a matter of fact are not very near it. Abonutichos¹⁶ is *ἀγχι Σινώπης*. The Halys¹⁷ and Thermodon¹⁸ are *ποταμοὶ περὶ Σινώπην*. Heraclea¹⁹ was a *πόλις περὶ Σινώπην*. Corocondame²⁰ was *πλησίον Σινώπης*. Strabo calls the

¹ Priscianus 751.

² Strabo XII 545.

³ Sinope was the Greenwich of antiquity, cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 326.

⁴ Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 33, identifies Pteria with Boghaz-kieui. Cf. also Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, IV 598 ff, Steph. Byz. *Πτερία*, *πόλις Σινώπης*.

⁵ Her. I 76, *ἣ δὲ Περὶή ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ μάλιστα κεκείμενη*. There is no reason for concluding from this passage that Herodotus visited Sinope, as Matzat, *Hermes* VI 416, does. Herodotus certainly visited Phasis and probably got his information from Sinopean merchants there.

⁶ Strabo XVI 677.

⁷ Cf. Arrian *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 21.

⁸ Cf. Strabo XII 547; according to Pliny N. H. VI 2, 1040 stadia (130 miles).

⁹ Cf. Strabo XI 498.

¹⁰ Cf. Arrian *Peripl.* 21; Anonym. *Peripl.* 21; Marcian *Epitome Periplus Menippe* 9.

¹¹ Marcian *op. cit.* 9; Strabo XII 546; Schol. Ap. Rhod. II 945.

¹² Pliny N. H. VI 2 says 164 miles.

¹³ Marcian, *op. cit.* 9.

¹⁴ Strabo XII 546; Marcian *op. cit.* 9 gives 2040.

¹⁵ Strabo *ibid.*; Marcian *ibid.*, gives 3570.

¹⁶ Lucian *Alexander* 11.

¹⁷ Schol. Apoll. Rh. 2, 366.

¹⁸ Tzetz. *Lyc.* 647.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 695.

²⁰ Steph. s. v.

southern shore of the Pontus τὴν Σινώπης παραλίαν¹ and Eratosthenes speaks of Παφλαγονίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Σινώπην.² Livy³ locates Gordium as a point equally distant from the Hellespont, the Cilician shore, and the sea at Sinope. Cicero's oratory⁴ finds the remotest enemies of Rome with whom Verres had communicated at the Spanish Dianium on the west and at Sinope on the east. Isocrates⁵ marks the limits of the Greek population in Asia Minor by Cnidus and Cilicia in the west and Sinope in the east. Pliny⁶ puts it in the fifth segment of the world, while Avienus⁷ in the fifth century A. D. places it near the confines of the earth.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMMERCE OF SINOPE.

The ship's prow often found upon the obverse of coins of Sinope is an indication of its commercial instinct.⁸ In fact the distances given at the close of the last chapter are in the main commercial, and lead us on to discuss its trade relations which were of the highest importance. To the list of places already mentioned we must add the islands of the Aegean, including Rhodes⁹ and Delos, to which votive offerings were shipped,¹⁰ Attica, Greece in general,¹¹ and even Egypt.¹² Its coastwise trade covered

¹ Strabo I 46; II 74.

² In Strabo II 134.

³ XXXVIII 18, 12.

⁴ Or. against Verres, 2, 1, 34. For the idea cf. also Tusc. Disp. 1, 20.

⁵ Philip, 120; Panegyricus, 162.

⁶ N. H. VI 216.

⁷ Descriptio Orbis Terrae, 951 ff (775) = Müller, op. cit. II, 185 "propter confinia terrae".

⁸ Numismatic Chronicle, 1885, pp. 38, 48, pl. II, 15, 19; Zeitschrift f. Num. XX p. 273; Head, Historia Numorum, p. 434.

⁹ Rhodes aided Sinope in its successful resistance of Mithradates II in 220 B. C., probably because of commercial friendship; cf. Polyb. IV 56. For Sinopeans in Rhodes cf. I. G. XII 1. (C. I. G. Ins. I.) 465; 466, 467.

¹⁰ Cf. Paus. I 31, 2.

¹¹ Sinope's trade relations with the Greek world were so important that it adopted the Aeginetan standard for the drachma, Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 41.

¹² The story of the carrying of the image of Serapis to Egypt, told in Tac. Hist. IV 83, 84 and elsewhere shows this. Clemens, Orat. Adhort. p. 20, says Ptolemy relieved Sinope from famine by a supply of corn. Furthermore we know of a Sinopean Demetrius who was a landowner in Egypt, cf. Amherst Papyri II, no. XLII, LV.

the entire shore from the Thracian Bosphorus¹ to Phasis² and included Heraclea, Cyturus,³ Carambis, Ionopolis, Amisus, Cotyora, Cerasus, Trapezus,⁴ and many other ports. But I am convinced that the volume of direct trade between the northern shore of the Pontus and Sinope has been underrated. The fact is that ancient navigators could cross the Pontus just at this point without losing sight of land for more than a few hours on ordinary days, and on very clear days without losing sight of it at all. Writers like Reinach⁵ assume that the statement of Strabo,⁶ that both the promontory Carambis on the Asiatic side and the promontory Criumetopon at the end of the Crimea could be seen from the middle of the sea, is an instance of the underestimating of maritime distances by the ancients. There is no warrant for this criticism, for both promontories can be seen to-day from the middle of the sea.⁷ This great advantage was available to the ancient navigator neither in the wider westward nor in the eastward third of the sea, but only in the central one. To follow the coast multiplied the distance greatly. Hence, when the route was once established the north shore ships would strike boldly out for the central headlands of Asia Minor and for Sinope, the commercial metropolis of the region. Their goods would then be transhipped in Sinopean bottoms to points further east or west, or would proceed in the same vessels without shifting of cargoes. The statement of Pausanias⁸ that the first fruits of the Hyperboreans of the opposite territories were carried by the Sinopeans to Delos indicates a general commercial route directly across the Pontus. It is well known that coins of Sinope stamped with the device of the eagle grasping the dolphin have been discovered on the northern shore at Olbia,⁹ and I found at Sinope handles of amphoras with the same inscriptions as those found in such

¹ A son of Polydorus, a Sinopean, dwelt in Tomi; cf. *Am. Jour. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 331.

² Polyb. IV 56 says Sinope was situated on the right of the Pontus *παρὰ Φάσιν*.

³ Strabo XII 544 τὸ δὲ Κύτωρον ἐμπόριον ἦν ποτε Σινωπέων.

⁴ Cotyora, Cerasus and Trapezus were colonies of Sinope; cf. *Xen. Anab.* V.

⁵ Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 56.

⁶ Strabo VII 309, cf. also II 124; Pliny N. H. IV 86.

⁷ The officers of Black Sea steamers volunteered this information to me.

⁸ Paus. I 31, 2.

⁹ Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 34; Streuber, *Sinope* (Basel, 1855) p. 60. The same device, borrowed from Sinope probably, occurs also on coins of Olbia itself. Cf. Hirst, *The Cults of Olbia*, J. H. S. XXII p. 263.

large quantities at Olbia.¹ Becker² assumes from the large number excavated there that it was the centre of their manufacture, but an equally large number might perhaps be found by excavations at Sinope and elsewhere. In any case those that I found still further emphasize the commercial relations of Sinope with Olbia and the northern shore. An additional evidence of close connection between the two shores is found in the similarity of personal names.³ Even north shore inscriptions in some cases show the names of Sinopean citizens.⁴ The general impression made by all this evidence is that vessels proceeded from both east and west coastwise to the central section of the sea where it was so much narrower than elsewhere and then turned directly across it, and that a commercial lane was in this way established for the great volume of Black Sea trade, which would thus pass in and out at the fine harbor of Sinope.⁵

A point from which commercial articles were thus distributed by sea was likewise a point toward which converged the various roads by which the products to be exported were brought in and along which at least a certain amount of goods went back to the interior districts. The great caravan routes from India,⁶ and the

¹ Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 294-300.

² *N. Jahrbücher für kl. Phil. Suppl.* X, pp. 67, 108 f.

³ Cf. the *Prosopographia Sinopensis* (to be published in the second part of this paper) with index IV 3 in Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.*

⁴ Cf. p. 136, note 1; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 252, from Panticapaeum. Cf. Latyshev op. cit. I 185, II 298, 299; cf. C. I. L. III 783; Diodorus XX 25 and Strabo XI 496 also show a close relation between Sinope and the Cimmerian Bosphorus; cf. Reinach-Götz, op. cit. pp. 56, 225. The Sinopean historian Theopompus also was acquainted with the region; cf. Phlegon, *Mirab. c.* 19. Sengebusch op. cit. p. 34, says 'alio titulo Olbiano mentio facta est Theogiti Sinopensium astynomi'. The inscription is on a vase handle C. I. G. 2085 b Θεογιτου ἀστυνόμου; Σινωπίων. Both Sengebusch and the C. I. G. are in error, for Σινωπίων is the name of the vase-maker; cf. an identical inscription in Becker, *Mélanges Gréco-romaines* I 494, no. 16. For Σινωπίων as a proper name cf. also *N. Jahrbücher f. kl. Phil. Suppl.* IV, p. 472, 38, 39; *Suppl.* V, p. 483, 29; *Suppl.* X, p. 31, 4; p. 35, 17; p. 224, 2. In Streuber op. cit. p. 91 the name of the Sinopean citizen Theocles is wrongly given as Theogeitos.

⁵ This would explain why in Herod. II 34 Sinope is said to be situated opposite the mouth of the Ister. A merchant boat going from the Ister to Phasis or vice versa would avoid the open sea as much as possible and sail by way of Sinope.

⁶ If goods were not brought all the way to Sinope by land, they were taken to Phasis and shipped to Sinope; cf. Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 216.

far east followed such rivers as the Euphrates in the south and the Araxes¹ in the north, but as they approached the heart of Asia Minor, the problem was to get the goods through to the Greek and Roman world. Up to the Roman times there was no good road from the East through western Asia Minor to the Aegean. The old Hittite road, afterwards the Persian postal road, served more as a bond between the different parts of the Persian Empire than as a means of transporting goods to Greece. The well-known Ephesus highway was not yet built.² The great eastern system of roads centering in Persia and the great western systems centering in Greece and Rome had no good connecting links at the coast of the Aegean. The solution of the difficulty was in a water route. The best harbor on the southern shore of the Black Sea would become the terminal land point of the great caravans which seem, in sharp contrast to the present, to have contained few, if any, camels. That harbor was Sinope. To this port branch roads were built from the great Persian highways. It is true that Sinope had no good direct connection with the interior, but its shipping facilities were superior and a coastwise road connected it further east with a more favorable point of departure for the interior. Sinope's commerce suffered an inevitable decline when the Roman roads were built and perfected to the great cities of the eastern coast of the Aegean, but in the earlier times the great Persian net-work of lateral and transverse³ lines of transit in Asia Minor may be considered, so far as through travel is concerned, as in the main converging upon the double harbor of Sinope.⁴

A study of the roads in the more immediate general district serves to complete our picture of it as an isolated and strategic point for interior trade connections, having no good landward approaches along the coast except from Amisus. Hecatonymus,

¹ Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 225.

² Cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 28; Strabo XII 540; XIV 663.

³ Such a transverse road was that from the Gulf of Issus to Sinope on which Pteria was probably situated; cf. Her. I 72; II 34; but 'an active man' could hardly 'cover the distance in five days'. Cf. also Livy XXXVIII 18; Strabo XIV 664; Ps. Scylax 102; Ps. Scymnus 921 f; Plin. N. H. VI 7, and cf. Athen. Mitt. XXII (1897), p. 3, note 3; Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 226. Macan, Herodotus (bks. IV-VI) App. XIII, p. 293.

⁴ Cf. a good article on the roads of the Pontus by Munro in the *J. H. S.* XXI (1901) pp. 52 ff, pl. IV; cf. also Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, ed. 5, vol. I, pp. 405, 408.

the Sinopean, whom Xenophon's Ten Thousand met at Cotyora, warned him that only by going back into the interior and over the difficult mountain roads could he get around into Sinope.¹ His representations were so convincing that Xenophon had his army proceed from Cotyora by water. Similar representations no doubt, at least in part, account for his again taking ship from Sinope westward.

It is hardly practicable at present to locate the ancient roads close to Sinope. In exploring the back country I found Roman mile-stones at a distance of perhaps 25 or 30 miles in a southeasterly direction from the town, but they were not in situ, nor were others which I found in other directions.² Nor is it possible to tell how far the Romans built along the old lines or in new directions. But it is probably safe to say in a general way that there were numerous highways good and bad reaching into the interior. Certainly there must have been bridges at certain points upon the Halys.³

It is already evident that the goods shipped in vast quantities at Sinope were the products in part of the immediate locality, in part of the remoter portions of Asia Minor, and in part came from the far east. These last, including jewelry, ivory, bronzes and oriental luxuries in general,⁴ do not especially concern us here, and in attempting to classify Sinope's exports we shall confine ourselves to articles from its immediate neighborhood and from those interior regions of Asia Minor which found their most immediate natural outlet at Sinope. Neglecting numerous minor items such as nuts,⁵ hides,⁶ grain (small in quantity as compared

¹ Xen. Anab. V 6, 3 ff.; B. C. H. 1901, p. 41 ff.; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 232; Ainsworth, Travels in Asia Minor, vol. I, p. 92.

² Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 328 f, nos. 75-79. The beginning of no. 75 can be restored by means of J. H. S. XX (1900), p. 163, no. 7 and C. I. L. III, 6895. Read Imp. Caes. C. Aur. Val.] Diocl[etiano P(io) F(elici) Invicto Aug. et Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Val.] M[aximia]n[o]. The latter part of no. 75 refers to the three sons of Constantine the Great. So in next to last line read Fl. Co(n)sta(nti) nob(ilissimis) C(aesaribus). In no. 76, in which we have a case of praes(es) used in a technical sense before Diocletian, we should expect in l. 5 filio eius et N. Aur. Num(eriano). But the inscription is carelessly cut.

³ E. g. the bridge which was regarded as a wonder by the Greeks, Ramsay, op. cit. p. 31; Herod. I 75.

⁴ Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, V, p. 198.

⁵ Athen. II 54 d; Hehn, Kultur-pflanzen und Haustihere, 6th ed., p. 380.

⁶ Cf. Dem. XXXIV 10; Strabo, XI 493.

with the product of the northern shore), honey, wax,¹ stones for gems² etc. we mention:

1. Fish. The tunny was most important. Its great spawning ground was the vast swampy shores of the palus Maeotis. Strabo³ says that, while still exceedingly small, the shoals made their way along the coast in an easterly and southerly direction. By the time they reached Trapezus and Pharnacia they were of considerable size and the first catch was at these points. But those that got round to Sinope, were much larger and the hauls were immense, though neither fish nor catch was so large as at Byzantium. These fish were salted or pickled and sent to Greece, where they were a staple article of diet for the common people.⁴ There seems to have been an extraordinary difference in price between Greece and Rome, for, however common and cheap they were in Greece, Diodorus quotes the price of Pontic fish at Rome as 400 drachmae for a small jarful.⁵ There is a vast wealth of other edible fish in the Pontus,⁶ such as sturgeon, mackerel, turbot, mullet⁷ and dolphin. But ancient literature seems to mention only the last two as caught at Sinope and indeed the last only for its oil and the medicinal value of its liver.

2. Timber. The country around Sinope was covered in ancient times, as it is to-day, with a splendid growth of timber which was utilized for two main purposes, ship-building and the manufacture of furniture.⁸ The ship-timber of the Euxine was celebrated among the ancients.⁹ If Horace's ship of state were to have the utmost staunchness, it must be *Pontica pinus, Silvae filia nobilis*

¹ Polyb. IV 38; Aristotle, *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκονισμάτων*, 831, c. XVII.

² Strabo XII 540; Plin. XXXVI 12, 45; XXXVII 37. For other such articles of export which came mostly from the interior, cf. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 19 ff. and in general on the exports of Sinope cf. Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 16 ff. and Streuber, op. cit. p. 50; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 227 f.

³ Strabo VII 320. Cf. also Arist. Hist. An. 598 f. IX 13; Plin. N. H. IX 15, 47-52; Strabo XII 545 *πηλαυνδεῖα θαυμαστά*, words still used in Sinope; XII 549; Aelian IV 9; IX 59; XV 3, 5 and 10; Ritter, op. cit. p. 794 ff.; Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, II 345.

⁴ Cf. Polyb. IV 38; cf. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Gr. Privataltertümer, ed. 3, p. 227, notes 1 and 2.

⁵ Diod. XXXVII 3, 5; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 223 wrongly says 300 drachmae.

⁶ For a list of the fish in the Pontus, cf. Pliny, N. H. XXXII 11 ff.

⁷ Cf. Athenaeus III 118 c; VII 307 b for Sinopic mullets (*κεστρεῖς*).

⁸ Strabo XII 546; Theophr. Histor. Plant. IV 5, 5.

⁹ Catullus IV 9-13; Verg. Georg. II 437.

(Od. I 14, 11). Great quantities of ship-timber doubtless found their way from the northern shore of the Pontus to Greece by way of Panticapaeum, but there must have been a long period when, as Strabo indicates, the forests of the neighborhood of Sinope sent out through its harbor a large quota of the same material. These heavy exports, however, probably were not made until after the time of Alexander, for according to Thucydides,¹ the store-house of ship-timber seems previously to have been in the much nearer forests of Thrace and Macedonia.

As the oak and pine were used for the construction of vessels, so the maple and walnut were worked into furniture such as couches, and tables.² The maple seems to have been held in peculiarly high estimation, tables made from it being ranked second to the citrus tables only.³

3. Olive-oil. Although, as we have stated (p. 129), Sinope was the westward limit of the olive, it nevertheless grew abundantly in the neighborhood of that town itself,⁴ and the districts east of it would bring their product thither for export. The exports of Sinope thus competed with those of the more southern countries, such as Greece,⁵ in supplying Cappadocia and the western section of the southern shore of the Pontus together with the whole northern coast.⁶

4. Red Earth or Bole. This substance was, in the main at least, iron calcined or oxidized into a soft moist clay. The ancients gave it many names, such as *μῖλτος* and minium.⁷ The common appellation, *Σινωπῆς*, shows that Sinope was regarded as the

¹ Thuc. IV 108; cf. also Hermann, *op. cit.* p. 436, note 3.

² Cf. Strabo l. c.; Eust. Com. 773; Pliny, N. H. XII 31; Theophr. *Histor. Plant.* III 3, 1; II 1, 2; V 3, 3; 7, 6 etc.; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 8, 10; Martial 14, 90; Blümner, *Gewerbl. Thätigk.* 33, 44, 46, 70, 80. Cf. Ransom, *Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*, pp. 39, 55. The same wood is used to-day by the Turks for the same purpose.

³ Pliny, N. H. XVI 26; Cic. *Verr.* IV 17.

⁴ Cf. Strabo XII 545, 546; II 71, 73; Eust. II. II 853.

⁵ Polyb. IV 38.

⁶ Melitene alone in Cappadocia had the olive; cf. Strabo XII 535. For the lack of the olive on the north shore of the Pontus cf. Strabo II 73, 74; for the climate cf. Herod. IV 28; Theophr. *De Causis Plant.* V 12, 11.

⁷ Strictly speaking, minium is to be distinguished, for it contains oxide of lead. But *μῖλτος* and minium are often confounded, as by Strabo XII 540; cf. also Pliny N. H. XXXIII 36 f.

main place of export.¹ It is found near Sinope, and in Cappadocia its general abundance stains the Halys so deeply that the Turkish name for that stream is Kizil Irmak (red river).

This earthy substance existed, of course, in various other localities of the ancient world. Its importance as an article of trade and commerce is evident from the Athenian monopoly of the Cean product,² from the sealed packages used for the Lemnian article,³ and from the care with which different grades of it are enumerated.⁴ The most important were the Cean, the Lemnian, and the Sinopean. Theophrastus⁵ considers the Cean product better than the others. Pliny⁶ ranks the Lemnian and the Sinopean highest, whereas Strabo⁷ marks the quality of the latter as finest, and an interesting papyrus⁸ gives convincing details of its superiority in weight, rich liver color, moisture, and freedom from grit. The importance of this homely article of Sinopean commerce is indicated by its numerous and heterogeneous uses.⁹ Its colors varied, but some were intense enough to furnish a kind of red ink. It was used as a mineral paint and as an ingredient in other paints, being applied to houses, ships, and wood-work generally. Its more artistic employments were in decorating furniture, wood-carving, terra-cotta figurines and even statues. It was no unimportant part of the ancient *materia medica*, being applied externally as a kind of mud-bath and even taken internally for various diseases specifically listed by Pliny. An architect who desired to use the best material would stipulate in his speci-

¹ Strabo, l. c. *ὠνομάσθη δὲ Σινωπικὴ διότι κατάγειν ἐκεῖσε εἶώθεσαν οἱ ἔμποροι*; Theophr. De Lapidibus 52, *κατάγεται εἰς Σινώπην*; Pliny N. H. XXXV 13. Sinopis inventa primum in Ponto est; inde nomen a Sinope urbe.

² I. G. II (CIA II), 546.

³ Pliny, N. H. XXXV 14.

⁴ Pliny, N. H. XXXV 13. ⁵ De Lap. 52. ⁶ L. c. ⁷ Strabo, XII 540.

⁸ Leemans, Papyri Graeci Lugduni-Batavi X 15, 11, 12, 15. Ibid. X 311 tells how *Sinopis* can be mixed with gold, half and half, to double the amount of the latter.

⁹ Pliny, N. H. XXXV 12, 13, 17, 24, 32; Vitruv. VII 7; Diosc. V 111; Cels. De Medicina V 6, 6; VI 6, 19; Hesychius s. *μίλτος*; Eust. Com. 1166; Boeckh, Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener II³ p. 315 f.; Blümner, Technologie und Terminologie IV, p. 480 f. For ships cf. *μιλοπάροχοι νῆες* in Homer; Pliny, N. H. XXXIII 38; Herod. III 58; Hermann, op. cit. p. 489, note 8. For the use of *μίλτος* for terra-cottas cf. Lucian Lexiph. 22; B. C. H. XIV (1890), p. 503, n. 3; Monuments Piot IV (1898), p. 214; for statues Paus. II 2, 6; Plut. Quaest. Roman., 98, p. 287 b; Xen. Oecon. 10, 5; Hermann, op. cit. p. 201 n. 3. Ladies used it for painting their faces; Guhl und Koner, Leben der Griechen und Römer, p. 316.

fications that certain structural lines be drawn with a pigment made of clean oil and Sinopic earth.¹ I noted at Corinth crosses made with *Sinopsis* to indicate the position for columns² not now in situ, and lines drawn with it to indicate how far blocks of stone were to overlap the stones in the course below.³ In excavations at Miletus the separated drums of columns showed that this substance mixed with oil had been used as a cement.

5. Iron and Steel. At a general distance of about two hundred miles east of Sinope the coast range of mountains draws very near the sea. The whole district is rich in copper, iron, and, in ancient times, even silver⁴. Here the Sinopeans, doubtless attracted by the rich deposits, founded a prosperous colony. Part of the ore was evidently worked into iron and steel implements at Cotyora. But another part was doubtless shipped to the mother-city Sinope to the manufacturers there; for Sinopic steel⁵ was equally celebrated with the Chalybian, Lydian, and Laconian; and it was made into carpenters' tools, whereas the Spartan was used for files, augers, dies and stone-cutters' tools, and the Lydian for similar things, including knives and swords. Hamilton⁶ thinks he has located the ancient mines of the Chalybians at Unieh. But in any case the steel that passed through the port of Sinope was of the finest quality.

6. Live Stock. There is abundant evidence that Cappadocia and Paphlagonia itself nourished great numbers of sheep, goats, mules, horses and other domestic animals.⁷ If we put with this fact the statement of Polybius that live stock was extensively exported from the Pontus, it becomes evident that shipments of this kind were large at Sinope. The word Polybius⁸ uses

¹ I. G. VII (I. G. Sept. I), 3073 = Dittenberger Syl.³ no. 540. ll. 155-160. The price was three or three and a half obols per *στανήρ*, cf. I, G. II, 834^b, col. I, l. 12 (p. 522) and col. II, l. 48 (p. 526).

² As in the long south stoa (Am. J. Arch. VI 1902), Suppl. p. 19.

³ As in the Greek temple near Pirene, Ibid. pl. XVII, the Greek building with a round end (not yet published), the Old Spring, the round basis above the spring (ibid. pl. VII), and elsewhere. So *Sinopsis* was used in Greek buildings as well as in Roman buildings of the Republic. It was also found used for the same purposes in fourth century buildings at Epidaurus and Lesbos.

⁴ Strabo XII 549; Virg. Georg. I 58; Apoll. Rhod. II 1005 f.

⁵ Step. Byz. s. v. *Δακεδαίμων*, Schol. II. XIII 218; Eustathius 294, 5 on II. II 582; Blümner, Gewerbbl. Thätigk. p. 41; Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. II 442, 9, frag. from Daimachus. For artisans etc. at Sinope cf. Polyaen. VII 21, 2; Diog. Laer. VI 20.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 244, 257.

⁷ Strabo XI 525; Eust. Com. 970.

⁸ IV 38.

(θρέμματα) as employed in the classifications of the Greeks, included slaves (CIG 1709). Lucian (Alex. 9, 15, 17, 45) speaks of slaves as differing only in form from cattle. The Paphlagonian slave is a frequent figure in the comedies of Aristophanes. The picture of Sinope's commerce must include its traffic in the human species; droves of captive men and women passed down to its fine harbor and were carried in ships to meet the sneers of the cultivated comic poets of Athens.

So great a volume of exports implies a certain amount of imports. Salt came from Olbia¹ and from the interior of Asia Minor² and wine³ from Greece, objects of art also such as statues⁴ and vases, and in general such refinements of the west as well as of the east as the somewhat defective Sinopean culture would demand.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDING OF SINOPE.

A city of such impregnability, located in so productive a region, and at the natural gate-way of so vast a commerce, would of course be coveted and fought for. It would have its political vicissitudes, its general culture, and its religious cults. It would develop its great men. It would weave its name into Greek and Latin literature and leave its record in figured coins and in inscriptions on stone. In a word, it would have its history, of which, in this and several succeeding chapters, we aim to give an account.

The uncertain figures of Assyrians move in the mist of its primitive records. There is a Milesian dawn of Greek colonial light quickly clouded by Cimmerian darkness and then rekindled. Then come the nearly blank annals of some one hundred and eighty years on whose last pages the figure of a barbarian tyrant becomes distinct. The Attic rescue follows and the reinforcement by Pericles' six hundred new colonists. Democratic independence displaces tyrannic subjection at Sinope. Anon its colonial dependencies are disturbed and excited by Xenophon's Ten Thousand who have forced their way from the heart of Asia to the sea and

¹ Herod. IV 53; Dio Chrysost. XXXVI 437.

² Strabo XII 546, 560, 561; Eust. Com. 784.

³ Polyb. IV 38.

⁴ Such as the statue of Autolycus by Sthenis, cf. Plut. Luc. 23.

along its shore. The great cynic matures the fearless powers which Athens admired, and the comic poets who woke its laughter, bringing Sinopean culture to its flower in the motherland, arise. With Rhodian help its fortifications resist the engines of Mithradates II, but fall before the sudden onset of Pharnaces, his son. The power of the Pontic conquerors brings Sinope to the climax of its political strength under Mithradates the Great, whose linguistic acquirements were only second to his great military genius, which baffled the utmost power of Rome for nearly half a century. Then come the days of the inevitable Roman yoke, in passing under which Sinope joins the universal procession. Then the intricate entanglements of the Middle Ages and finally the present Turkish dominion.

There is no evidence that the early Phoenicians were at Sinope. The whole main course of the Phoenician commercial empire took its way westward. Its northern and southern movements were only short spurs thrown out of the main range. Although there is at present in the north-western portion and outside the walls by the Turkish Hospital and school, Idadie, and near the water a quarter of the city called *Φοινικίδα*, a late local imagination, thinking of the spot as one to which the Phoenicians would naturally come, may in a fanciful spirit have given it its name. Or the name may be due to the palm tree there.

The early foundations of Sinope are probably Assyrian. The extreme antiquity of that great power is constantly receiving fresh evidence. The code of Hammurabi is dated ca. 2250 B. C. and it seems evident that more than a millennium later in about 1100 B. C. the Assyrian power swept westward through Asia Minor to the Mediterranean. It is incredible that it should not at more than one point have forced its way through the openings in the coastwise mountains to the shore of the Pontus. Its kings have left no monuments along the sea reciting their personal conquests¹, but other evidence of the presence of their subjects is not wanting. In later times, in the seventh century according to Nöldeke², the Assyrian power still extended beyond Sinope

¹ Gelzer's argument (*Zeitschrift f. äg. Sprache* 1874, p. 118 f) that *Mat-qui* (shore-village) which occurs in Assyrian inscriptions, refers to Sinope, is inconclusive, for the word might be intended for almost any coast town in Asia Minor. On p. 119 he goes far astray when he says *qui* or *kui* comes from the name of the founder, *Κῶιος*, transposing the lines in Scymnus to suit his theory.

² Cf. his article on *Ἀσσύριος, Σύριος, Σύρος* in *Hermes* V 443 ff.

and Furtwängler thinks of Sinope, as being at about that time the mediating agent by which Assyrian elements, such as griffins' heads and winged human busts on bronze vessels (cf. Olympia Bd. IV, Die Bronzen) came to Greece.¹ Coming down to later times, we recognize the persistence of its Assyrian origin in Sinopic coins with Aramaic inscriptions;² in Avienus' mention of a "second Syria reaching as far as Sinope";³ in Tzetzes' vague statement that "everybody calls Sinope Assyria";⁴ in the legends that the nymph Sinope was the mother of Syros from whom the Syrians got their name, and that she was carried off from Assyria;⁵ in the existence at Sinope even now of a sarcophagus with a Greek inscription indicating that a man named Syrios was buried in it;⁶ and in the fact that the promontory mentioned above (page 126) was called Syrias.

The name Sinope itself evidently antedates Greek settlement, for mythology and tradition indicate, not the colonizing of an uninhabited locality, so much as the taking of the place from previous inhabitants. Strabo⁷ says that Autolycus took possession of (*κατέσχε*) Sinope, a word whose usage generally indicates seizure or capture. Plutarch⁸ says outright that Autolycus took the town from the Syrians. Apollonius of Rhodes⁹ says that the Argonauts came to the Assyrian land where Zeus had established Sinope, daughter of Asopus, etc. In listing those who in early times inhabited Sinope, Ps. Scymnus¹⁰ speaks of "Sinope, a city named after one of the Amazons, who dwell near by, which formerly the native-born¹¹ Assyrians inhabited, and afterwards the Greeks who went against the Amazons, Autolycus and

¹ Meyer s. Kappadokien in Ersch und Grüber, Encyclopädie and in his Geschichte des Altertums II, p. 225 says there is no monumental evidence. But Furtwängler holds there is, cf. Die Antiken Gemmen III, p. 68.

² Cf. Six, Numismatic Chronicle, 1885 and 1893, p. 7; cf. also Head, Hist. Num. and Brit. Mus. Cat.

³ Müller, Geogr. Min. II, p. 187, vs. 1153.

⁴ Chiliad. 12, 917 τὴν δὲ Σινώπην σύμπαντες καλοῦσιν Ἀσσυρίαν.

⁵ Eust. in Müller, Geogr. Min. II, pp. 352-353, §775 f; Eudocia's Ἰωνία DCCCLXII; Diodorus IV 72, 1, 2; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 948; Et. Mag. s. Σινώπη.

⁶ Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 315.

⁷ XII 545.

⁸ Plut. Luc. 23.

⁹ Argonautica II 948 ff; cf. also Scholium and Herod. II 104.

¹⁰ Vs. 941-952 (Müller, Geogr. Min. I, p. 236).

¹¹ I adopt Meineke's emendation, ἐγγενεῖς.

Deileon and Phlogius, Thessalians". Scylax¹ in a loose way calls Sinope a place in Assyria. Winckler's² conjecture that "Leucosyri" did not originally mean white Assyrians, as Strabo³ thinks, but rather incorporates a corruption of "Lukki", the name of certain Assyrians mentioned in the Tell-El-Amarna tablets, is unlikely. The Assyrians of the north were probably of a lighter complexion than those of the south.

The derivation of the name Sinope perhaps goes back to the Assyrian deity Sin, the moon-god, whose numerical symbol was thirty, in allusion to the period of the moon, and who was the patron of brick-making and building. The worship of the moon along the southern shore of the Pontus was more important than elsewhere in the Greek world.⁴ Assyrians were perpetually compounding the names of towns and persons with the name of the God Sin, and in view of the powerful early influence of Assyria, nothing is more likely than that Sinope would be one more example of such compounds.

If now we recognize the founding of Sinope as Assyrian⁵ it will not seem difficult to dispose of the prominent and persistent myth concerning the nymph Sinope. Greek writers would prefer a Greek to an Assyrian origin of their colony. Although such an etymology has not been mentioned before, I venture to connect the name with *σίνωμαι*, to seize or carry off. This would be the most natural connection of "Sinope" for those who found the word already on the ground and were ignorant of or wished to ignore its Assyrian etymology. On this derivation may have been built up the manifold forms of the rape of the nymph Sinope. Hardly anything is constant in the story except the item of seizure. The God who carries her off is sometimes Zeus, sometimes Apollo, sometimes Poseidon, sometimes the river-God Halys. Her parents are sometimes Asopus and Metope, sometimes Ares and

¹ Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus 89 (Müller, *ibid.* p. 66). So also Nicephorus (Müller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* II, p. 464) and Nicolaus Damascenus (*Hist. Graeci Minores* ed. Dindorf) p. 32, 7.

² Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-El-Amarna* (Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* Bd. V) 28, 10: Winckler, *Die Völker Vorderasiens* (*Der Alte Orient*, vol. I), p. 23.

³ XII 544, XVI 737.

⁴ Cf. Roscher s. v. Luna, especially the worship of *Μην Φαρνάκον*. In one of the inscriptions I discovered at Sinope Selene is mentioned along with Helios and Hermes and other deities, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 323.

⁵ And this is the opinion of Blau, *op.cit.*, Mövers, *Die Phönizier*, and others, though not of most modern scholars.

Aegina or Parnasse. Sometimes she is carried off from Assyria and sometimes from Boeotia.¹ Sometimes she deceives her captor by exacting a blank promise to give her whatever she should ask and afterwards fills in the blank with her own virginity. Sometimes she has children. But she is always seized and carried off. And this unfailing feature seems to show the source of all the stories to be in the already present but misinterpreted name of the town.²

To this Assyrian town the enterprising Greeks of Miletus, attracted by the mineral wealth of the eastward shores and led to the location by the advantages of its harbor, penetrated at a very early period. The date is difficult to fix, but may perhaps be approximated in the following fashion. Sinope must have existed before 756,³ for Trapezus, its colony,⁴ was founded in that year. Eumelus of Corinth, moreover, in writing up the Argonautic expedition, enriched it with geographical details which included Sinope by name. There is nothing extant of this work of Eumelus, but his mention of the town is cited by the Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II 946. Now Eumelus wrote in the latter half of the eighth century B. C. Sinope must therefore have been reached by Greeks before that time. Thus again we are pointed to some period in the first half of the eighth century such as Eusebius' date (II 80 e Schöne) for Trapezus indicates, at least thirty or thirty-five years earlier than 756 B. C., 790 or 785 B. C.,⁵ thus leaving a few years

¹ Probably because the Minyans, with whom the Argonautic expedition was associated, dwelt in Boeotia.

² Cf. Plut. Luc. 23; Apoll. Rhod. II 946-967. The scholia to the latter (Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. II 161; 348. 2; III 29. 3), give excerpts about the nymph Sinope from Andron of Halicarnassus, Andron of Teos, Artemidorus, Eumelus, Aristotle, Hecataeus, and Philostephanus. Cf. also V. Flaccus, Argon. V 106-120; Dionysius Per. vs. 772-779 (Müller, Geogr. Gr. Min. II p. 153); scholia to Dion. Per. (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 453); Eust. Com. 772-774 (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 351); Nicephorus, Γεωγραφία συνοπτική, 782 f. (Müller, *ibid.* II, p. 464); Diodorus IV 72, 1, 2; Ps. Scymni Periegesis, vs. 941 f. (Müller, *ibid.* I 236); Avienus, vs. 951 f. (Müller, *ibid.* II 185); Et. Mag. s. v. Σινώπη; Eudocia's Ἰωνά DCCCLXII, περὶ Σινώπης. Sometimes Sinope appears as an Amazon and the story is told that she drank much and hence was called Σανάπη, which in the Thracian dialect (which the Amazons spoke) means "drinking much". And Sinope is a corruption of Sanape; cf. the above references.

³ Eusebius, Vers. Arm. Ol. 6, 1; Hieronymus, Ol. 6, 1.

⁴ Xen. Anab. IV 8, 22.

⁵ Curtius, Gr. Geschichte I, 6 p. 407, puts the first foundation in 790 B. C.; Abbott, A History of Greece, I, p. 340 about 770 B. C.; Duncker, Gesch. d. Altert. I, 6 p. 462, 466; V 507 and Büchner, Die Besiedelung der Küsten des

of prosperity before the Cimmerian inroad in 782 mentioned by Orosius,¹ in which probably Habrondas,² its leader, was killed.³ We must assume that Sinope revived after the destroying nomad tide had swept through in order to account for its founding of Trapezus in 756. What the fortunes of the Greek contingent were for the subsequent century and more, we have no means of knowing. They probably included many vicissitudes connected with the various incursions of the Cimmerians from the northern shore,⁴ one of which penetrated even to Sardis, surprising and plundering the town, and another to Magnesia. However, in 635 B. C., there seems to have been an extraordinarily strong and powerful body of these barbarians driven down by the still stronger nomad Scythians. This body all but destroyed Sinope,⁵ so that its reinforcement in 630 or 629, according as we follow Hieronymus or Eusebius (II 89 n Schöne) was looked upon as a second founding, and Sinope, like Cyzicus, was said to have been founded twice.⁶

Pontos Euxeinos durch die Milesier, p. 49 and Streuber op. cit. about 785. Grote, History of Greece II² 191, note 64 considers improbable the foundation of a Milesian colony at so early a period. Perhaps the first colony was only a small settlement for trade; cf. Busolt, Gr. Gesch. I, p. 466 and Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 18. Beloch, Gr. Gesch., says nothing about the first founding; cf. I, p. 192-3 for second founding. Holm, The History of Greece I, p. 275 and Meyer, Gesch. des Altert. I 406 and II 285 give both colonies. There is a great deal of uncertainty about this early period of Greek history and we cannot be sure of dates; but the evidence, including Scymnus whose source, Demetrius of Callatia, was good, points to a double founding.

¹ I 21.

² The name of the leader is variously given. Habrondas seems more likely to be correct than Ambron or Abron. Meineke, Step. Byz. (Berlin, 1849), p. 571 made the suggestion.

³ Ps. Scymnus V 947.

⁴ For the Cimmerians cf. Herod. IV 11, 12; I 6, 15, 16; Strabo, I 1, 6; I 2, 20; I 3, 61; III 2, 149; XI 494; XIV 648.

⁵ Herod. IV 12 says φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκίθας καὶ τὴν Χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται. The νῦν does not necessarily mean that no Greek city existed when the Cimmerians came, as Grote and Busolt loc. cit. think. There may have been a weak settlement there at the time.

⁶ The second founding was by Cretines and Cous (cf. Phlegon in Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. III 605, 6; Eust. ad Dionys. Com. 772; and Ps. Scymnus v. 949.) Acc. to Ps. Scymnus loc. cit., it took place ἥνικα ὁ Κιμμερίων κατέδραμε τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατός, that is, in the epoch year of the capture of Sardis (657), cf. Rohde, Rhein. Mus. XXXIII 200. If this date is right, then it was not the inroad of the Cimmerians in 635 but an earlier one which settled at Sinope.

The few definite points which we have thus far been able to deduce with anything like certainty, and the dearth of any records at all to cover nearly two succeeding centuries, may naturally occasion scepticism as to there having been any such early founding at all by the Greeks. But the extreme antiquity of the stories of the Argonauts and of Heracles' expedition against the Amazons, both of which have for their scenes the shore of the Black Sea, and in both of which Autolycus, the recognized founder of Sinope, and his companions had part,¹ joins with the strong tradition we have been using to assure us that we are dealing with an historic, even if not with a precisely ascertained, founding of the great Euxine trading port.

CHAPTER V.

DARK AGES AND RENAISSANCE.

Even after Sinope's refounding in 630 its records for nearly two centuries are for the most part blank annals. The Lydian monarchy rose, reached the Halys, and fell. But whether its broad lines of display and vanity penetrated the mountain passes and subjected the shore cities is left in doubt.² Pteria taken by Croesus lay 150 miles to the south and there are no records of any further northward march. Cyrus broke the Lydian power about 550 B. C.; but how soon or how decisively the Persian power subdued the Greek cities of the southern coast of the Euxine is unwritten. Xerxes' expedition in 480 B. C. included

¹ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Encycl.* II 763 ff. Only Strabo, XII 545, (source perhaps Eumelus) makes Autolycus a comrade of Jason. Cf. also Apollod. I, 9, 16, 8. Plut. *Luc.* 23 says that "Autolycus, son of Deimachus, was on the expedition of Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons. When he was returning with Demoleon and Phlogius he was shipwrecked at Sinope and took the city away from the Syrians". Appian *Mithr.* XII 83 says the same. Cf. also Ps. Scymnus v. 944 f; Anon *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 22. Apollonius of Rhodes combines the two traditions and (II 948-967) says that the sons of Deimachus, Deileon, Autolycus and Phlogius, comrades of Heracles, were picked up by the Argonauts when they came there. V. Flaccus, V 106-120 and Hyg. *Fab.* 14 have the same. Phlogius is mentioned in an inscription found at Sinope, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 306, no. 31. On these heroes cf. Roscher's *Lexicon* and Büchner, *op. cit.* p. 58 and on the Argonauts in general the dissertation by Grüger, *Die Argonauten-Sage* (Breslau, 1889). For Heracles at Sinope cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 305.

² Cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums I* § 487, who thinks not.

among its total of 1200 ships 80 contributed by the Greeks on the Hellespont and the Pontus.¹ It is natural to suppose that Sinope was represented among the eighty, but there is no written evidence of such a fact. Some few rude² coins bearing an eagle and a dolphin and a mere incuse square on the reverse are archaic enough to represent this obscure period of Sinope's story when the great tides of conquest were sweeping to and fro far south of its mountain fences.

In the fifth century relief expeditions began to be sent to the Greek cities of the Black Sea which were under tribute to Persia. Aristides, about 470, did not get so far as Sinope. But later, probably soon after 444,³ in the flowering time of Athens, Pericles, with the design of making a display of Athenian power, and in order to relieve the Greek cities on the Euxine from oppression and to stimulate their trade with Attica, led forth an expedition which reached Sinope. Here he left the efficient Lamachus with thirteen ships and assigned him the task of expelling the tyrant Timesilaus.⁴ The man⁵ who at Syracuse advised the Athenians to fight at once seems to have performed his task with characteristic promptness, and not long afterwards it was voted at Athens that six hundred volunteer colonists should sail for Sinope to occupy the houses and lands of the defeated tyrant and his following. Lamachus can hardly have remained long at Sinope: we find him in 424 B. C. leading another Black Sea expedition which was

¹ Diod. XI 3.

² Num. Zeitschrift II, p. 259; Six, Num. Chron. 1885, pp. 8, 9, 19, 20.

³ Abbott, A History of Greece, II, p. 375, says "after 449 B. C.". Köhler, Urk. zur Gesch. d. Delisch-Attisch. Bundes., p. 114 f. puts the expedition in the year 453. Duncker, Des Perikles' Fahrt in den Pontus (Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Acad., XXVII 1885), p. 536, gives the year 444/3 B. C. Busolt, Griech. Geschichte II 538 (ed. of 1888), gave the same date but later, in III 585, n. 2, argues against this date and gives 436/5 B. C. Beloch, Gr. Gesch. I 504, gives the same date. Meyer, Gesch. des Alt. IV 430, says after 440. Kirchner, Prosopogr. Att. 11811 gives 437 B. C. But I see no conclusive reason for putting the expedition so late. Plut. Per. 20, places it immediately after that to the Chersonesus in 447. If we accept the date 436 there are 34 years between the first and second expeditions and only 12 between the second and third. In 415 Lamachus was 50 or 55 years old (cf. Plut. Alcib. 18). That would make him about 25 or 30 years old at the time of the expedition to the Pontus, if it was circ. 440.

⁴ Plut. Per. 20.

⁵ Cf. Busolt, l. c., for the identification of Lamachus, who died in 414 before Syracuse, with the man left in Sinope by Pericles.

wrecked at Heraclea.¹ But from this time Sinope's condition was greatly improved, even its coins showing much finer workmanship.²

Between Lamachus' deposition of the tyrant Timesilaus about 444 B. C. and the Peace of Antalcidas, which deliberately left the Euxine Greeks at the mercy of Persia, lies Sinope's golden day of autonomous prosperity and power.³ Not that we possess the direct recital of it, but the indirect evidence is conclusive. When Xenophon's veterans climbed the coast range and saw the sea, it was Trapezus, a colony of Sinope, that lay directly beneath their eye on the coast.⁴ Although some 250 miles east of Sinope, it owed allegiance to it and paid tribute in common with Cerasus and Cotyora.⁵ That Sinope's colonial arm reached so far may not indeed warrant Perrot and Chipiez⁶ in calling Sesamus, Cytorus, and Ionopolis actual colonies of Sinope, and "multiplied" harbors may be too strong an expression; but it is evident that Sinope had a firm colonial system covering nearly the whole southern shore of the Euxine. Its compactness is illustrated in the speech made to Xenophon by Hecatonymus, who had come all the way from Sinope to deal with the Ten Thousand when he says "These (Cotyrites) and the people of Cerasus and Trapezus bring us an appointed tribute; so that whatever harm you do them, the city of the Sinopeans considers that it suffers it itself". There may have been a lack of Greek unity in the failure of the Cotyrites to receive the Ten Thousand more cordially, but Xenophon's soldiers appear to have behaved somewhat roughly and the colonists may well have been suspicious⁷ of so large and powerful

¹ Thuc. IV 75.

² Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 21.

³ Strabo, XII 546, seems to extend Sinope's autonomous period far onward to the capture of the city by Pharnaces in 83 B. C. But either he wrote in partial ignorance of the results of the Peace of Antalcidas or the autonomy he had in mind was a partial and defective one; for, not to speak of other evidence, the embassy to Darius with which we deal in the next chapter shows a clearly acknowledged general submission to Persia.

⁴ Xen. Anab. IV 8, 22.

⁵ Xen. Anab. V 5, 10. The inhabitants of these two places were later deported by Pharnaces to form Pharnacia, cf. also Diod. XIV 30, 3; Ps. Scymnus 910; Strabo XII 545 f.; and Büchner, *Die Besiedelung des Pontus Euxinos durch die Milesier*, pp. 56-66.

⁶ *Histoire de l'Art*, V, p. 197.

⁷ Xen. l. c.

⁸ A similar feeling may account for Xenophon's ships going a few miles past Sinope to Armene, as though there were an objection to his anchoring, as he naturally would, at that excellent harbor itself. Cf. Xen. Anab. VI 1, 15.

a force with so adventurous a history back of them. In any case the incident does not affect our view of the unity of Sinope's colonies among themselves. A further evidence of Sinope's independence, may be seen in Xenophon's warning¹ to Hecatonymus against an alliance of the Sinopeans with the Paphlagonians. His words presuppose the desire of the Paphlagonians to get possession of Sinope and their inability hitherto to do so.

The numismatic testimony is interesting. We now for the first time find Sinopean coins bearing the names of magistrates,² or rather the first letters of the names. The inscription on one is EK, which suggests Hecatonymus³, on another XOPH which suggests Χορηγίων and on another ΛΕΩΜ which probably stands for Λεωμίδων.⁴ Their variety, too, points to a democratic form of government. This series comes abruptly to an end a few decades later, and is supplanted by the inferior minting of Datames, which itself is followed by a still poorer coinage with Aramaic inscriptions, some specimens of which bear the names of Ariarathes and Abdsasan (not Abdemon).⁵ But short-lived as the Greek magistrates' coinage was, it bears mute testimony to Sinope's brief autonomy.

There is, moreover, a passage of Strabo which, I think, must be referred to this period and discloses in a brief but effective way the sea power of Sinope. Xenophon⁶ shows us that Sinope with the help of Heraclea, could upon occasion supply ships enough to transport his large force to westward points. But Strabo⁷ says: κατασκευασαμένη δὲ ναυτικὸν ἐπῆρχε τῆς ἐντὸς Κυανίων θαλάττης, καὶ ἔξω δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων μετείχε τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

¹ Anab. V 5, 23. Cf. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, pp. 40, 260.

² Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 50 gives a list of them.

³ Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 24.

⁴ Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 298, 306, 313.

⁵ Cf. Six, *op. cit.* p. 25.

⁶ Anab. V 6 ff.

⁷ XII 545.

II.—SOME GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES.¹

It is now nearly thirty years since I studied Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Leipzig, with Curtius, Leskien, Osthoff, Hübschmann, and Brugmann. In my book on the Sumerian family laws, which I published in 1879,² I remarked that the principles of comparative philology were practically unknown to Semitic grammarians, and that Assyriologists, therefore, would have to get their linguistic equipment from Indo-European scholars; but, with the exception of Professor Brockelmann,³ of Königsberg, hardly any Semitic scholar has followed my advice. My investigation of Semitic phonetics, which I published, in 1889, in the first part of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Grammar,⁴ is to the majority of Semitic scholars still a book with seven seals, although one of the greatest authorities in the domain of phonetics, E. Sievers stated on p. 14 of his *Metrische Studien* (Leipzig, 1901) that he agreed on all essential points with my views concerning the Semitic consonants (JAOS 22, 14).

I have recently devoted special attention to etymological research, and as it is very important for work in this interesting field to have as many semasiological parallels as possible, I have always studied the etymologies of the Indo-European equivalents of the Semitic terms which I investigated, especially

¹ Presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, April 18, 1906.

² *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 11, 4; cf. *ibid.* the remarks at the end of note 3 on p. 20 and ZDMG 34, 763.

³ See my note on the first edition (Berlin, 1899) of his Syriac grammar (second edition, 1905) JAOS 22, 14; cf. Brockelmann's papers ZDMG 57, 628; 58, 518; 59, 629.

⁴ *Die semitischen Sprachlaute und ihre Umschrift in Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, vol. 1, part 1 (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 249-267. This article was written in 1887; see *l. c.*, p. 266, n. 48.

the explanations given in the latest edition (1905) of Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*,¹ Hermann Menge's new *Griechisch-Deutsches Schulwörterbuch mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Etymologie* (Berlin, 1903), and the etymological remarks in Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, issued by the Clarendon Press.

In one of his last prophecies, the preaching of repentance during Sennacherib's invasion (701 B. C.) the prophet Isaiah says of Jerusalem:²

Thy silver is changed to dross,
Thy wine is *mahûl*.

Mahûl is generally derived from the post-Biblical verb *mahâl*, to circumcise.³ *Circumcised* wine is supposed to mean *vinum castratum*, or wine mixed with water. This is the translation given in the Authorized Version as well as in the Revised Version. In French, *coupage*, German *Verschneiden* (i. e., castration) means to 'doctor' wine by blending or adding alcohol (as in the case of sherry and port). But castration and circumcision are two very different operations, and circumcision

¹ Cf. my remarks on *heifer*, German *Färse* in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* etc., vol. 1, p. 114. I still believe that Germ. *Farre*, fem. *Färse*, Eng. *heifer*, Greek *πόρις*, may be Semitic loanwords (Heb. *par*, young bull, fem. *pārâh* = *pārdî*, Assy. *pārtu*). The suggestion that the Anglo-Saxon *heahfore* might mean 'highfarer,' i. e. 'high-goer,' or 'high-stepper,' is not satisfactory. I believe with the Oxford Dictionary that the applicability of such a name is not apparent. See also Muss-Arnolt, *Semitic and other Glosses to Kluge's Wörterbuch* (reprinted from *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 5, No. 8), Baltimore, 1890, p. 24. *Ibid.* p. 46 Muss-Arnolt mentions my combination of *lecken* in the Biblical phrase *wider den Stachel lecken* or *löcken* (Acts 9, 5) with *to lick* = to beat, Germ. *schlagen*. Greek *πρὸς κέντρον λακτίζειν*, Lat. *contra stimulum calcare*. To *lick* = Germ. *schlagen* may be connected with *leg*; a leg of veal is called in Southern Germany a *Kalbsschlegel*, from *schlagen*; in Northern Germany: *Kalbskeule*; cf. German *keilen* = *schlagen*; *Keule* = club, cudgel. I have given some new Germanic etymologies in my address on Purim, published in vol. 25, of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (New York, 1906).

² See the translation of Isaiah in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1898), p. 44.

³ See note 11 to my paper on the etymology of Heb. *mohél*, circumciser, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, July, 1906.

in the Old Testament symbolizes purification and improvement, but not adulteration and deterioration. Heb. *mahûl* in Isaiah 1, 22 means, not *circumcised*, but *dreggish* or *ropy*. The term *ropy* means *stringy*, i. e. capable of being drawn into threads. The Century Dictionary says: Wine is called *ropy* when it shows a milky or flaky sediment and an oily appearance when poured out. In Addison's version of Vergil's Georgics we find:

They hoard up glue, whose clinging drops,
Like pitch or bird-lime, hang in stringy ropes.

The Isaianic lines should be rendered:

How is she becôme a hárlot,
The fáithful cíty!¹
O Zion, fúll of jústice,
Where ríght abóde,
Thy silver is chánged to dróss,
Thy wine is rópy.²

Heb. *mahûl*, *ropy*, *stringy*, *dreggish* is connected with the Arabic verb *máhala*,³ to drag, i. e. to move or proceed slowly, to hang behind with a retarding tendency, to lag in the rear. The derivative *muhl* means especially *dregs of olives* or *marc*, also the liquid running from a putrescent corpse, and the corresponding Talmudic term *môh'al* has the same meaning. The connection between slowness, tardiness, sluggishness, laziness, idleness, foulness, filthiness, rottenness, is known to any charity agent; and the German *faul* means not only rotten, but also sluggish, lazy, idle. At German schools you can hear the emphatic compounds *stinkend faul* or even *mistmadenfaul*, literally as lazy as maggots in dung.

The Isaianic term *mahûl*, *ropy*, *stringy*, *dreggish*,⁴ led me to investigate the etymology of our English word *dregs* and its

¹ Each line has 3 + 2 beats; cf. my translation of Psalm 23 (in English, German, and Assyrian) in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. 21 (April, 1905), pp. 137-8.

² In German, *ropy wine* is called *fadig*, *schleimig*, *ölig*, *weich*, *zäh*, *lang*.

³ See my paper on the Heb. stem *nahâl*, to rest, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. 22 (April, 1906), p. 206, n. 36.

⁴ Latin *vinum faculentum*.

synonym, *marc*. Marc means the refuse which remains after the pressure of grapes or other fruit. The word is borrowed from the French. The refuse of pressed grapes is called in French: *marc de raisins*, and *marc de café* means coffee-grounds. In the Oxford Dictionary *marc* is derived from *marcher* which means, not only to march, but also to tread, to crush. Originally the juice was squeezed from the grapes by treading. In the opening lines of the Song of Vengeance at the beginning of c. 63 of the Book of Isaiah we read:¹

Who advances, all spattered with crimson,
 than vintagers' garments more ruddy? ^a
^bAlone, have I trodden a wine-vat,^c
 and spilled on the ground all the juices;

and this is explained by the glosses:

- (a) Say, wherefore is red thine apparel,
 and thy garments like one treading grapes?
 (β) Triumphantly, lo, I am speaking,
 after a notable victory.
 Of peoples not one was there with me.
 In anger I trod them,
 and stamped them in fury.²
 Their juices besprinkled my garments,
 defiled was all my apparel.

Similarly the etymological equivalent of our verb *to walk* means in German *to full cloth*, just as we find in early English: *walk-mill* (= German *Walkmühle*) for fulling-mill. The Heb. verb *kibbés*, to wash garments, means in Assyrian: to tread, and our verb *to full* corresponds to the French *fouler*, to tread; *fouler des raisins* means to press grapes; *foulerie* is used both for wine-press and fulling-mill. The German word for wine-

¹ See my restoration of the text in No. 163 (June, 1903) of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, p. 49.

² Apart from this line, which has 2 + 2 beats, the hemistichs have 3 beats. Lines with 2 + 2 beats are combined with double-hemistichs of 3 + 3 beats in David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan, also in the Song of Lamech. See my metrical translation (in English, German, and Assyrian) of David's elegy in No. 163 (June, 1903) of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, pp. 55-6, and my translation of the Song of Lamech in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. 20 (April, 1904), p. 164.

press, *Kelter*, is the Latin *calcatura*, treading, and in Switzerland a wine-press is called *Trott* (from *treten*, to tread).

In the Century Dictionary *marc* is derived from Latin *emarcus* (or its Celtic original) which is said to mean 'a kind of wine of middling quality.' This Gallic word *emarcus*, however, probably means 'made from marc.' The French name for this wine, which is made by steeping in water the skins, etc., of pressed grapes, is *piquette*, German *Tresterwein*¹ or *Lauer*. This term may be combined with the verb *lauern* = to lie in wait, to lurk, to lurch, just as *lee* = French *lie* is connected with *to lie* = to settle, so that *lees* means originally 'sediment.' Weak coffee made by boiling coffee-grounds is called in certain parts of Germany *Lurke*. The old English name for inferior cider made from the refuse of apples, after the juice has been pressed out for cider, is *ciderkin*.

Marc cannot be derived either from the Gallic *emarcus* or from the French *marcher*; but it may be identical with the German *Mark*, English *marrow*. Marrow means not only the medullary matter of bone, but also the pulp of fruit. The original Germanic form was **mazga* = Avestan *mazga*; the *r* is due to rhotacism. Marrow is generally combined with Latin *mergere*, to dip, English *to merge*; but this explanation is not satisfactory. German *Mark*, marrow, however, is connected with the German adjective *ausgemergelt*,² which means 'enervated.' The original meaning is 'marrowless, sapless.' An *ausgemergelter Wüstling* is a man who has drained the cup to the bottom or to the dregs, sounded the depths of vice, sapping his strength. I do not believe that this *sap* is identical with the military term *sap* = to undermine; it may be a privative verb meaning 'to deprive of the sap,' just as we say to stone raisins, to sprout potatoes, to skin an animal, to brain an enemy, to worm a dog, etc. The English etymological equivalent of *ausgemergelt* is *marcid* = shrunk, wasted away.

¹ Greek οἶνος τρεστηνός. The English equivalent of German *Trester* or *Treber* (or *Träber*) is *draff*. *Trester* stands for *trefstir*. For the connections of *draff* with *dregs* (Greek τρύγες) see below, p. 159, l. 13.

² *Mergel* is the German equivalent of *marl*, French *marne*. *Marl* is used as manure. Kluge explains *Mergel* as *fette Düngererde*. Cf. also French *merde* = Lat. *merda*.

Marcid means originally 'squeezed out like marc or dregs,' just as we say 'pumped out' for breathless, exhausted. The Latin prototype for *marc* is not the Gallic word *emarcus*, but *amurca*, or *amurga* = Greek ἀμόργη, denoting the watery part which runs out when olives are pressed. Ἀμόργη comes from ἀμύργειν, to squeeze, which is probably akin to ἀμύγειν, to milk. In English we have the adjective *amurcous* = full of dregs or lees, dreggish, feculent. As a rule, ἀμέργω means 'to pluck, to pick'; it is connected with ἀμόργνυμι, to wipe off. In our colloquial phrase *to milk a friend's purse*, we use *milk* in the sense of draining the contents, exhausting, just as *dragged* may mean 'physically exhausted.' Drag, dreg, drain, drail, draggle, drabble, drab, draff, drawl, dredge are all connected with *draw*.¹

Dregs denotes the sediment of liquors, the more solid particles which settle at the bottom of a solution or other liquid; it means especially a thick or turbid sediment and is synonymous with feces, excrement, refuse, rubbish. Now it is clear in the first place that *dreg* is identical with the good old German word *Dreck* which means dirt, mire, mud, dung; in a more emphatic compound (*Sch . . ssdreck*) it is used especially of feces, excrements. *Schnepfendreck* is the term for the contents of the intestines of snipes, which are served on toast as a special delicacy. Our *dreggy* = foul, muddy, feculent, corresponds in some respects exactly to the German *dreckig*. Hall Caine uses *draggy* instead of *dreggy*: the roads were soft and *draggy*.² This shows the connection between *dreg* and *drag*. The verb *to dredge* = to remove mud and silt from the bottom of a harbor or river, etc., is merely a byform of *drag*. *Dredge* means also a mixture of oats and barley sown together, but formerly it was synonymous with *meslin* (or *maslin*) = a mixture of rye and wheat.³ To dredge may be a privative

¹ To draw is not cognate with Latin *trahere*, but with German *tragen*, to carry. To carry may mean to lead or draw mentally. For the German adjective *träge* = sluggish, originally 'dragging,' cf. *dreggy* = foul = German *faul* = *träge*; see below, p. 160, n. 2.

² Quoted in the Oxford Dictionary. *Draggy* is not given in the Century Dictionary.

³ For the connection of *dredge* and *dregs* we may bear in mind that we speak of the *dregs of society*, German *die Hefe des Volks*, French

verb, so that to dredge a harbor would be originally to 'undreg' it, to remove the dregs. Also *draggle*, *bedraggle*, and *drabble* are connected with *drag* and *dreg*. *Draggle* is the frequentative of *drag*, just as *drawl* is a modern frequentative of *draw*. To *drawl* means 'to drag out the words.' *Draggled* or *bedraggled* means *befouled* (German *beschmutzt*, *verdreht*, for which the common people use *beschissen*).¹ *Draggle* is generally supposed to mean to make a thing dirty by allowing it to *drag* through mire, etc., but it may be derived from *drag* = *dreg*. In the same way a *drag-net* is not simply a net to be dragged, but a net to be drawn *on the bottom* of a river, etc., i. e. a ground-net. I stated that to *drain* was connected with *draw* and *drag*, and I referred to our phrase to drain the cup to the bottom or to the dregs (French, *boire le calice jusqu'à la lie*). *Drag* is a secondary form of *draw*. To *drag* means to draw or pull something which is heavy or resists motion; the intransitive verb means to move heavily or slowly, to advance or progress slowly. *Dreg* may mean originally a thick or turbid sediment which is viscous and glutinous, sticky, clammy.² *Drag* refers to the ground or bottom of a thing. The German word *zähe*, which is used in some connections for viscous, French *visqueux*, is not connected with the verb *ziehen*, to draw, to drag, but is the regular etymological equivalent of our *tough*. We speak of tough clay, tough phlegm or mucus. Phlegmatic means originally full of phlegm.

After this 'phlegmatic' discussion I will proceed to the etymology of a more sanguine subject, viz. the etymology of the

la lie du peuple, la lie du genre humain (= *le rebut de l'humanité*). We use the term *canaille* for rabble, and *canaille* means also a mixture of the coarser particles of flour and fine bran. Cf. also *drabble* (= *draggle*) for rabble and the Shakespearean *drab* = prostitute. For the etymologie of French *lie* = lees, see above, p. 158, l. 10.

¹ This word *besch..ssen* means also to cheat and throws some light on the etymology of the English verb which is generally regarded as a clipped form of *escheat*. Cf. Old French *eschiter* = *chier* and the phrase *il a chié dans mon panier*, etc. = he has cheated me. Our term *shyster* seems to be a corruption of Ger. *Sch..sskerl*.

² Cf. the remarks on the German adjective *träge* (= sluggish) which is used also of the water of a sluggish stream. Cf. above, p. 159, n. 1. Instead of *träge* you can say *schleichend*, and the verb *schleichen* seems to be connected with *slow*.

word *bride*. I have just published in the April number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* an article on the Hebrew stem *nahál*, to rest, which is mistranslated in all our Hebrew dictionaries. *Nahál* is akin to *mahál*, from which the Isaianic *mahûl*, dreggish, ropy, is derived. Both go back to the same root. In a note to this paper I have illustrated the development of Semitic triconsonantal stems from biconsonantal roots by discussing some of the words derived from the root *kl*, to hold, from which e. g. *kiliáh*, kidney; *kil'áim*, two, and *kalláh*, bride, are derived.¹ *Kiliáh*, kidney, means originally 'held,' i. e. enclosed, capsulated, referring to the capsules of the kidneys and the fat in which they are imbedded. *Kil'áim*, two, denotes originally a brace, i. e. what is held together, coupled, a couple, a pair.

As to *kalláh*, bride, some connect it with Aramaic *kallā*, crown, explaining it to mean 'she who is crowned.'² Friedrich Delitzsch in his *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886) believed, it denoted originally the closed bridal chamber, while W. Robertson Smith, in his book *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885), p. 136, stated that the etymological sense was that of *covering*. I believe, however, that *kalláh*, bride, means 'held,' i. e. engaged, pledged, betrothed, affianced.

The words for *bride* mean, both in Semitic and Indo-European, not only a woman recently married, but also a woman about to be married, and the term *bride* is used also for daughter-in-law. This is the meaning of the word in Gothic; also the French *bru*, which is a Germanic loanword, means daughter-in-law, and Greek *νύμφη* is used both for bride and daughter-in-law (Matt. 10, 35; Luke 12, 53),³ just as Heb.

¹ See my paper Semitic Verbs derived from Particles in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, July, 1906, p. 207.

² Not only the bride wore a bridal crown, but also the bridegroom; cf. my translation of Cant. 3, 11 in my *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 4, 25 = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. 18, pp. 194, 215.

³ Cf. for this passage ll. 20-28 of the second tablet of the cuneiform incantations known as the *šurpu* series, translated in H. Zimmern's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 3; see also my paper *Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual* in vol. 19 of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1900), pp. 55-81, and

kalláh. In German the term *Braut* is never used after the wedding day; while in English, *bride* means a woman recently married. This was the meaning of the word (*brût*) in Middle High German.¹

The Oxford Dictionary states that *bride* is a woman just about to be married, or very recently married. The term is particularly applied on the day of the marriage and during the honeymoon, but it is frequently used from the proclamation of the banns, or other public announcement of the coming marriage. This is the German usage; as soon as a girl is engaged she is called in Germany a bride, while the term *Braut* is never used after the wedding. In the parliamentary debate on the allowance of Queen Victoria's fourth son, Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, Gladstone was criticized for speaking of the Duke's *fiancée*, Princess Helen of Waldeck, as the *bride*. The Grand Old Man replied, he believed that colloquially a lady when engaged was often called a *bride*. This was met with *Hear! hear!* from some, and *No! no!* from others. The Oxford Dictionary adds: Probably *bride-elect* would have satisfied the critics. The posthumous son of Prince Leopold and Princess Helen is now Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

Gladstone's use of *bride* in the sense of a lady engaged is more German than English; but, as we shall see presently, it is the original meaning. The Oxford Dictionary states that the radical sense of the word is uncertain, adding that it may possibly be connected with the verb *to brew*, cook, make broth, a duty of a daughter-in-law in the primitive family. This explanation is just as fanciful as the old etymology of *daughter* which was supposed to mean *milker*. I stated in a note to my paper on Moses' Song of Triumph² that Miriam might possibly mean *milker*. This etymology is at least as certain as the explanations that Miriam (or Mary) means *rebellious* or *fat*,

chap. xvi of Jastrow's *Religion Babylonians und Assyrians*, vol. 1 (Giessen, 1905), especially p. 325.

¹ Our word *spouse* (French *époux*, fem. *épouse*) means originally not husband or wife, but *promised*, *betrothed* (Latin *sponsus*, *sponsa*). The French *épousée* means bride on the day of the marriage (*la nouvelle mariée*) or recently married.

² *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. 20 (April, 1904), p. 152, n. *.

although Orientals consider a fat woman especially beautiful.¹ Mephistopheles says in the second part of Goethe's *Faust* (ll. 7782-3 of the edition of the Bibliographische Institut):

*Recht quammig, quabbig,² das bezahlen
Mit hohem Preis Orientalen.*

Instead of explaining *bride* to mean *broth-maker*, we might interpret it as the *bread-maker*, our word *bread* being connected with the verb *to brew*. Heb. *bashál*, to ripen, means both to cook and to bake. But the word *cake* is not akin to *cook*. *Bride*, however, has no connection with *brew*.

Some are inclined to combine *bride* with *Frūtis*, an Italian name of *Venus mater*, and *Frutis* is supposed to be identical with *Aphrodite*. The name *Aphrodite*, however, is probably a Greek adaptation of the Semitic *Astarte*, with *ph* for *th*,³ and *Frutis*, if it be Indo-European, may be connected with our *fruit*. Otfried Müller believed it to be an Etruscan name. Etruscan was no Indo-European language. Professor V. Thomsen in his *Remarques sur la parenté de la langue étrusque* (Copenhagen, 1899) thinks there may be some affinity between Etruscan and the eastern group of the northern Caucasian

¹ *Fair as the moon* is one of the most common comparisons in Arabic. A maiden is often addressed *O Moon* or *O Full moon*; see my *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), p. 25, below. According to Oriental ideas a *moon-face*, i. e. a full, round face is one of the principal features of beauty in a woman. It is not a doubtful compliment as the German term *Vollmondsgesicht*. Tennyson calls Maud *the moon-faced darling of all*.

² That is, flaccid, flabby, blubbery, bloated; French *mollasse*.

³ Cf. my *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* in the *Nachrichten* of the Royal Society of Göttingen (Apr. 25, 1883), p. 97, n. 3; Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, vol. I (Göttingen, 1884), p. 76, below, and the references given in the 14th edition of Gesenius' Hebrew lexicon (Leipzig, 1905), p. 572^a. See also Muss-Arnolt, *Semitic Words in Greek and Latin* (Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. 23, 1892), p. 55, below; p. 75, n. 12. Heb. *ʾĀšeret* instead of *ʾĀšeret* = *ʾĀšeret* is a *Qere* like *Jehovah* for *Jahvéh*; see the notes on the translation of the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1898), p. 163, l. 41. The Jews substituted *baʿeth* = *αἰαχίνη* for the name of the heathen goddess. This explains *Baal* with the feminine article: *ἡ Baal* was read *ἡ αἰαχίνη*; see Critical Notes on Kings (in my *Sacred Books of the Old Testament in Hebrew*), p. 294, l. 28.

languages (Lesghian, etc.). Several scholars are of the opinion that there is some connection between the language of the second species of the trilingual Akhæmenian cuneiform inscriptions, known as Susian or Elamite, and the southern Caucasian language known as Georgian (or Grusian or Gruzinian).¹ In a paper published two years ago, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Bohemia, Karl Kramář advanced the theory that there was an affinity between Georgian and the language of the pre-Semitic aborigines of Babylonia, Sumerian. I pointed out some connection between Sumerian haruspicy and Etruscan ceremonies in my paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual.²

In this connection I should like to raise an Assyriological protest against Scheftelowitz's fanciful theories concerning cuneiform idioms. On p. 411 of the fifth volume of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology, which has just been completed, Dr. Hüsing, who has devoted special attention to the Susian or Elamite language, remarks that Friedrich Delitzsch has authorized him to state that Delitzsch had advised the editors of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* not to publish Scheftelowitz's article. Dr. Hüsing adds, we can say of every single page of Scheftelowitz's paper, it is a pity that it has been printed. Nearly two-thirds of all the forms and words given by Scheftelowitz are wrong.

There is no certain trace of the word *bride* outside the Teutonic group. I believe that *bride* must be connected with *bridle*. After a girl is engaged, she is no longer free, at least in Europe, but *bridled*, restrained, pledged. In Germany a girl, when engaged, often says: *Ich bin gebunden, ich bin nicht mehr frei*; and a man, who desires to be released of an engagement, says: *Gieb mich frei*. In early English we find *bride* in the sense of *bridle*, e. g. he took him by the *bride*. *Bride* is the common word for *bridle* in French, and *brider quelqu'un par un contrat*, lit. to bridle, i. e. restrain, bind someone by a contract, means to make a contract with some one,

¹ Cf. my *Prolegomena to an Assyrian Grammar* in vol. 13 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, p. ccxlix, § 2, b (Proceedings at Baltimore, October, 1887). See also Peiser's *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, vol. 7, 407; 8, 53. 184. 550.

² See above, p. 161, n. 3.

put him under legal obligation. Sheridan says in *The School for Scandal*: Charles is *contracted* by vows and honor to your ladyship. To contract means especially to bind one's self by promise of marriage. *Contract* means *affianced*. Shakespeare (*Richard III.*, 3, 7) says: First was he *contract* to Lady Lucy.

Bride or *bridle* is probably connected with *braid*. We use *braid* of a plaited band of hair, whether twined around the head or hanging behind; also for a narrow textile *band* or tape used as trimming for garments, etc. The primitive meaning of to *braid* is to *draw*, to pull. The German equivalent of *braid* is *Zopf*, and the denominative verb *zupfen* means to pull, while the German words for bridle, *Zügel* or *Zaum*, are connected with the verb *ziehen*, to pull. To *upbraid* (i. e. *castigare verbis*) corresponds to the German *züchtigen*. The German verb *aufziehen* means to rally, to banter, to taunt. To taunt means not only to tease, but also to upbraid with insulting words.

So *bride* means 'no longer free, but bridled, restrained,' bound in the bonds of matrimony. In the good old times the bride was *bridled* after the wedding, the husband took the reins, and the bride obeyed them.¹ This may be old-fashioned, but that is no argument against the correctness of my etymology.

PAUL HAUPT.

¹ In the form of the solemnization of matrimony, given in the Book of Common Prayer, which is still used in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the bride promises to love, cherish, and to obey her husband. Modern brides, however, not infrequently object to the verb *obey*.

III.—THE REORGANIZATION OF THE MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE ANTONINES.

A comparison of the status of the municipalities in the Roman empire at the close of the second century of our era with what it was, when the Spanish cities received their constitutions from the Flavian emperors, reveals changes in their constitutional rights and restrictions on the management of their local affairs, that vitally affected the administrative independence which they had enjoyed for nearly two centuries.

In the arrangements that followed the Social War, the Italian cities were allowed full freedom in the administration of their affairs, except for the limitations placed on the jurisdiction of the municipal courts. As to the provincial cities, Rome, especially in the later conquests of the republic, exhibited the statesman's wisdom in securing the good-will and finally the Romanization of conquered communities by according to them the greatest possible freedom in their local administration that was consistent with her sovereignty.

Though frequently treated with great harshness during the Civil War, yet, with rare exceptions, their affairs continued to be managed by their own magistrates, and the advent of the empire and the mild measures of the Augustan constitution made secure for them the freedom which under the republic was constantly in jeopardy.

The personal interest of Augustus was confined chiefly to strengthening the Italian cities. The population of many he increased by adding colonies from Rome, and Italian cities were especially favored by him in the grant of better political rights as the *ius Latium*. In the provinces Augustus established new colonies, but with few exceptions he refused¹ to promote the status of the older communities.

From Augustus to Vespasian but one emperor, Claudius, took any interest in promoting the welfare of the municipalities. His

¹ O. Hirschfeld, *Zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Rechts*, p. 9 f. Herzog, *Gallia Narbonensis*, p. 101.

activity¹ in granting the *ius coloniae*, *ius Latium* and the *ciuitas* is attested not only by many inscriptions and Pliny's survey of the empire, but also by the sneer of his satirist² Seneca, which serves to establish the policy that the latter as prime minister recommended to Nero.

The dominant policy, therefore, of the first century of the empire tended to extend the advantages and the freedom inherent in the better rights accorded the cities. The constitutions granted by the Flavians gave them a free hand in local administration.

For various reasons, however, the Antonine emperors had found it necessary to lay hands upon the municipalities and either to limit their powers or to exercise a control over their administration. There are reasons to believe that Vespasian also realized into what wretched condition municipal administration had fallen and took some measures to correct it. The discussion will return to these measures further on. The policy and activity of the Antonines, beginning with Trajan, points to a conviction that the cities were threatened with ruin and only stringent measures could save them.

The fact that the most graphic accounts of these morbid conditions are to be found in the letters of Pliny, prefect of Bithynia, has, perhaps, tended to call undue attention to the cities of the eastern provinces and to establish the conviction that they were in a much worse condition than the western cities. They were larger and wealthier than the younger cities of the west, hence offered greater opportunities for corruption, but the appointment of imperial curators³ by Trajan in Italian and western communities indicates that the emperor ordered searching investigations in other provinces than Bithynia,⁴ which were spared the exposition of a literary governor.

Our main sources of information regarding the condition of the cities in this period are 1) the rescripts of the emperors, 2) the inscriptions and 3) the correspondence of Trajan and Pliny.

¹ O. Hirschfeld, l. c.

² De Morte Claudii 3: Ego (Clotho) mehercules, inquit, pusillum temporis adicere illi uolebam, dum hos pauculos, qui supersunt, ciuitate donaret.

³ C. I. L. X 6006.

⁴ Herzog, Gal. Narb. p. 252; Idem, Röm. Staatsverfassung II, I p. 348. Nicht alle Stadthalter werden so viel gefragt und damit so viele Entscheidungen erhalten haben, aber nach Abzug der besonderen Verhältnisse darf man dieses Beispiel doch wohl als eines unter vielen annehmen.

The orations of the contemporary Dio Chrysostom, especially the 46th, *De Tumultu*, deal considerably with city economy, but the line of demarcation between rhetoric and sober fact is too difficult to draw to render his statements of any real value for the purposes of this investigation.

From these sources it will be seen that the interests of the cities suffered from dishonest and neglectful officials in nearly every branch of the administration. A statement of the various sources of a Roman municipality's revenues and their relative importance, together with its expenses, would help to make clear the conditions that prevailed. Such a statement cannot be given here and the reader is referred to the yet inadequate expositions to be found elsewhere¹.

Furthermore the effects of the abuses will be more fully understood if we take into account the fact that only by a careful administration of the limited funds at their command could the expenses of most of the cities be kept within their revenues. Adequate revenues were not, at the period under consideration, and never had been, provided to meet the demands of the annual budget. Cicero, while pro-consul of Cilicia, had found it necessary to frame with great care that part of his edict which dealt with the cities in order to reduce their expenses². The Augustan constitution which so utterly failed to effect a satisfactory organization of the finances of the empire³ could not be expected to bring relief to the municipalities and the disinclination of his successors to make changes in the constitution as left by the first emperor perpetuated these defects. This inadequate provision for the financial needs of the cities was met, to a large extent, by reducing to a minimum the need of funds⁴ through the system of *munera*⁵, which was so elaborately developed during the empire.

¹ Revenues: Humbert, *Essai sur les finances et la comptabilité publique chez les Romains* (Paris 1887) Vol. I, p. 402 ff, II, p. 60 ff; Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 2 ff; Karlowa, *Röm. Rechtsgeschichte*, I, p. 898. Expenditures: Liebenam, l. c. p. 68 ff.

² Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* III 8, 4—*diligentissime scriptum caput est, quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum*; cf. *Ad Att.* 21, 10 ff; *Ad Fam.* XV 6, 2.

³ Schiller, *Geschichte der Kaiserzeit* (1883), I, II, p. 752; Herzog, *Geschichte u. System d. röm. Verfassung* II, I, p. 217.

⁴ Friedländer: *Städtewesen in Italien unter d. röm. Kaisern*, *Deutsche Rundschau*, Bnd. XIX, p. 214.

⁵ See Kuhn, *Bürg- u. Städtische Verf.* I, p. 38, for the best exposition of the *munera*.

The only important source of revenue added by Augustus came from the founding of the priesthood of *Augustales*. Whatever the purpose of the organization may have been, it was placed in the hands of the *decuriones* and by that order was used to relieve the financial distress of the city. They were elected by the *decuriones*,¹ as were the magistrates soon after the reign of Tiberius, and when no candidates presented themselves, suitable persons of sufficient wealth were compelled² to accept election just as was the case again with magistrates. The *Augustalis* paid into the city treasury a *summa honoraria* amounting to about 10,000 sesterces,³ which was the average amount required of a *duovir*. In certain semi-legislative acts, as the voting of honorary monuments, the *Augustales* sometimes acted with the *decuriones*,⁴ sometimes in conjunction with a popular assembly, but often enough without the latter to show that the dignity of the priesthood was considered equal to that of the *decuriones*. This priesthood thus restored to the wealthy freedmen an avenue to the distinction which with a curtailment of political rights had been lost and also secured from them heavy contributions for public purposes. This source of revenues fell chiefly to the Italian communities where, by order of Caesar, when dictator, freedmen were excluded from municipal magistracies. In the provinces they were more extensively organized in Spain, especially after Vespasian granted the *ius Latium* to the Spanish cities, a constitution that also excluded freedmen from the magistracies.⁵

Considering further the heavily increased taxes levied by Vespasian,⁶ burdens which the municipalities had to share, it can be seen that there were a number of causes that conspired to bring the cities to the verge of ruin. To correct the abuses and restore the provincial cities, claimed the attention of all the Antonines, especially Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, whose reforms, however, were extended and made more effective by their successors, Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

¹ C. I. L. X 112 ob honorem Aug. quem—a senatu—accipere meruit.

² C. I. L. X 114 l. 32 ff. hoc autem nomine relevati impendiis, facilius prosilitori hi, qui ad munus Augustalitatis compellentur.

³ C. I. L. X 4792, cf. Liebenam, l. c. p. 57.

⁴ C. I. L. IX. 4760—decrevit ordo decurionum et Augustalium et plebs universa. Cf. XI 3013.

⁵ C. I. L. II 1944 VI Augustalis in municipio Suelitano D. D. primus et perpetuus omnibus honoribus, quos libertini gerere potuerunt, honoratus. Cf. Momm., *Stadtrechte*, p. 416.

⁶ *Suet. Vit. Vesp.* 16; *Cassius Dio* 66, 2, 8, and 14; *Zonaras* 11, 17.

Two measures of Nerva were intended to aid the municipal finances. The first was the establishment of the well-known alimentionation funds to restore agriculture in Italy, as well as to aid needy children. There can be little doubt that the cities were considerably benefited by the short-lived success of this institution although on just what terms they received the funds we do not know. Since, however, at a later period, when the possessor of lands that were obligated to the alimentionation fund could no longer pay the interest, he assigned in favor of the imperial fiscus (*fisco locum facere*),¹ it is probable that the cities received the funds in trust and not as a gift.

The other constitution granted to the cities the right to receive legacies. In this connection it should be remembered that the legacy was an essential part of the income. Although there was no law, at the time under consideration, requiring wealthy citizens to leave a portion of their property for public purposes, yet the practice had become so common as to make the legacy a reliable source of income.² The inscriptions show that very frequently the funds for an important festival, a temple or a public building, were accumulated through a long period of years either from an aggregation of gifts or from the principal and accrued interest of a single bequest. The value, apparently, of Nerva's law must have rested in the increased assurance that the bequest would be properly applied and the wish of the testator respected, for surely before Nerva's time the municipalities could and did receive public bequests. Without the corporate right, however, to receive it, the bequest was made, not to the *res publica*, but to the inhabitants severally³ and its use, presumably, was subject to their will expressed by ballot or, perhaps more frequently and less judiciously, by a popular demonstration in the theater.

Inasmuch as the legislation of Nerva and Hadrian had restricted the use of bequests to the purposes stated in the will,⁴ important aid was afforded the cities by rescripts of Antoninus Pius and

¹ Codex Ius., XI 33, 2, 2.

² Ulp., 24, 28: *Ciuitatibus omnibus, quae sub imperio populi Romani sunt, legari potest idque a Nerva introductum, postea a senatu, auctore Hadriano, diligentius constitutum est.* Ibid., 22, 5, *fideicommissa hereditas municipibus restitui potest, de qua hoc senatus consultum prospectum est.*

³ Dig. Iust., 34, 5, 20, *cui (collegio) autem non coire licet, si legetur, non ualebit nisi singulis legetur.* Cf. C. I. L. V, 5203, 5878.

⁴ Dig. Iust., 50, 8, 4: *legatam municipio pecuniam in aliam rem quam defunctus uoluit, conuertere citra principis auctoritatem non licet.*

M. Aurelius, of which the former allowed them, on receiving permission from the emperor, to disregard the wish of a testator who would have a superfluous building erected and apply the bequest to the maintenance of existing buildings,¹ the latter to refuse a gift made on conditions detrimental to their interests.²

It was from Trajan that the actual administration of the cities received the most attention. Chief among the abuses that prevailed, not only in Bithynia but in other parts of the empire, was the failure to deal effectively with the public debtor.³

The accounts consisted chiefly of (1) the gifts (*summa honoraria*) promised by magistrates on entering office, (2) the loans of municipal money, including permanent funds, and (3) the legacies.

The inscriptions afford considerable evidence that the discharge of a promise made by a magistrate on entering office was not infrequently long delayed and it seemed worthy of record if it was paid during his term of office.⁴ Particularly serious was the frequent failure to complete a structure that had been promised and begun. Many inscriptions refer to incomplete buildings and even in the cases where it is not specifically stated, we are probably warranted in concluding that a would-be public benefactor has not fulfilled his promise. Such failures were sufficiently general to cause Trajan to issue a constitution making it binding, not only on the person who made the promise but upon his heir as well, to complete the work. This salutary law was made more specific by Antoninus Pius, who required a direct heir to forfeit ten per cent, a devisee not related to the testator (*heres extraneus*) to forfeit twenty per cent, of the inheritance in case of failure to complete the promised building.⁵

¹ Dig. Iust., 50, 10, 7, (Callistratus) Pecuniam quae in opera noua legata est, potius in tutelam eorum operum quae sunt, conuertendam, quam ad inchoandum opus erogandam diuus Pius rescripsit.

² Dig. Iust., 50, 12, 11: (Papirius Iustus) Item rescripserunt (Antoninus et Verus) condiciones donationibus adpositas, quae in rem publicam fiunt, ita demum ratas esse, si utilitatis publicae interest.

³ Plin. Ep. X 47.

⁴ C. I. L. VIII 8300, *anno suo* posuit dedicauitque. IX 1156: intra *lustrum* honoris eius, repraesentata pecunia, strauit. Cf. 2350, 1143. VIII, 17258.

⁵ Dig. Iust., 50, 12, 14. Si quis sui alieniue honoris causa opus facturum se in aliqua ciuitate promiserit, ad perficiendum tam ipse quam heres eius ex constitutione diui Traiani obligatus est.

⁶ Dig. Iust., 50, 12, 14, sed si quis ob honorem opus facturum ciuitate aliqua promiserit atque inchoauerit et priusquam perficeret, decesserit: heres eius extraneus quidem necesse habet aut perficere id aut partem quintam patrimonii

Caracalla placed the promise of a *summa honoraria*¹ on the same basis with the agreement to construct a public work, and Ulpian states that a rescript of the same emperor converted it into an interest bearing debt,² when payment was delayed.

In dealing with the borrower of municipal funds the city administration was both weak and corrupt. It would be an error however to suppose that these loans (*ex kalendario*) were made solely from surplus treasury funds. They doubtless embraced numerous foundations for charitable and other purposes of which the inscriptions record so many³ instances. The causes of such a failure to protect the community's interests can be seen in rescripts forbidding the lending of public funds without security or to persons already in debt to the city. It gave occasion for one of the drastic measures of Trajan, the institution of the *cura kalendarii*.

Kuebbler has attempted to show that the institution of the alimention fund was the occasion for appointing the *Curator kalendarii* ostensibly to take charge of the administration of that fund.⁴ He not only fails, however, to prove his proposition, but the rescript of Severus (Cod. Ius. IV 31, 3), shows clearly that the *pecunia alimentaria* was entirely distinct from the accounts of the *kalendarium*. The rescript is worth quoting in full, because, in the first place, it shows plainly that the funds committed to the *curator kalendarii* were wholly independent of the alimention funds and incidentally catalogues all the different heads under which a city kept its accounts: — In ea, quae reipublicae te debere fateris, compensari ea, quae ab eadem tibi debentur, is, cuius de ea re notio est, iubebit, si neque ex kalendario, neque ex uectigalibus, neque ex frumenti uel olei publici pecunia, neque tributorum,

relictis sibi ab eo, qui id opus facere instituerat, si ita mallet, ciuitati, in qua id opus fieri coeptum est, dare: is autem, qui ex numero liberorum est, si heres exstitit, non quintae partis sed decimae concedendae necessitate adficitur et haec diuus Antoninus constituit.

¹ Dig. Iust. 50, 12, 6, 1. (Macrinus). Si quis pecuniam ob honorem promiserit coepitque soluere, cum debere quasi coepto opere, imperator noster Antoninus rescripsit.

² Dig. 50, 12, 1: (Ulpian) si pollicitus quis fuerit rei publicae opus se facturum uel pecuniam daturum, in usuras non conueniatur; sed si moram coeperit facere, usurae accedunt, ut imperator noster cum diuo patre rescripserunt.

³ Friedlaender, l. c.

⁴ Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung fuer Rechtsgeschichte, roman. Abt. XIII, p. 156 ff.

neque alimentorum, neque eius, quae statutis sumptibus seruit neque fideicommissi ciuitatis debitor sis.

Liebenam's statement that this official was charged with the administration of the city's outstanding accounts¹ is vague and capable of various interpretations, and leaves the exact nature of his relationship to the city a matter of doubt.

In Italy the *curator kalendarii* was appointed by the emperor in many cases at least, and probably in all instances, as Kuebbler suggests. The appointment in the provinces was made by the governor as the direct representative of the emperor. Certain very specific qualifications were required, the nature of which is not anywhere stated, but they can with probability be inferred. The governor was authorized to make the appointment only after careful investigation (*ex inquisitione*) and since, on the one hand, no bond was required,² whereas, on the other hand, his private fortune secured the community against all loss incurred during his curatorship,³ the investigation must have concerned his financial standing and not his administrative abilities. This then, was the chief feature of his relationship to the municipality, namely his responsibility to protect with his own fortune the city's loans.

In defense, therefore, of his private fortune, he had to ascertain the financial standing of all borrowers of public money, not only of those to whom loans were made during his own term of office, but of those whose names he received from his predecessor. Thus, his administrative functions were secondary and his relation to the city was similar to that of the *exactores*, the *decuriones* who were held responsible for all shrinkage in the taxes due the state.

In order to procure the prompt payment of bequests, a rescript of Antoninus Pius required trustees, who unduly delayed to carry out the wishes of the testator, to pay interest at a higher than the current rate.⁴ A bequest was payable on the date stipulated in the will, and if no date was stated, the governor of the province fixed a date after which interest should be due, at six per cent if the bequest was not paid over to the city within six months, at a lower rate if it was paid sooner.⁴ A rescript of M. Aurelius made

¹ L. c. p. 482 'der Verwalter des staedtischen Schuldbuches'.

² Dig. 50, 8, 9, 7: a curatore kalendarii cautionem exigere non debere, cum a praeside ex inquisitione eligatur.

³ Dig. 50, 8, 9, 9: Item rescripserunt (Antoninus et Verus) nomen, quae deteriora facta sunt tempore curatoris (kalend.) periculum ad ipsum pertinere.

⁴ Dig. 50, 10, 5: Si legatum uel fideicommissum fuerit ad opus relictum, usurae quae et quando incipiant deberi rescripto diui Pii ita continentur: si quidem

the magistrates who failed to perform their duty in exacting payment of a legacy, their heirs, or their bondsmen liable for the losses thus incurred.¹

The method adopted in the case of bequests was likewise employed in dealing with a worse class of offenders, the magistrates and other officials who unlawfully retained public money in their private possession. Cicero speaks of this crime among the Greek magistrates, from whom he recovered public money that had been retained for several years.² M. Aurelius made funds thus retained bear interest.³

In like manner a curator placed in charge of a public work was required to pay interest on the excess funds that remained in his possession.⁴

The attitude of the state toward the municipalities is clearly shown by the fact that, whereas a debtor to the imperial fiscus was eligible to the highly esteemed honor of representing his home city before the provincial governor or the emperor, the citizen who was in debt to the city was not allowed to undertake such an embassy, (Dig. 50, 7, 4, 1: rescript of Pius).

In discussing the vices whereby the municipal revenues had suffered, mention has already been made of a law of Trajan which assured the community that a building once begun should be completed. How general were such expensive fiascos at building as Pliny reports from Bithynia cannot now be determined, but

dies non sit ab his, qui statuas uel imagines ponendas legaverunt, praefinitus, a praeside provinciae tempus statuendum est, et nisi posuerint heredes, usuras leviores intra sex menses, si minus, semisses usuras rei publicae pendant. Si uero dies datus est, pecuniam deponant intra diem aut—semisses protinus pendant.

¹Dig. Inst. 50, 1, 38, 2: Imp. Antoninus et Verus rescripserunt; ad magistratus officium pertinere exactionem pecuniae legatorum et si cessauerint, ipsos uel heredes conueniri aut, si soluendo non sint, fideiussores eorum qui pro his cauerunt.

²Cic. ad Att., VI 2, 5: Mira erant in ciuitatibus ipsorum furta Graecorum, quae magistratus sui fecerant. Quaesivi ipse de iis, qui annis decem proximis magistratum gesserant. Aperte fatebantur. Itaque sine ulla ignominia suis ueris pecunias populis rettulerunt.

³Dig. Inst. 50, 8, 9, 10: Imp. Antoninus et Verus rescripserunt eum qui pecuniam publicam magistratus sui tempore et post non pauco tempore detinuerat, usuras etiam praestare debere, nisi si quid adlegare possit, qua ex causa tardius intulisset.

⁴Dig., 50, 8, 9: Imp. Antoninus et Verus rescrip. pecuniae quae apud curatores remansit, usuras exigendas.

they were probably numerous and fully justified the emperor in forbidding the construction of a new building at public expense without his permission. Thus he returned to the policy of the early republic when the Roman censors had charge of the building projects in the Italian cities. There is, however, no evidence of the narrow policy of the earlier times but the restriction appears simply as a salutary measure to protect the interests of the cities themselves. The spirit and purpose of the law is apparent in the rescript granting to the people of Sinope the privilege to build an aqueduct. The permission was granted on the condition that they should be able to complete it. (Pliny X 91, also Ep. 24.)

The law was accepted and reiterated in the constitutions of later emperors, as Macer, a jurist of the time of Alexander Severus, states.¹ It was a restriction which the earlier emperors had not placed upon the cities except in the case of walls of fortification.²

In the alienation of the city's rights in the ground, both the *ager* and the ground within the pomerium (*loca publica*), was an abuse that had from time to time caused the state to interfere in municipal affairs. These rights insured an important source of revenues which the cities received from those who tilled ground within the territorium.³

The city had no right to alienate either *ager* or *loca publica*, yet in fact such unconstitutional acts seem to have been not infrequent.

Vespasian was the first of the emperors who took active measures against such illegal possessors and reclaimed public land both in Rome⁴ and in the provinces.⁵ Ulpian, in discussing the duties of the *curator reipublicae*, states that the titles should

¹ Dig., 50, 10, 3, 1: Publico uero sumptu opus nouum sine principis auctoritate fieri non licere constitutionibus declaratur.

² Dig. Just., 50, 10, 6.

³ Plin. H. N. 18, 3. Etiam nunc in tabulis censoriis *pascua* dicuntur omnia ex quibus populus reditus habet, quia diu hoc solum *vectigal* fuerat. Hyginus p. 202, Ed. of Lachmann, haec (*compascua*) beneficio coloniae habent in forma COMPASCUA PUBLICA IULIENSIIUM inscribi debent: *nam et vectigal quamvis exiguum praestant.*

⁴ C. I. L. VI 933. Imp. Caesar Uespasian. Aug. . . . locum viniae publicae occupatum a priuatis per collegium pontificum restituit.

⁵ Hyginus, De Cond. Agr., p. 122, ed. Lach., lapides (in prouincia Cyrenensium) uero inscripti nomine diui Uespasiani sub clausula tali,

OCCVPATI A PRIVATIS FINES:

P. R. RESTITVIT.

be investigated and public property restored,¹ by the provincial governor, if the city had no curator. The plain inference is that the condition was very general.

Thus the *curator rei publicae* was given the procuratorship of public ground, which carried with it the authority to dispossess illegal occupants, even though they might have acquired the land by *bona fide* purchase. In the latter case the evicted possessor had recourse upon the person from whom he had bought the land.²

The property thus held in private possession had in most cases, if not all, been unconstitutionally alienated by the *decuriones* themselves, a procedure which Ulpian states was of common occurrence.³ The reason for such an act on the part of the *decuriones* is probably not far to seek. The *lex coloniae Genitivae* forbids in the strongest terms the granting of public property of any description (*pecunia publica aut pro ea quid*) in consideration of a gift or other benefaction to the community.⁴ The grant of nearly 40,000 denarii to Piso by the *decuriones* of Amasia, was, to all appearance, made in consideration of public benefactions. (Plin. X 90.)

Land thus alienated by the highest municipal authority could be restored only by the state.

It is improbable that the same conditions prevailed in all cities and that the same measures and methods were necessary in all. The procuratorship of public ground which was vested in the provincial governor or the *curator rei publicae* in cities to which such an official was appointed, was vested in other cases, apparently, in a *curator operum publicorum*.

¹ Dig. 50, 10, 5, 1: Fines publicos a priuatis detineri non oportet. Curabit, igitur, praeses prouinciae, si qui publici sunt, a priuatis separare.

² Dig. 50, 8, 11, 2: Item rescripserunt (Aurelius et Verus) agros rei publicae retrahere curatorem ciuitatis debere, licet a bona fide emptoribus possidentur cum possint ad auctores suos recurrere.

³ Dig. Iust. 50, 9, 4, 1: Ambitiosa decreta decurionum rescindi debent; proinde, ut solent, siue aliquem debitorem dimiserint siue largiti sint siue decreuerint de publico alicui uel praedia uel aedes, uel certam quantitatem praestari, nihil ualebit huiusmodi decretum.

⁴ Lex. Col. Gen. ch. CXXXIV: Ne quis IIuir aedili(s) praefectus c(oloniae) G(enetiuae) quicunque erit, post h(anc) l(egem) ad decuriones c(oloniae) G(enetiuae) referto neue decuriones consulito neue d. d. facito neue d. e. r. in tabulas publicas referto neue referri iubeto neue quis decurio, cum e(a) r(es) a(getur), in decurionibus sententiam dicito neue d. d. scribito neue in tabulas publicas referto neue referendum curato, quo cui pecunia publica A(ut pro ea) quid honoris habendi causa munerisue d(andi) pollicendi proue statua ponenda detur donetur

It has been suggested that this *cura* was instituted in order to relieve the regular magistrates of the ever increasing burden of overseeing the building operations of the cities or to superintend the construction of buildings donated by the emperor.¹ Against such a theory it may be said, in the first place, that we have no evidence of so great activity in the building operations of the municipalities that the *duoviri* and *aediles* could not oversee them. The theory seems to be influenced by the conditions in a modern city. The revenues of a Roman city, including gifts, hardly permitted extensive annual building projects.

As to the theory that the *curator operum publicorum*, when appointed by the emperor, had charge of the construction of buildings that were gifts from the emperor, it is certainly an error to confuse the curator that the emperor or the city appointed to take charge of a particular work (quos efficiendo operi praestituit, Dig. 50, 10, 2, 1) with the *cura operum publicorum*, a permanent office at Rome and is found in some provincial cities. Thus broadly interpreted, the imperial curator in charge of the construction of an aqueduct, of a temple (Trac. IV 56) or of a bath (c. X 1419), has been regarded as the *curator operum publ.* of the inscriptions.

There is but little evidence that the *cur. oper. publ.* had charge of building operations at all. From the time the Roman censors allowed the cities to conduct their own building work, it was in charge of the magistrates, nor did they lose the authority when a *curator rei publicae* was appointed over them.² It is doubtful whether the latter had the authority to take charge of a new construction unless the decuriones entrusted it to him, just as the *duumviri* or *aediles* might be commissioned by the same body. Numerous inscriptions connect the *cur. rei publ.* with building projects, but they are chiefly on monuments in honor of the emperor³ or pertain to restorations.⁴

The evidence of the inscriptions is all, perhaps, in harmony with the statement of Paulus that it was the duty of

¹ Liebenam, l. c. 385. Daremberg-Saglio, article, Curatores, p. 1623.

² Numerous inscriptions of the second and third centuries prove this statement. See Liebenam l. c., p. 383.

³ C. I. L., VIII 2345, 2480, 2660, XI, 3091.

⁴ C. I. L., III 568, X 1199, 4860, 5200, VIII 2388, 4221, 5178, 5335, 5341, 8480, 11184, 12285, 16400, Or. 6579. IX, 2238.

the *Cur. rei publ.* to keep the buildings in the city in a state of repair.¹

A consideration of the functions of the *curator operum publicorum* in Rome will, perhaps, help to indicate the character of the similar *cura* in the municipal administration. Their chief functions, as stated by Mommsen, (St. R. II, p. 1002), were first the assignment of public ground for buildings and monuments that served a public purpose; secondly, to remove obstructions from public property or impose a rental (*solarium*) for the use of such property. The last two functions were plainly stated by Ulpian in his commentary on the edict (Dig. 43, 8, 2, 17), and the first is as fully attested by the inscriptions.

Turning now to the municipality, it is possible, perhaps, to determine the nature of the *cura*. The few inscriptions in which the *Cur. oper. publ.* is mentioned are nearly all of sepulchral character and throw but little light upon the nature and functions of the office. The following inscription, however, which was found at Puteoli, must be considered: (C. I. L., X 1791):

ded IC. XI. K. IUL. IMP. COM.
mo DO. AUG. III. ET. ANTISTIO.
bur RO. COS. LOC. ADSIG. PER
ar SENIUM. MARCELLUM. CUR.
5 ope R. PUB. CUR. VALERIO.
fel ICE. ET AVILLIO. PU
de NTE

The left side of the stone is broken away and leaves the reading in some doubt. Prof. Mommsen's *ut uidetur* in the index (p. 1149) recognizes the uncertainty of reading *Cur. rei publicae*. In considering this inscription the following facts should be observed:

1. The inscription is not symmetrical, hence no indentation is required at the beginning of line 5 to correspond with an apparent indentation at the end of the line.
2. The treatment of the last line reveals a determination to keep the left margin of the document full.
3. A comparison with lines 1, 3, and 6 shows that there was room enough on the portion of the stone which has been broken away, to read *oper(um)*.

¹ Dig., 39, 2, 46; ad curatoris r. p. officium spectat, ut dirutae domus a dominis extruantur, domum sumptu publico exstructam si dominus ad tempus pecuniam impensam cum usuris restituere noluerit, iure eam res publica distrahit.

So far, therefore, as the outward form of the inscription is concerned, there can hardly be any valid objection to reading *cur. operum publicorum*.

In the notes, however, to C. I. L. X 1814 Prof. Mommsen is of the opinion that Valerius Felix and Avillius Pudens of the inscription in question are duovirs by whom the space was assigned on the authority of the *curator rei publicae*. But the preposition *ab* is lacking and comparison with an inscription found in Rome (C. I. L. VI 1119) in which the same formula is used in combination with the one usually employed for the *curator operum publicorum*—*locus assignatus ab L. Allio Basso et Commodo Orfitiano cur. oper. publ. C. V. cur. M. Caecilio Athenaeo, M. Valerio Midia, L. Allio Amphitale*—makes it sufficiently certain that Valerius and Avillius had charge of the construction only. The preposition *per*, however, recognizes a higher authority, which was probably the *curator rei publicae*.

If this is the correct reading, the inscription indicates, first that the *cur. oper. publ.* here mentioned exercised the same authority over the *loca publica* as the curator of same title did in the administration of the city of Rome; secondly, that he had nothing to do with the placing of the monument, which was done by the duovirs or the aediles.¹ The fuller title—*curator operum locorum-que publicorum*—and the statement of Festus that *loca publica* implied also *sarta tecta*² undoubtedly indicate the functions of this curator, namely, the control of public ground and the repair of public buildings.³

His authority, therefore, to recover public ground illegally held in private possession is not only implied, but to him, when appointed by the emperor, as well as to the *praeses*, apply the words of Ulpian, in substance identical with his statement on the same subject in his comments on the edict pertaining to Rome,

¹ C. I. L. XIV 2590

locus datu(s)

a Cestio Rubo curat. operi
aedil. L. Avelli Metilliani et
Vibi Rubi

L. 2, operi(s), Mommsen.

Praestat fortasse *oper(um)*, Dessau.

² Festus, XVII, s. v. *sarte*: opera publica, quae locantur, ut integra praestantur, sarta tecta uocantur.

³ C. I. L. XI 3258: cur. pec. publ. et operum publicorum quibus ex fide reffectis ob merita eius . . .

that in case of ground which was occupied by public buildings, it must be either reclaimed or subjected to rental.¹

The first known instance of an imperial *curator operum publicorum* appointed for a municipality, is found at Nola (CIL. X 1266) and the appointment was made by Vespasian, the emperor who, as shown above, took active measures to recover the public land that was held in private possession. In Suedius Clemens also, whose mission to Pompeii was to restore to the city the *loca publica* which had been seized for private use, one is tempted to recognize another imperial *curator operum publicorum*.²

The conditions at Pompeii have been attributed to the confusion arising from the partial destruction of the city by the earthquake in the year 63.³ The theory is very improbable, as the boundaries in a city of brick and stone are not so readily disturbed.

The suggestion of Nissen, that Vespasian restored to the city the land that Nero had seized and bestowed on favorites,⁴ is certainly more probable, but in view of the apparent frequency with which municipalities suffered through neglectful magistrates or an unconstitutional measure of the *decuriones*, a specific historic event is not required to explain the situation at Pompeii.

The election posters (C. I. L. IV 768, 1032, 1059) which recommend for the duovirate Epidius Sabinus, who had defended the interests of the city against the illegal holders, reveal the importance of the case. Pompeii could hardly have been the only city in Italy in which the abuse existed and it is not improbable that the *cur. oper. publ.* in other cities,⁵ appointed by the emperor in one case (C. IX 1160), and doubtless also in others, had the same duties to perform as Suedius Clemens.

Beginning with the reign of Hadrian, notices become frequent that wealthy citizens resorted to every means to escape the *munera*

¹ Dig. Ius. 50, 10, 5, 1: Si qua loca publica uel aedificia in usu priuatorum inuenerit (praeses prouinciae) aestimare utrumne uindicanda in publicum sint aut uectigal eis satius sit imponere et id, quod utilius rei publicae intellexerit, sequi.

² C. I. L. X 1018: ex auctoritate Imp. Caesaris Vespasiani Aug. loca publica a priuatis possessa, T. Suedius Clemens tribunus, causis cognitis et mensuris factis, rei publicae Pompeianorum restituit.

³ Julian, Les Transformations politiques de l'Italie sous les Empereurs Romains, p. 106 f.

⁴ Nissen, Pomp. Studien p. 479.

⁵ C. I. L. III 285, IX 3923, X 1266, 3759, 3910, XI 1340, 3091.

on which the city administration so largely depended. The rescripts of Hadrian and his successors (Dig. 50, 6, ff.) have regard, in general, to wealthy citizens who sought through registration in a college, as the *naucularii*, whose members were exempt from other *munera*, to escape the obligations of property and person. Although in some instances the laws specifically favored the municipality, yet it is too difficult to draw the line between state and city interests to warrant further discussion of the subject here.

In the efforts to reform the municipal administration and restore the cities, the most important agent employed was the *curator rei publicae*, first appointed by Trajan, who exercised some oversight over every branch of the city's affairs. The conditions already described show the necessity for such an official and indicate his functions.

The article by Liebenam in *Philologus* for 1897 renders further discussion of that curatorship unnecessary here, although the treatment there given lacks the historical perspective which the sources allow. The authority of the *curator rei publicae*, which at first was little more than advisory, was gradually increased by the absorption of other functions such as the *cura operum publicorum* (C. I. L. XI 3091) and the *cura kalendarii* (C. I. L. VIII 8396) until he virtually had full control of the city's affairs.

If we consider the efforts of the individual emperors to ameliorate the condition of the municipality, we find that the methods varied considerably. The short reign of Nerva did little more than to institute the policy and set an example. The policy of Trajan seems to have been founded on the conviction that by a proper administration of their affairs the cities could be restored to a healthy condition. Disregarding, therefore, their rights and sentiments (Plin. Ep. X 48), he ordered his prefects to make investigations and, where necessity demanded, subjected the entire administration to the oversight of a special official, with powers substantially equal to those of the provincial governor. He made no concessions intended to relieve their accumulated obligations to the state.

Evidently accepting the reforms of Trajan in the field of the administration of the cities, Hadrian's policy was rather one of relief and assistance.¹ The relief, however, afforded by the

¹ Zonaras, II, 12. Spartianus, Vit. Had. 7, 9.

emperor's remission of fifteen years' back taxes, was but temporary, for the large amount of taxes remitted by Marcus Aurelius extended back over sixteen years of the reign of Hadrian.¹

Throughout the entire period and in most of the measures, there are traces of a policy to favor the Italian communities more than the provinces. Trajan's reluctance to grant the *ciuitas Alexandrina*² suggests that Pliny's statement, (Paneg. 37, 3, *noui (ciues) seu per Latium in ciuitatem seu beneficio principis uenissent*) must be interpreted as referring to Italy chiefly, if not alone. Therein he returned to the policy of Augustus, who refused the *ius Latium* to provincial cities. Furthermore Hadrian's numerous gifts to the cities were made chiefly to Italian communities, if a conclusion can be drawn from the meager evidence of the inscriptions.³

The evident purpose of such a policy was to insure the Romanization of the provinces by strengthening Italy and thereby securing for Roman culture that predominance in the empire, which, through the decimation of the Roman nobility and the promotion of the powerful provincial families (Tac. Ann., III 55), had begun to weaken.

In the provinces Hadrian made comparatively few gifts to cities. In Spain he restored the theater at Emerita—CIL. II 478. The aqueduct which he began to build for Athens (Vit. Hadr. 20), was completed by Antoninus Pius (C. I. L. III 549). It is probable, moreover, that the gifts made to the provincial cities were not made from private funds (*ex pecunia sua*), but from local revenues by imperial decree as in the case of the aqueduct at Alexandria. See Philos. Vit. Soph., p. 56, ed. Kayser: πεντακοσίων πόλεων φόρον ἐς μᾶς πόλεως δαπανᾶσθαι κρήνην. See also C. I. L. II 1640, 1641, ex beneficio eius (Traiani) pecunia publica; III 14120, ex sacris pecuniis deae Dictynnae. In a similar way Antoninus Pius favored the cities of Italy. See Sievers, Studien zur Geschichte der roemischen Kaiser, p. 197, Anm. 20.

It is hardly necessary to point out the tendency toward a centralization of power, which the policy of restricting the adminis-

¹ Cassius Dio, 71, 32, 2: ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα χωρὶς τῶν ἑκατάδεκα τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ.

² Pliny, Ep. X 7.

³ C. I. L. V 2152, 4315, 4316; IX 5294, 5681; X 1640-1, 3832, 4574, 5649, XIV 98, 95, 2798; XI 6115.

trative independence of the provincial municipalities so clearly indicates and so strongly accelerated. Inaugurated as a means of correcting abuses and checking corrupt practices in the municipal administration, a large corps of officials while enforcing the numerous corrective measures of imperial origin kept the affairs of even remote communities constantly under the eye of the imperial government at Rome.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

T. LOUIS COMPARETTE.

IV.—LITERARY SOURCES IN CICERO'S BRUTUS AND THE TECHNIQUE OF CITATION IN DIALOGUE.

The Ciceronian dialogue, reminiscent of the origins of this literary form in a metropolis of talkers, and at a time before the general diffusion of books, still aims to maintain the fiction that spoken discourse is the normal medium for the communication and transmission of thought. In large measure therefore, though by no means consistently, it ignores books and avoids allusion to them, referring a knowledge of the statements or opinions of others to communication with the speakers of the dialogue by word of mouth, either directly or through intermediaries. Upon this fiction is based the whole framework of composition, as when dialogues like the *De oratore* or the *De re publica*, which are, in fact, learned treatises drawn from the technical literature of rhetoric or philosophy, are represented as having been reported to the author by some one who heard the actual discussion which the dialogue reproduces. It should be, and in Cicero's best work is, an essential part of the dialogue setting, to indicate clearly the channels of such transmission. Thus Rutilius Rufus in the *De re publica* is the connecting link between the Scipionic group and Cicero, while Cotta and Scaevola play a similar rôle for the *De oratore* and the Laelius respectively. Instances of frank invention like the Cato Major, with no suggestion of a connecting intermediary between the original conversation and the author, lose an element of dramatic persuasiveness which renders them less artistic.

Again, within the dialogue itself references to historical events and to literature of an earlier time are made usually by appeal not to books or to historical records, but to the evidence of report, either vaguely and in general terms—*accepimus*, *video*, *audivi*, etc., or with specific designation of some medium of oral communication. Thus historical illustrations, which may be derived either from current tradition or from written records, are introduced on the evidence of an intermediary between the event and the speaker. So, for instance, the story of the Tuscan haruspices (in *De nat. deor.* II 11) is introduced by Balbus with the words: *tum Gracchus, ut e patre audiebam*, bridging thus the gap between

the event (163 B. C.) and the dramatic date of the dialogue (ca. 75). The same device is used a little further on with reference to the famous portent of the double sun of the year 129, *ut a patre audiui* (ib. 14). In such cases we shall not, of course, name the father of Balbus (nor, with Mayor, the father of Cicero), as the real source of Cicero's information. The author was concerned only to make a plausible connection of oral tradition between a time antecedent to the lives of his interlocutors and the time of the dialogue setting. It is merely a more specific form of such a statement as we find in Brutus 104: *atque hoc memoria patrum teste dicimus*.

Ideas and events of still greater remoteness are sometimes reported as having been transmitted through a series of intermediate personages, in order to preserve the fiction of oral communication. Some noteworthy examples are afforded by the Cato Major. In 39 Cato introduces 'an ancient discourse of Archytas of Tarentum'. The method of its transmission from a conversation of Archytas with C. Pontius, the Samnite,¹ to one Nearchus, Cato's host at Tarentum, is carefully set forth; for the gap between Archytas and Nearchus Cicero contents himself with the words: *se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat*. No one will doubt, I think, that Cicero had the matter from a literary source, whether Archytas, or the otherwise unknown Nearchus, or Aristoxenus, as Zeller suggests. The element of 'tradition' which the commentators have attributed to the passage, belongs to the technique of the dialogue and not to the words of Archytas. Another example of similar character is found in 43 with somewhat more circumstantial indication of the sources of Cato's acquaintance with the philosophy of Epicurus: *saepe audiui e maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant*, etc.

Again, the Pythagorean doctrine of immortality is introduced in 78 with the words *audiebam* Pythagoran . . . numquam dubitasse, etc., and it is followed by a reference to the Platonic view, which carefully avoids the suggestion that Cato had, of his own initiative, read the Phaedo: *demonstrabantur mihi* . . . quae Socrates . . . disseruisset.²

¹ He is introduced to indicate the time of Archytas by a Roman synchronism: *patre eius, a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt* (= 321 B. C.)

² In all of these examples, in addition to the characteristic feature of dialogue composition which they illustrate, a special reason for emphasizing so strongly the traditional source of the information in question lay perhaps in the per-

These illustrations will suffice to make clear in a general way the principle of dialogue art from which we started. That is, the author in making acknowledgment of indebtedness to earlier sources will place his interlocutors in some relation of personal communication with the authorities themselves from whom he draws, for the sake of maintaining consistently the fiction of oral transmission. By the device of one or more intermediaries, which we have noticed in the Cato Major, it is possible to refer to sources more remote than those contemporary with the interlocutors of the dialogue. But the method is obviously cumbersome and the difficulty of establishing a plausible relationship grows with each remove from the time of the dialogue-scene. Except for special reasons therefore, such as we found in the character of Cato, it is not much used. Accordingly, the great majority of allusions to well-known authorities of the remoter past are introduced directly in the present tense—*ait (dicit) Aristoteles*, etc.—without any effort to indicate channels of oral transmission. The effort to maintain the semblance of personal communication is thus confined for the most part to such sources as fall contemporary (in some degree at least) with the lives of the interlocutors. Anachronisms are apparently studiously avoided.

This usage or technique I shall now illustrate in greater detail from the dialogues of Cicero, grouping them into these classes: (I) dialogues, the dramatic setting of which lies wholly in the past; (II) dialogues, contemporary with the time of the writer, in which he himself participates. In this class I shall differentiate again between expressions of obligation (a) attributed to other interlocutors, and (b) those which the author himself, as a speaker in the dialogue, makes.

(I). Dialogues of the first type have already been illustrated by the Cato Major. Some further observations may be added from the De oratore. In Book I Crassus Antonius and Scaevola review the scholastic controversies concerning the scope and nature of rhetoric, the justification of its claims to be regarded as an art or science, and its relation to philosophy and statesmanship. No one, of course, can doubt that the matter thus presented was derived by Cicero from the books of Greek theorists, and that further-

sonality of Cato. Cicero doubtless felt that it would be inappropriate that Cato should reveal any acquaintance with Greek philosophy except such as might have been gained in conversation or intercourse with others. But see the same device in Lael. 88.

more, if it was known at all to the characters of his dialogue, it was acquired by them from the same sources. But consistently with the demands of dialogue composition set forth above, Cicero represents each one of his interlocutors as having knowledge of such discussions from conversations with Greek philosophers and rhetoricians themselves. So Crassus (in I 45) alludes to the question and its discussion by the Greeks, and explains his acquaintance with their views: *audivi enim summos homines, cum quaestor ex Macedonia venissem Athenas*, etc. There are then named a number of philosophers, Charmadas, Clitomachus, Aeschines, and Metrodorus of the Academy, Mnesarchus the pupil of Panaetius, and Diodorus the pupil of Critolaus the Peripatetic. It is significant that nearly all of these, even in the paltry record which has survived from this time, appear elsewhere as contributors to this prolific controversy¹. Antonius in turn contributes his share to the discussion from similar reminiscences of conversations with practically the same group of philosophers named by Crassus: (*Athenis*) *cotidie mecum haberem homines doctissimos, eos fere ipsos qui abs te modo sunt nominati* (I 82). Scaevola also, on his way to Asia as praetor, had heard at Rhodes the rhetorical side of the controversy defended against the attacks of the philosophers by Apollonius (Molon), who ridiculed the views of Panaetius, which Scaevola presented, and made jest of philosophy in general: *inrisit ille quidem, ut solebat, philosophiam*, etc. (I 75). The allusion here contained in *ut solebat* is probably to the work of Apollonius *κατὰ φιλοσόφων*.² In none of these cases are we justified, it would seem to me, in using Cicero's statements concerning the association of his interlocutors with the Greek writers named as material for the history of the times, or for the biographies of the respective persons, though this has generally been done. The recognized technique of dialogue composition

¹ The arguments of Clitomachus and Charmadas are touched upon by Sextus Advs. rhet. 20, where *οἱ περὶ τὸν Κριτόλαον* are also cited. The peripatetic definition of rhetoric in Nic. Soph. (Spg. III 451) probably goes back to the Diodorus of our passage, and it contains a suggestion of one of the mooted points in controversy. Mnesarchus was a writer of vigorous polemical character (Acad. post. fr. 1), and the clear and sharp formulation of the Stoic position which is presented on his authority in I 83 (sicut iste ipse Mnesarchus) was doubtless drawn from writings of his, which Cicero attests (in Fin. I 6) that he had read.

² See Susemihl, Gesch. d. gr. Lit. II, p. 492 n. 137.

impelled him to put his characters in some relation of personal contact with the sources from which he himself drew. For the assumption or the free invention of such relationships, the foreign travel of his characters, in their various capacities as provincial administrators, afforded a plausible starting-point.¹

In conclusion I would note two minor examples from the *De oratore*. In III 225 the story of C. Gracchus' employment of a slave, whose duty it was by the use of a pipe to correct and guide his master's voice in public harangues, is introduced by the words: *quod potes audire Catule ex Licino*, cliente tuo, litterato homine. Catulus replies: *audivi mehercule et saepe sum admiratus*, etc. In this case there is no doubt that some treatise of the grammarian Porcius Licinus is the source of the curious story, the ramifications of which in subsequent literature have been so interestingly traced by Büttner.² Again in *De or.* I 72, the editors of Lucilius have not hesitated to accept a fragment attested by the words: *sed ut solebat C. Lucilius saepe dicere*, etc.

(II). Turning now to contemporary dialogues let us first note some examples in which (a) interlocutors other than Cicero make such references to the sources from which their material is derived. A good example is afforded by the speech of Lucullus in the *Academica Priora*, in which the general position of Antiochus in criticism of Philo and the New Academy is set forth. The circumstances of Lucullus' familiarity with the opinions of Antiochus are carefully explained, and his knowledge of their bearing upon the opposing ideas of Philo: *cum Alexandriae proquaestore, inquit, essem, fuit Antiochus mecum, et erat iam antea Alexandriae familiaris Antiochi Heraclitus Tyrius . . . cum quo Antiochum saepe disputantem audiebam* (II 12). The whole setting, so fully described in the passage from which I have made a single extract, is of course a fiction, as has long been recognized, and the matter which Lucullus professes to report from oral discussions was in fact derived directly by Cicero from a work of

¹ Crassus was quaestor in Asia, but Cicero says (probably inaccurately): *cum quaestor ex Macedonia venissem Athenas*. Cf. Wilkins ad I 45. Antonius on his way to Cilicia as proconsul was detained several days at Athens by unpropitious weather (*propter navigandi difficultatem*), which gave him opportunity for the conversations he describes. Scaevola was praetor in Asia in 121, but it seems unlikely that Apollonius (Molon) had as yet taken up his residence at Rhodes. Cf. Susemihl II, p. 490. Cicero is here, perhaps, guilty of a slight anachronism, if, as seems likely, Apollonius Molon is meant.

² Porcius Licinus, p. 81 ff.

Antiochus.¹ So inappropriate was the whole situation assumed as the source of the dialogue, as Cicero himself confesses,² that in the revision of the work it was completely changed at the suggestion of Atticus, and the work was dedicated to Varro, who is made the chief interlocutor. But Varro in turn, like Lucullus of the earlier edition, but more appropriately in view of his character and studies, presents the views of Antiochus as a reminiscence of the actual discourses which he and Cicero had heard in their youth: *quid est enim quod malim quam ex Antiocho iam pridem audita* recordari (I 14). That this portion too does not depend on Varro's, (or Cicero's) own recollection of Antiochus' lectures, but is transcribed from a book or books by the master, is a conclusion which no one now will be likely to dispute (Reid, p. 57).

Other examples could be cited showing with what freedom Cicero handled his characters in order to establish a plausible relationship of personal intercourse between them and the sources which he used, and it would, perhaps, reward investigation to sift and examine them all.³ To what extent the dramatic setting of the dialogues has passed into subsequent historical record—whether in ancient or modern times—should be investigated, as when Plutarch in his life of Cato uses the episode of the conversation of Cato with Nearchus as attested fact, or again in his life of Lucullus attributes to him all that Cicero, with self-confessed fiction, had said to give plausibility to the setting of the *Academica Priora*.⁴

Up to this point we have seen how Cicero with the freedom of a dramatist attributes the results of his own reading to the

¹ Cf. Reid, Acad., p. 52: "No one can read the speech of Lucullus without perceiving that Cicero wrote it with a Greek work lying open before him, from which almost every sentence has been directly transferred. This book was in all probability the Sosus [of Antiochus]". Hirzel, Untersuchungen III p. 251: "Dass für den Inhalt desselben die Erinnerung an mündliche Vorträge des Philosophen die Quelle gewesen sei, ist eine Möglichkeit die vom Standpunkt der heutigen Quellenforschung überhaupt und der ciceronischen insbesondere keine Beachtung mehr verdient".

² See the references in Reid's Int., p. 33 n. 9, and esp. ad Att. XIII 16, *ἢ παρὰ τὸ πρῶτον* videbatur, quod erat hominibus nota, non illa quidem ἀπαυδεσμία, sed in eis rebus ἀκριψία.

³ So for example, A. Goethe, in the introduction to his edition of the *De nat. deor.*, p. 13, remarks that Cicero apparently identifies himself with Cotta in such a manner as to make it doubtful whether his statements concerning Cotta's acquaintance with Zeno, the Epicurean, have any historical foundation.

⁴ Cf. Plutarch, C. M. 2, 4; Lucullus 1 and 42. See also Reid, Int. to Acad., p. 33, n. 8.

characters of his dialogue, placing them so far as possible in a relation of personal communication with the writers from whom he draws, and representing their discourse as a reminiscence of such communication. We have noted further that he makes apparently no distinction in this respect between those dialogues which, like the *De oratore* or the *Cato Major*, lie wholly in the past and those which are placed in his own time. But thus far we have only considered his treatment of speakers other than himself.

(b). It remains to consider whether the same interpretation is to be attached to utterances which Cicero, the author, attributes to himself as an interlocutor; that is, whether we are at liberty in the same manner to assume a *literary source* for utterances which Cicero himself, in the rôle of a character in the dialogue drama, professes to have *heard*. It will, I think, seem probable a priori, in view of the quite consistent characteristic of dialogue composition which has been noted, that the same rule should apply to all the speakers of the dialogue; that Cicero, therefore, in his own rôle will attribute to personal intercourse (wherever chronological or historical considerations do not forbid) material which in fact he may have derived from literary sources.

For this situation, however, there do not seem to be any such conspicuous or considerable examples as we have noticed in the rôles of Lucullus and Varro in the *Academica*. This is due in part to the fact that Cicero often assigns the more positive parts, which would depend more naturally upon particular sources, to others, reserving for himself the rôle of critic and arbiter. In the *Academica* to be sure there is a suggestion of the source from which the sceptical arguments, with which Cicero replies to Varro, are drawn. But it does not entirely serve the purpose of our argument, since in referring to Philo, the teacher of Antiochus, it designates his books as well as the discourses to which Cicero had listened: *quamquam Philo . . . negat in libris, quod coram etiam ex ipso audiebamus*, etc.¹ Such examples serve to show the natural interpretation of other passages where personal communication is the only channel of transmission suggested, but they have no coercive force.

¹ Cf. Tusc. V 22 *ista mihi et cum Antiocho saepe et cum Aristo nuper, cum Athenis imperator apud eum deversarer, dissensio fuit: . . . dicebantur haec, quae scripsit etiam Antiochus locis pluribus.*

In many cases a literary source may seem to be the most natural one to assume, and yet, from the nature of our record, the material for its demonstration may be lacking. So in *De legg.* I 53 Atticus tells a story, which he professes to have heard from Phaedrus the Epicurean (*audire ex Phaedro meo memini*), of one Gellius who as proconsul came to Athens, and with amusing *lourderie* (or waggishness, perhaps) collected the philosophers and urged them with earnest insistence to put an end at length to their disputes. The reply of Cicero: *iocularis istud, Pomponi, et a multis saepe derisum*, suggests that the matter had figured in literature before, presumably in a work of Phaedrus, and probably elsewhere. With more certainty that we are dealing entirely with literary sources may be adduced *De fin.* V 75 (the interlocutor whom Cicero addresses is Piso, patron of the Peripatetic Staseas): *quod quidem eo probavi magis, quia memini Staseam . . . aliquanto ista secus dicere solitum . . . est ut dicis, inquit, sed haec ab Antiocho, familiari nostro, dicuntur multo melius et fortius.*

An example finally, the literary source of which cannot be doubted, is afforded by *Tusc.* III 38. Cicero here, in refutation of an Epicurean position, is concerned to show that he understands their teaching and does not present a distorted account of it. He thereupon sets forth with painstaking effort at exactness the Epicurean definition of happiness: *hoc dicit (Epicurus) et hoc ille acriculus me audiente Athenis senex Zeno, istorum acutissimus, contendere et magna voce dicere solebat, eum esse beatum, etc.* The involved and careful definition is then set forth, which is followed again by these emphatic words: *habes formam Epicuri vitae beatae verbis Zenonis expressam, nihil ut possit negari.* Although above Cicero had said *me audiente Athenis*, it does not admit of doubt that with the phrase *verbis Zenonis expressam*, acknowledgment is made to the written words of Zeno.¹

The principle of dialogue composition thus set forth is a natural one: it rests upon the universal psychology underlying the situation which the dialogue creates, rather than upon any recog-

¹ I find that Hirzel, without concerning himself about *me audiente*, has drawn the same conclusion from this passage. *Untersuch.* I, p. 30: "Denn das *verbis* zeigt, dass die diesen Worten vorausgehende Definition der Glückseligkeit einer Schrift Zenon's, und nicht der Erinnerung an dessen vor vielen Jahren gehaltene Vorträge entnommen war". Cf. also Susemihl II, p. 263.

nized rule of art. One might perhaps contend that it is contained implicitly in the suggestive phrase of Demetrius (De eloc. 224) ὁ διάλογος μμεῖται αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα. Certainly it belongs to the tone and manner of unrestrained, spontaneous conversation to feel a certain pedantry (or at least flatness) in the citation of a written source and to avoid it. No one likes to confess that he got his story from *Punch*; it suits his own and the listener's sense of effectiveness much better to attribute it to personal experience or to direct communication with some person named or nameless. There is no doubt I think that the dialogue or similar dramatic literature of any language would reveal the same usage, and I have noted a number of analogous examples in the English dialogues of Bishop Hurd—who facilitates inquiry by the considerate use of learned footnotes¹. A more conspicuous instance is afforded by the acknowledgment of indebtedness which Chaucer makes to Petrarch through the mouth of the Clerke, in the prologue to the story of Griselda :

I wol yow telle a tale which that I
 Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,

 Fraunceys Petrark the laureat poete.

It may be objected to my use of this example that many of the most eminent Chaucer students (amongst whom Professor Skeat and M. Jusserand as the most recent may be named) have used it literally as evidence that Chaucer first heard the story from the lips of Petrarch (and from him received a copy of the tale): but to this I should not hesitate to reply that a more comprehensive survey of the technique of such acknowledgments would have shown them on how uncertain a foundation they had based their conclusion.² The example it will be seen is absolutely parallel to the instances under II (a) above, that is, Chaucer Clerke Petrarch correspond exactly to Cicero Lucullus Antiochus, in the example there cited.

¹ So for instance in the Dialogue on the Uses of Foreign Travel (between the Earl of Shaftesbury and Locke), Hurd incorporates a story and an exact quotation from Shaftesbury's 'Characteristics', which he places in the mouth of Locke. He makes acknowledgment for this indebtedness by causing Locke to address Shaftesbury with the words: "as I have *heard* you tell the story".

² See an article by the present writer in Modern Philology for July, 1906: "Chaucer and Petrarch: Two Notes on the Clerkes Tale".

The conclusions set forth in the foregoing will not, I am sure, meet with any resistance from students of the philosophical dialogues; for whether they have been formulated or not, the fact remains that they have actually been recognized and followed by various investigators into the sources of those treatises. That the same phenomena have not received a similar interpretation in the *Brutus* has doubtless been due in part to the more historical character which that dialogue seems to present, and in part also to the fact that it has been far less thoroughly examined with reference to its dependence on earlier literature. But the *Brutus* is a dialogue constructed with the same artistic freedom of dramatic invention as any of the other dialogues of Cicero, and no good reason can be assigned for setting it apart from the habitual technique employed elsewhere. In cases therefore where Cicero designates personal communication as the source of his knowledge it will be open for us either to accept his statement literally, or to understand that he is casting a literary source into this more vivid form¹. The determination of any given case between these two alternatives cannot be defined by any general rules; it will depend upon the particular circumstances which each case affords. Some will be found to indicate very clearly a literary source, while others may be assigned most plausibly to the personal communication which Cicero professes.

The first example which I would note is the most important and the most extensive one which the *Brutus* affords. After characterizing Scipio and Laelius in sections 83 and 84 and pointing out the generally conceded superiority of Laelius, Cicero passes to a comparison of Laelius and Galba, based upon an historical episode derived from Rutilius Rufus, the circumstances of which are introduced as follows:

Memoria teneo Smyrnae *me* ex P. Rutilio Rufo *audivisse*, cum diceret adulescentulo se accidisse, ut ex senatus consulto P. Scipio et D. Brutus, ut opinor, consules de re atroci magnaue quaerent. Nam cum in silva Sila facta caedes esset notique homines interfecti insimulareturque familia, partim etiam liberti societatis eius quae picarias de P. Cornelio L. Mummi censoribus redemisset, decrevisse senatum, etc. (85-88).

¹ An interesting analogue from modern newspaper practice (in America at least) is the construction of 'personal interviews' with scientific or literary men upon the data afforded by their published works. The practice is not an uncommon one, attested often enough by the published protests of the gentlemen 'interviewed'.

In the interesting narrative which follows, the efforts of Laelius on behalf of the *societas* are set forth, their ill-success, and his recommendation that the case be put into the hands of Galba, by whom it was carried through to an acquittal, which Cicero represents as triumphant. The passage requires a fuller interpretation than can be given to it here, mainly to point out that Cicero has used it for a purpose alien to its original intention. For it can be shown quite certainly that Rutilius used the story as evidence with which to justify a criticism of Galba's character and oratory, and not at all as Cicero does to show the superiority of his oratorical method to that of Laelius. The episode, I think, is twice referred to by Cicero earlier, once in the *De re publica*¹ and again in the *De oratore*. But these considerations, though affording slight presumptions of literary origin, are not decisive. More significant, in reference to an event of no general historical importance, is Cicero's exact designation of the consuls—with a significant *ut opinor* deprecatory of too exact knowledge—and especially the wholly irrelevant detail of the names of the censors, from whom the corporation had obtained their concession. What would be natural for Rutilius writing out a deliberate record of his life has little plausibility for Cicero recalling the memory of a story heard thirty-two or three years before. The likelihood that the story is drawn from a written record is of course greatly enhanced by the fact that we can refer it to so natural a source as the famous memoirs of Rutilius, the *Libri de vita sua*. With the nature of such a work the tone of autobiographical reminiscence harmonizes most admirably. Its place then, as a reminiscence evoked by events of a later time, is indicated by a passage of the *De oratore* (I 227): *idemque (Rutilius) Servium Galbam, quem hominem probe commeminis se aiebat, pergraviter reprehendere solebat, quod is, L. Scribonio quaestionem in eum ferente, populi misericordiam concitasset*. It suggests that Rutilius had told the story, to justify by the evidence of personal observation the condemnation which he visited upon Galba for his more celebrated example of emotional oratory in defending himself against the charge of perfidy to the Lusitanians.

The next passage (107) contains a group of three characterizations attributed to the poet Accius:

¹ *De re publica* III 42 *Servium Galbam, quem tu (Laelius) quoad vixit omnibus (sc. oratoribus) anteponebas*. *De oratore* I 227, cited below.

Vester etiam D. Brutus M. filius, ut ex familiari eius L. Accio poeta *sum audire solitus*, et dicere non inculte solebat et erat cum litteris Latinis tum etiam Graecis ut temporibus illis eruditus. Quae tribuebat idem Accius etiam Q. Maximo L. Paulli nepoti; et vero ante Maximum illum Scipionem quo duce privato Ti. Gracchus occisus esset, cum omnibus in rebus vehementem tum acrem aiebat in dicendo fuisse.

In this case there is nothing that points necessarily to a literary source, but there are some general considerations which will make such an origin seem the more probable one to assume. In the first place the disparity of age between the two men is at best very great. If we consider sixteen years as the earliest time at which Cicero might reasonably have conversed with Accius on such questions, we must assume an age of eighty years for Accius. Unfortunately we have no other data for fixing the lower limit of Accius' life than this passage affords. That his life overlapped the life of Cicero is certain: but our record affords no chronological clue subsequent to 104, the date of the Tereus. But there is no reason why we should assign these characterizations to personal communication of Accius with Cicero. For if Cicero had been in the habit of listening to Accius' conversation it would be reasonable to suppose that he should have carried away memories of other and more eminent orators than the three relatively unimportant ones named. The fact would seem to be that Accius somewhere in the course of his prolific literary activity, in dedications or prefaces addressed to friends or patrons, had used language laudatory of the oratorical and literary attainments of men in public life, which Cicero was able to employ for his purpose. Acknowledgment is made to Accius in this instance, rather than to general report (*habebatur*, etc.), because of the well-known relation of intimacy between D. Brutus and Accius, to which Cicero makes allusion elsewhere¹.

Two of the most eminent orators of Rome in Cicero's judgment were Ti. Gracchus and C. Carbo, whom Cicero groups together in 103. Concerning their pre-eminence there was no doubt—*atque hoc memoria patrum teste dicimus*, though their orations reveal the undeveloped style of their time. Gracchus died too early to reveal fully his genius; Carbo lived and his oratorical reputation bore the test of a long career.

¹ Pro Archia 27; De legg. II 54 (D. Brutum) doctum hominem sane, cuius fuit Accius perfamiliaris.

Hunc qui audierant prudentes homines, in quibus familiaris noster L. Gellius, qui se illi contubernalem in consulatu fuisse *narrabat*, canorum oratorem et volubilem et satis acrem atque eundem et vehementem et valde dulcem et perfacetum fuisse *dicebat*; addebat industrium etiam et diligentem et in exercitationibus commentationibusque multum operae solitum esse ponere (105).

Although Gellius is designated in 174 as a contemporary of Crassus and Antonius, yet since we are assured that he lived a long life, there is no reason to doubt that he may have survived into the years of Cicero's maturity. Some relationship of intimacy existed between Cicero and the family of Gellius, which is indicated here by *noster familiaris*, a term which is also used of the son, L. Gellius (consul in 72), in *De legg.* I 53. There would therefore seem to be little reason for suggesting a literary source in this case, especially since we have no knowledge of any work by the elder Gellius to which it could be referred. Still I venture to call attention to the language of this characterization, which has a certain inartistic quality, as of one picking out the significant words from a fuller account and stringing them together loosely. It is possible that the author may have been one of the Gellii, authors of *annales*, to whom reference is elsewhere made, and it is perhaps with reference to some such work that Cicero in Brutus 174 designates him as *nec Romanarum rerum immemor*.¹

In 169 Cicero enumerates a group of provincial orators (apud socios et Latinos), who are adduced mainly for the observation that their language lacks a certain color of urbanity which belongs to the orators of the city. Cicero then proceeds, in reply to Brutus' question, to illustrate this quality by an example:

Ego *memini* T. Tincam Placentinum hominem facetissimum cum familiari nostro Q. Granio praecone dicacitate *certare*. Eon', inquit Brutus, de quo multa Lucilius? Isto ipso; sed Tincam non minus multa ridicule dicentem Granius obruebat nescio quo sapore vernaculo (172).

Whether Cicero here refers to something which he had actually heard, or whether he reports a scene which had been the subject of grammatical discussion, it is not easy to determine. The latter alternative is not without probability in view of the words of Quintilian I 5, 12: nam duos in uno nomine faciebat barbarismos Tinga Placentinus, si reprehendenti Hortensio credimus, *preculam pro pergula* dicens.

¹ Cf. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq. Proleg.*, p. 239, n. 1.

There remain two or three examples, in which although we cannot attach a name to the source used by Cicero, we are nevertheless able to discern its general nature. In 65 Cicero in characterizing Cato says:

Refertae sunt orationes amplius centum quinquaginta, quas quidem adhuc invenerim et legerim, et verbis et rebus inlustribus.

In this passage the statement that Cicero had read one hundred and fifty orations of Cato is not, of course, incredible. But it would seem remarkable and unlikely that Cicero, in the manner of a professional grammarian, had searched for and found that number. The truth is, I suspect, that Cicero here presents as the fruits of his own research and reading, the investigations of grammarians, who—in emulation of the learned activity of the Greeks—had devoted themselves to the task of bringing together and editing the scattered orations of Cato which were not contained in the Origines. The form of statement is in conformity with the general features of dialogue technique which we have thus far observed. The matter admits of no demonstration, but an illustration may serve to show the manner. Athenaeus, in a parenthetical remark concerning the Ἀσωτοδιδάσκαλος of Alexis, says (336 d): ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπήνησα τῷ δράματι· πλείονα τῆς μέσης καλουμένης κωμωδίας ἀναγνοὺς [cf. *legerim*] δράματα τῶν ὀκτακοσίων καὶ τούτων ἐκλογὰς ποιησάμενος οὐ περιέτυχον [*invenerim*] τῷ Ἀσωτοδιδασκάλῳ. Athenaeus as an interlocutor in his dialogue is under the same impulse as Cicero to maintain the fiction of independent knowledge. The true situation, however, is much clearer in his case, for no one can doubt that the research (περιέτυχον), and the reading (ἀναγνοὺς), of which he speaks, represent merely the accumulated results of several generations of Alexandrine scholars.¹

¹ Let me add here a reference to the omniscient pose of grammarians and antiquarians in such dialogues as the Deipnosophists or the Saturnalia. They are always ready to deliver ἀπὸ μνήμης an unlimited supply of erudite citations in illustration of any question which the curiosity of their fellow banqueters may raise. Quidquid de hoc mihi tenuis *memoria suggererit* paucis revolvam (I 3, 1) is a typical example of the introductory formulae which occur by the dozen throughout Macrobius. The matter has been touched upon briefly but suggestively by Rutherford in his recent Chapter in the History of Annotation (London, 1905, p. 32). One is tempted to press the question further and to raise the query whether, for example, Cicero in Topica 5 is not merely assuming a conventional literary pose: itaque haec, cum mecum libros non haberem, *memoria repetita* in ipsa navigatione conscripsi. The point of view

A larger and more perfect specimen of grammatical inquiry is preserved in 99, à propos of the oration of C. Fannius *de sociis et nomine Latino contra C. Gracchum*.

Tum Atticus: Quid ergo? estne ista Fanni? nam varia opinio *pueris nobis* erat. Alii a C. Persio litterato homine scriptam esse aiebant, illo quem significat valde doctum esse Lucilius; alii multos nobiles, quod quisque potuisset, in illam orationem contulisse. Tum ego: *Audivi* equidem *ista*, inquam, de maioribus natu, sed numquam sum adductus ut crederem; eamque suspicionem propter hanc causam credo fuisse, quod Fannius in mediocribus oratoribus habitus esset, oratio autem vel optima esset illo quidem tempore orationum omnium. Sed nec eius modi est ut a pluribus confusa videatur—unus enim sonus est totius orationis et idem stilus—nec de Persio reticuisset Gracchus, cum ei Fannius de Menelao Maratheno et de ceteris obiecisset; praesertim cum Fannius numquam sit habitus elinguis.

There can be no doubt I think that here we have a genuine specimen of higher criticism drawn from a learned source belonging to the time of Cicero's and Atticus' boyhood (*pueris nobis—audivi ista de maioribus natu*). The recognition of this fact may serve to cast some light upon a perplexing problem which this passage affords. Cicero distinguishes two C. Fannii, the one orator and consul, C. f., the other the son-in-law of Laelius and historian, M. f. Mommsen has shown that Cicero is in error and that the orator and the historian are one and the same person, C. Fannius, M. f. The conclusion is based upon secure inscriptional evidence and must apparently be accepted. But Cicero himself is scarcely the author of the error, but derived it from the same grammatical source as his account of the genuineness of the oration.

It would seem that this famous speech—optima illo quidem tempore omnium orationum—afforded a problem which critics had endeavored to meet in various ways. It was known to have been delivered by C. Fannius, and in the first instance the author was undoubtedly identified with the well-known historian and son-in-law of Laellus. But the pre-eminence of the speech was at variance with the general oratorical reputation of Fannius and

may perhaps be of some service in reconciling Cicero's statements concerning the source of this work with the results which investigation seems to yield. Again, is there possibly an element of literary fiction in the assurances of Seneca Rhetor that he has drawn only upon his memory for the maze of detail which he presents? But in neither of these last-named examples is there present a dramatic fiction to justify the pose, such as the dialogue by its very nature affords.

with the style of his history. This problem was met then in different ways: some contended that it was a composite product; others assigned it to C. Persius; still others, perhaps basing their contention on an erroneous form of the name, C. Fannius C.¹ f., held that its author was not identical with the son-in-law of Laelius and the historian. The latter solution was analogous to the explanation of many similar problems in Greek literature, which gave rise to a special type of works *περὶ τῶν δμυνύμων*.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

¹Peter, *Hist. Rom. frag. prol.*, p. 205, n. 1: "Gaii autem nomen facilius in annales irrepere potuit, nam C. Fannius cons. a. 161 satis fuit notus, rerum a Marco gestarum nusquam fit mentio".

V.—NOTES ON THE EVOLUTION OF ORATIO OBLIQUA.

A benevolent critic of my syntactical lucubrations has said that I seemed at times to be surprised at finding myself a grammarian. 'Il semble encore par moments s'étonner d'être grammairien' (R. de Philologie 1905, p. 167). No truer word was ever penned. I am a journalist that has lost his way or have lost my way into syntax, if not in syntax, and I have been making myself as comfortable as I could all these years in that thicket of thorns.¹ Now the first thing demanded of a journalist, in fact, of any writer, is clearness, and I congratulate myself that I never wrote a line in my life that was not crystal clear—to myself. The charges, with which I am not unfamiliar, of 'Heraclitean tenebriosity' and 'Delphic deliverances' I calmly put aside. To be sure, I know full well that syntactical crystals are not popular. The modern scholastic ideal is pulverized sugar, not rock candy; and yet, what foreign substance may not be conveyed in the spoonful of powdered stuff that is laid on the tongue of the expectant pupil? Grammar is one of the hardest of disciplines,

¹ The criticisms of my various performances are a wellspring of joy to me, as I have set forth more than once in this Journal, but among the most delightful of these *πομφολυγοπαφλάσματα* is the solemn advice given to me sometime ago by somebody to model myself on Krüger. 'At fourscore' less five 'it is too late a week' to model myself on anybody, but if I have ever had a model, it has been Krüger. If I have fallen short of that model, if I have been obscure where he is simply brief, *tamen est laudanda voluntas*. It was Krüger's terseness that won my admiration from the beginning of my acquaintance with his work in 1850, when I studied up all the references in his *Anabasis* and *Thukydides*, and thus began to get some insight into Greek syntax. In fact, I was so enthusiastic about him that I seriously thought of making a pilgrimage to his retreat near Berlin, but I had heard that his temper was somewhat uncertain, and that the compiler of the 'Aretalogie des weiblichen Geschlechts' was not altogether happy in his interior. And so I forbore. Whether he was my model or whether I simply followed my native sense of honesty, I do not know, but like him, I have tried to learn Greek from the authors and not from the grammars merely, and I am pleased to remark that he did not fool me as he fooled so many slavish copyists by his mischievous perversions of his prooftexts.

and cannot be made easy. It is best administered, if administered at all, in formulae, in 'tabloids' that will melt into the consciousness of the learner after a while. He was a great teacher, greater than many of my critics, to whom is attributed the saying that any rule is a good rule that can be understood after it is explained. A grammar is a manner of catechism. Who understands a catechism at first? I have had to stand up for my good rules, and to wait for the acceptance of my phrasings. And so, I have had a fight of afflictions for my 'resistance to pressure',¹ though it is nothing but the negative of the old conative imperfect; and I have made myself disagreeable—and all in vain—by censuring the slovenly diction of those who confound 'expectation' and 'anticipation'² just as there are those who confound 'hard' and 'obscure' in spite of Coleridge's neat distinction. But, for all that, I have coveted criticism of my style in the interest of usefulness, and I have tried to simplify my language, wherever I could do so without sacrificing what I considered truth. In fact, I am easy to be entreated, and years ago when I was more opinionated than I am now, I gave up my definition of the genitive as the case of the lacking half, in obedience to the protests of my friends. 'Lacking half' is in my judgment much better than 'complement'.

The other count of the indictment, the excessive use of figurative language applies only to the writings that are intended for the profession, and the only thing that I can plead in extenuation is the sad fact that the world does not know the worst. My printed page is to the scandalous procession of imagery, in which I indulge personally, as an orderly dame's school to the Temptation of St. Anthony; and if the secrets of the suppressed *Brief Mentions* were revealed, I should have no standing whatever among the primnesses and proprieties of the guild. And now '<ich schlage> seitwärts in die Büsche' and let whosoever will follow me into the thicket, where reposes the Dornröschen of syntax, the Optative of Oratio Obliqua. But before attacking the Optative, it is necessary to say something about Oratio Obliqua in general, or at all events, to summarize my views on this interesting and difficult subject.

If we begin with our own language, the every-day speech to which the psychological school of grammarians appeals as to

¹ A. J. P. XXII 228.

² A. J. P. XV 399, 523.

a court of last resort, we find that *Oratio Obliqua* is very common. In repeating what we have heard, we shift persons and tenses, 'do' becomes 'did', 'will' becomes 'would'. 'Shall' ought to become 'should' but is often changed into 'would' by a confusion of the point of view. After a principal tense, the tense remains, but the *Oratio Recta* 'shall' often becomes 'will', as after a past tense, it becomes 'would'. These indicatives may have barred out or else disbarred the optative in speech as they have done in literature. *Oratio Recta*, exact quotation, seems to have less scope, except in the speech of the common people, with their parenthetic 'says he' and 'says I'.

The accusative and infinitive has a limited range, chiefly, as we shall see, after verbs of saying and thinking that have creative force, and even these are little used by unbookish people. Of this more hereafter. That is our native outfit when we begin the study of Greek. To be sure, everybody is more or less sophisticated by Latin grammar, but so, for that matter, is our own language.

The first monument we encounter is Homer, and a highly artistic monument it is. In the first place we have to do with a vast mass of *Oratio Recta* discourse. Those who are disposed to ridicule statistics will do well to recall the rash statement of a reputable scholar as to the proportion of *Oratio Recta* in Homer and in Vergil.¹ The speeches in Homer, *Il.* and *Od.* together constitute half the bulk of the poems. In Vergil, 38 per cent. In Thukydides, the speeches constitute a fifth. This honest style, if we dare not call it naïve style, of reporting, holds its own in literature from the earliest to the latest time. The art of Homer and the inartificiality of the New Testament are at one in this. Among the favorite introductory words in Greek is *εἶπε* from the *εἶπέ τε μῦθον* of Homer to the *τάδ' εἶπεν* of the Attic reporter: *Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς τάδ' εἶπεν*. Hence the preference of *εἶπε* for *ἔτι*, when the *ἔτι* stage is reached, for so far as we can judge from literature the *ἔτι* stage is later. We are centuries off from the quotation *ἔτι*, which first makes its appearance in the amateur orator Andokides. Sparingly used in classical literature, it is found in the Septuagint; it is found in the New Testament e. g. *Matth. 9, 18: προσεκύνει αὐτῷ λέγων ἔτι Ἡ θυγάτηρ μου ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν*. Everything seems to point to colloquial

¹ A. J. P. VII 398.

usage, a kind of superfoetation of the *ὅτι* form. This *ὅτι* form of Oratio Obliqua is so restricted in Homer that we have a right to assume that it is an extension of the familiar Homeric construction of *ὅτι* after verbs of intellectual perception, *εἰπεῖν ὅτι* following the pattern of *γινῶναι ὅτι*. It is not a hopelessly wide step from 'he knew that' to 'he said that'. 'Saying' is, or pretends to be, an ejection of knowledge. And it is to be noted that the rule for the tenses is the same. After verbs of knowing the Homeric tenses are independent. They stand on their own bottom, and are not influenced by the leading verb. So, too, after verbs of saying.

The statistics of Schmitt¹ shew that this form of Oratio Obliqua has scarcely any scope in Homer. Even with *εἰπεῖν* honours are easy between the acc. and inf. and the *ὅτι* construction, which is the rule in prose, though not so exclusively as is laid down by some. Not *ὅτι* but the accusative and infinitive is the dominant form in Greek, as it is in Latin, and the evolution follows the same lines in both languages. Verbs of Creation alike in Greek and in Latin, verbs of Will and Endeavor take the accusative and infinitive by right, and no more artificial explanation is necessary than is needed to explain accusative and dative. The tenses of the infinitive are present, aorist and perfect, and the time future, as a matter of course. The next step forward is taken when certain verbs of creation become specialized, and the element of will is deadened. *φημί* is not simply 'say', to begin with: it is 'aver', it is 'assert', it has the emphasis and the negative of *δemonstrum*. Hence the phenomenon—of which so much was once made,—that the aorist infinitive is used as a future after *φημί*. No wonder. *φημί* is ultimately a verb of creation. But the differentiation sets in. The negative *μή* becomes the negative *οὐ*, and attaches itself to the leading verb, *οὐ φημι, οὐκ οἶομαι*; and the future infinitive fills out the scheme. The infinitive becomes the reflexion of Oratio Recta. There may have been an original future infinitive. If so, it was = *μέλλειν* + infinitive, like the old future itself. The Latin *-rum esse, -um iri, fore ut* betray the awkwardness of the innovation. The future infinitive arose from the necessity of the case, as did the future optative long afterwards. In the further evolution, Latin accusative and infinitive and Greek accusative and infinitive go apart at many points. Especially noteworthy is the difference after verbs of sensuous perception, where the Greek

¹ A. J. P. XIV 376.

takes the participle, and inartificial Latin, the infinitive. But more important than any difference in detail is a far-reaching dissidence in principle. The Greek *Oratio Obliqua* clings closer to *Oratio Recta* than does the Latin *Oratio Obliqua*. In Greek, you can restore *Oratio Recta* from *Oratio Obliqua* with much more certainty than you can in Latin. Latin *Oratio Obliqua* is more directly conceived, whereas in Greek the image of *Oratio Recta* is far more distinctly present. The Greek translation of the *Bellum Gallicum* may be the work of a modern scholar, but it is Greek in renouncing the reproduction of Caesar's complicated *Oratio Obliqua*, and the transfer of Latin *Oratio Obliqua* to *Oratio Recta*, and *vice versa*, is often a hopeless puzzle, out of which I extracted some amusement in earlier days. As for English and German accusative and infinitive, the evolution from the native accusative and infinitive to the *Oratio Obliqua* accusative and infinitive never throve. The English verbs of saying and thinking that idiomatically take the accusative and infinitive show throughout their kindred with verbs of creation,—‘declare’, ‘judge’, ‘deem’ ‘count’.¹ Such phrases as ‘He is said to have been’ betray foreign influence. They are literal translations from the Latin, which has had a dominating influence on English syntax, directly and indirectly. Interesting is the quarrel that has raged about the use of the word ‘claim’. Years ago I translated ‘*Ait fuisse navium celerrimus*’, ‘claims to have been the fastest craft afloat’, as a manner of mimicry of the Latin construction. I found out afterwards that Munro did not hesitate to use the word, but the late Mr. Herbert Spencer in his *Facts and Comments* objects vigorously to the use of ‘claim’ for ‘say’, ‘assert’, ‘affirm’, ‘allege’. It is a verb of creation that has not been accepted as a verb of saying. To the thoughtful student of language, nothing is more interesting than these recrudescences of feeling.

As Modern Greek has discarded the infinitive, and with it the accusative and infinitive, so the Romanic languages have reverted to the finite form, with variations that I cannot undertake to discuss in detail. There are all manner of queer infinitive survivals in this domain, not the least interesting of which is the Latin historical infinitive in the form of *de* with infinitive. It is

¹ See Carl Krickart, *Der Acc. mit d. Inf. in der Englischen Sprache*, besonders in der Zeit der Elisabeth. Göttingen, 1877.

a familiar Gallicism, adopted by Thackeray in a spirit of mockery, and gravely cited in that excellent little book by Leo Kellner, *English Historical Syntax*, as a specimen of a rare infinitive.

That the extension of verbs of creation to verbs of saying and thinking has but scant root in the popular consciousness is shown by the decadence of the construction, the return to primitive conditions. Hypotaxis is as old as our record, but somehow accusative and infinitive had little range in subordinate sentences. The imperative use is more primitive, and so we find the imperative infinitive in Greek hypotaxis, as we find the imperative infinitive in English hypotaxis (A. J. P. XIV 125).

The next form to be considered is the use of the optative as the representative of the indicative in Oratio Obliqua. 'Modusverschiebung' is a word of fear to many grammarians. It is too mechanical. Unfortunately much of language is mechanical. We inherit phrases, we inherit syntactical constructions, which are used as schemes without further analysis. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, as I have said elsewhere, issue conditional sentences that are as faultlessly constructed as if the speakers had learned all the wisdom of the Egyptians and penetrated all the Egyptian darkness of psychological syntax. All that we can do is to watch the types of conditional sentences that are preferred, and build our psychological structure on those preferences. Doubtless the 'Modusverschiebung' has its *raison d'être*. The subjunctive under the influence of the less real past becomes optative, just as the wish is less real than the command. But, however we may account for it, the transfer is there, and what is more, it abides from Homer down to the sophistic age (A. J. P. XXIII 129). There is, however, no optative for indicative in Homer except in the question. Here the optative does represent the indicative, as it does the subjunctive. Even *ὥς ἔλθοι* Od. 24, 237 is to be considered interrogative (S. C. G. § 310), for the line between relative and interrogative is often blurred to the Greek consciousness. Compare the notable instance in Pind. O. 6, 49: *εἴπερὸ παῖδα τὸν Εὐάδνα τέκoi* where *τέκoi* is due to *εἴπερo*. This optative, then, is a pseudo-optative, to begin with. The case is analogous to that of the diphthongal *ai*, in which we distinguish between the real *ai* in *γίνει*, and the false *ai* in *εἶς*. In time this pseudo-optative spread to other indicatives and actually generated a future optative to match the other tenses just as the Oratio Obliqua infinitive generated a future infinitive to match

the other infinitives. The first example occurs Pind. O. 9, 116: *σχήσαι* in an interrogative complex, and everyone must have noticed how often the indicative of the future is retained, as if in protest against the usurper. In fact, we may say that there is a constant fight against the optative in the dependent clauses. It is felt to be unsatisfactory, to be ambiguous, and the whole thing is 'turned into hell' with a lot of more or less artificial constructions. The Oratio Obliqua optative falls away early. One cannot help asking whether it had any deep root in the popular consciousness. It was kept alive by a kind of mechanical 'Modusverschiebung'. As the infinitive in Oratio Obliqua took on an alien negative, so the optative in Oratio Obliqua took on an alien negative, such as it had taken on with the potential optative, when the language was feeling its way to more exact futures. But the Oratio Obliqua optative cannot be called a potential, cannot be subsumed under the potential. Doubtless, there was a super-induced feeling of irresponsibility, such as we find in the latest form of Oratio Obliqua, *ὥς* with the participle. But the fact that its construction is limited to the dependence on historical tenses is significant of its origin, and we have no right to assume that the sporadic appearance of an optative after a principal tense shows the basic condition of things. In fact, it might be contended that the 'partial obliquity'—*ὥς* with the participle—came in to supply the need for a form of universal applicability. The few optatives after principal tenses in the Greek of the classic period are nearly all susceptible of easy explanation—and those of a later day do not count. They belong to the artificial literature of a time when the optative was practically dead.

The English optative of Oratio Obliqua seems also to be dead, or to live on in the language of the vulgar and in the dialects. One hears sometimes, 'He said that he were'. Indeed, the English optative (subj.) seems to be doomed. The indicative and sundry forms of periphrastic conjugation have taken its place. The books make a difference between 'If I am' and 'If I be', 'before I am' and 'before I be', but even such broad differences as separate 'If I were' and 'If I was' are often effaced. 'Lest I be' holds its own after a fashion, but periphrasis is often substituted. Still the optative (subj.) is not dead. Where form survives anywhere, function survives everywhere. We speak of a nominative and accusative, a genitive-dative dual, because there are nominative and accusative, genitive and dative forms

elsewhere. The dative and ablative plural in Latin are dative and ablative, because the dative and ablative are differentiated elsewhere. We have in English nominative and objective cases, by reason of the pronominal forms. The optative (subj.) singular of the verb keeps the plural alive. Nay, I had fainted = I should have fainted, is not felt as an indicative—so there may be, after all, an English Oratio Obliqua Optative (subj.)—as there is a German Oratio Obliqua Optative (subj.). But what is the evidence for a Latin Oratio Obliqua Subjunctive outside the dependent clauses?¹ All the passages cited fall into the category of surprise, and the first movement of surprise is deprecatory, whether the news is good or bad, so that we are in the sphere of the optative of wish, and we are reminded of Dittmar's definition of the subjunctive. This subjunctive of surprise, when it is introduced by a particle, resembles very closely the accusative with infinitive of surprise. Both forms offer an objection. 'The one <accusative and infinitive> objects to the idea; the other to any state of things that could produce the result' (L. G.³ 558 N.). But any such differentiation in Greek would be impossible, as there is only one form, the infinitive,—in the later language largely with the article. The surprise lies in the question, which is extra-linguistic, if I may say so. But to derive the whole structure of Optative Oratio Obliqua from dephlogisticated surprise does not commend itself absolutely. Call it a deprecation of responsibility, and we seem to be nearer the mark. And this is the feeling that may have been superinduced in Greek, even if the origin is as mechanical as it seems to have been. Thought works itself into expression in a variety of ways, and there are remarkable interchanges between infinitive and optative that are not to be neglected in this whole range of study, so that I have ventured to call the optative, the finite form of the infinitive. In English, the nominal infinitive goes hand in hand with an ideal periphrastic 'To do' 'that he should do', 'to have done' 'that he should have done'—both idealistic. The two Oratio Obliqua forms are closely related. A remarkable development of an Oratio Obliqua or rather a Partial Obliquity form is *ut* with the participle. It is not an abridged conditional proposition, though the Romans so conceived it, for nothing is plainer than the fact that the *tamquam* c. subj. of silver Latin was an imitation of this construction, which has in it the same shifting of responsibility that has been noticed

¹ See J. J. Schlicher, A. J. P. XXVI 73.

in the optative Oratio Obliqua. The negative is not the negative of the conditional participle, but the negative of the optative in Oratio Obliqua. The $\omega\varsigma$ retains the subjective character, which it has largely, though not wholly, lost in the combination with the finite verb. $\omicron\upsilon\chi\ \omega\varsigma$ with the participle corresponds to *non quod* with the subjunctive, and the language enriches itself, though comparatively late, with an easy way of shifting responsibility. $\delta\tau\iota$ causal with the optative is one of the rarest of combinations, $\omega\varsigma$ with the participle reigns in its stead; and it may not be without interest to observe that $\omega\varsigma$ with the participle, an evasion of responsibility for a statement of fact, follows in the wake of $\delta\sigma(\tau\epsilon)$ with the infinitive, an evasion of responsibility for the expression of purpose.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Ancient Legends of Roman History. By ETTORE PAIS.
Translated by MARIO E. COSENZA. New York, Dodd,
Mead and Company, 1905. Pp. xiv, 336. \$4.00 net.

This book consists of a series of lectures written by Professor Pais for the Lowell Institute and several American universities. Among the subjects treated are "The Excavations in the Roman Forum", "The Origins of Rome", "Acca Larentia", "Tarpeia", "The Saxum Tarpeium", "The Legends of Servius Tullius", "The Legends of the Horatii and the Cult of Vulcan", "The Fabii at the River Cremera", "The Legends of Lucretia and of Virginia", and "The Topography of the Earliest Rome". In each case Pais endeavors to establish by a special and detailed demonstration the views which he has set forth more succinctly in his *Storia di Roma*. These are, he claims, "the logical conclusion of an objective and untiring examination of facts".

In his first chapter he sketches the development of the critical method from Lorenzo Valla through Beaufort and Niebuhr to Mommsen. To Beaufort he pays a special tribute. Niebuhr introduced greater precision of method, but the principles upon which he worked were in no respect sounder than those of the French scholar. While fully recognizing Mommsen's great contributions, Pais thinks that he erred in placing too much reliance upon the *Fasti* as a source for Roman constitutional history. He is of the opinion that a minute and careful examination of the political constitution makes it clear that there is in it the same impurity of sources that is generally acknowledged in the case of the narratives of external events. He holds that the official story of the Roman constitution was derived in great part from annalistic sources of the first century B. C., nor did these annalists possess monumental *Fasti* to which they could refer. The *Fasti Capitolini* do not represent the most ancient sources but are dependent upon recent works. They are to be classed with the *elogia* of the Augustan age. They are the result of the researches of scholars—men who begin with the generation of Varro, Cicero, and Cornelius Nepos. There is no reason for attributing greater value to them than to the records of triumphs. The majority of the Roman annalists were patriots. They were, too, genealogists and demagogues rather than true historians. They obscured the truth of the early national history with their countless and more or less deliberate falsifications.

With Pais' contention that early Roman history must be tested by a rigorously critical method no one will join issue. Much of

what he sets forth with such vehemence has been regarded as axiomatic for generations. It is, indeed, somewhat surprising that he should devote so much space to a plea for a method which every judicious reader would assume to be the only possible one. It would almost seem as if Professor Pais thought that the hysterical interpretation of the monuments recently uncovered in the Forum—which saw in them a confirmation of some of the stories of early Rome—had been widely and favorably received in this country. But while there will be no dissent from the principles of investigation laid down by Professor Pais, many readers will hesitate to accept some of the “demonstrations” that are offered in the treatment of the different legends. While quick to recognize the erudition, the ingenuity, the extraordinary swiftness of combination that some of the essays show, students of Roman history and Roman religion will, in numerous instances, be extremely doubtful whether the author’s results are securely based on that foundation of fact of which he himself speaks so often.

For example, in the second essay, on what seems to be wholly insufficient data he is inclined to think that the archaic stele in the Forum records the memory of sacred ceremonies performed in honor of Soranus. The most tangible piece of evidence which he adduces in favor of this theory is the occurrence of the fragmentary word *sora* in the inscription. Furthermore, basing his statement on the “explicit testimony of ancient texts” he adds that the god Soranus represented at the same time both the light and the darkness. As a parallel to this double function he adds that we “know” that Vulcanus represented the diurnal activity of the Sun, Summanus the nocturnal. What does the “explicit testimony” amount to? In Virgil, *Aen.* XI 785, in Plin. *N. H.* VII 19, and in some passages in Silius Italicus, Soranus is identified with Apollo; while in Servius’ note on the Virgilian passage he is identified with Dis pater. Servius probably had the true conception of the god, but the identification with Apollo is, as Wissowa has shown, almost certainly an error. Moreover, there is no evidence that Vulcanus was a sun god; and what little we know of Summanus does not point in that direction.

In discussing the age of the inscribed stele Pais shows a tendency to assign it to a later period than scholars generally have done. His position is that there is no proof that it is earlier than 387 B. C. (the Gallic fire), and he claims that there is nothing to exclude the possibility of its having been inscribed in the years immediately following that catastrophe. He argues that the external form of the stele, the vertical boustrophedon direction of the writing, the diacritic marks, and the archaic forms of the letters are by no means final evidence of a great antiquity. For the direction of the writing he cites parallels from Magna Graecia and from Venetia, which he puts as late as the third century B. C. The archaic lettering is compared with that on many monuments

of Picenum, of the Marrucini, of the Paeligni, the Marsi, and the Veneti. Even the closed \square , perhaps the most archaic form on the stele, appears on the Etruscan tegula, which Pais thinks may be as late as the third century. The muster of evidence is indeed, from some points of view, a remarkable one, and Professor Pais gives abundant proofs of the range of his erudition. But his argument is not convincing. In some cases he does not establish clearly the date of those monuments with which he compares the stele. Moreover, archaic forms and other characteristics of antiquity would naturally linger longer in the more remote parts of Italy than in Rome. The provincial inscriptions are not a fair criterion. It is hardly likely that an inscription in Rome, showing such an aggregation of archaic characteristics, could be later than the fifth century. That the monument rests upon a stratum later than that representing the era of the Gallic fire (see Studniczka, *Jahreshefte d. oesterr. Arch. Instituts* VI 146 ff.), does not seriously decrease the probability of this date. It was probably replaced upon the new level after the fire.

In his chapter on the origin of Rome, Pais offers a new derivation of the name of the city. Basing his conjecture partly on the prominent place given to the *figus Ruminalis* in the recently discovered Pompeian fresco, and partly on other data, he suggests that the name *Roma* was derived from the *figus Ruminalis*. The tree in turn (*caprificus*, fig-tree) was called *Ruminalis* from the nursing breast, *rumis* (from which milk flows), because a milky juice flows from its fruit. Enlarging upon this theme he points out the conspicuous place given to the *figus Ruminalis* in early legends, e. g. its transfer to the *Comitium* when the *Forum Romanum* became the centre of the enlarged city. That the early Romans should have named their city from the fig-tree, which so many peoples regarded as the emblem of fruitfulness, Pais thinks quite natural. He compares *Ficana* and *Ficulea*, and adds examples of cities, the names of which were derived from other trees. In all this we see that ingenuity and cleverness which is so marked a characteristic of Pais' work, but his arguments are far from being conclusive. His theory does not rank higher than an etymological possibility. His identification of the tree in the fresco as the *figus Ruminalis* is reasonably certain, but he seems to emphasize unduly its importance as an element in the picture. Moreover, its transfer to the *Comitium* is satisfactorily accounted for by the fact of its sacred associations, which of course no one disputes. The parallels which Professor Pais draws from the names of American cities derived from trees (e. g. *Oakland*, *Red Oak*, and *Cypress City*) are not to be taken seriously.

In his treatment of *Acca Larentia*, Pais endeavors to prove that *Acca Larentia* is simply the mother of the *Lares*. The difference of quantity in *Lāres* and *Larentia* does not, he thinks, constitute a serious objection to this theory. Both Mommsen and Wissowa seem to him to have failed to understand the fundamental char-

acter of the divinity. He draws attention to certain points of contact between the cult of Larentia and that of Angerona, of Dia, of Bona Dea, and of Flora, and finally reaches the conclusion that Larentia was identical with Bona Dea. But Professor Pais has failed to establish either that Larentia was the mother of the Lares, or that she and Bona Dea were identical. The former of these two theories is, it will be remembered, a very old one. It has been asserted and denied again and again. A detailed argument in favor of it is to be found in De Marchi's *Culto Privato*; while Wissowa has declared against it. Pais, like the earlier advocates of the theory, appeals to the account of Lara, Larunda, Tacita, and Muta, given by Ovid in his *Fasti*. That our author, with his ideals of historical criticism, should place such credence in a poet's fancies cannot fail to be a matter for surprise. Nor are there sufficient reasons for his assumption that the Lares are deities of a sepulchral character. The ultimate significance of the cult of the Lares is still a debatable question. The trend of the saner criticism, however, is away from the theory that they were sepulchral divinities. Furthermore, his identification of Acca Larentia and Bona Dea has not a sound basis. He himself (p. 67) recognizes that he is on dangerous ground here. The wholesale identification of similar or allied cults was one of the besetting sins of the ancient critics and has introduced untold confusion into the history of Roman religion. Pais seems to fall into the same error.

The chapter (V) on Tarpeia begins with a summary of the different versions of the legend—those found in Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Calpurnius Piso, Propertius, and other authors. A skilful analysis brings out the elements common to them all; and the citation of more than one Greek legend of the same general character (e. g. the story of the Naxian Polycrita and that of the Lesbian Peisidike) leads to the conclusion that in the myth of Tarpeia we are dealing with one of the many Hellenic legends localized on Roman soil by the Greeks who first narrated the history of the Latin city. Professor Pais does not of course set this forth as a new theory. The influence of Greek legends upon the story has long been recognized. A detailed investigation of the subject has recently been published by Sanders in the *University of Michigan Studies*, 1905, pp. 1-47. So far as the ultimate source of the legend is concerned, Pais' view is, in all probability, the correct one, but the same cannot be said of his explanation of the local elements in it. His statement is "Tarpeia was originally a beneficent deity . . . she is the personification of the Mons Tarpeius which was called Capitulinus only after the erection by the Tarquins of the temple of Iupiter Capitulinus. In truth the words Tarpeius and Tarquinius are but two forms of the same word" (p. 105). Even if the etymology were correct, there would be no evidence here that Tarpeia was ever regarded as the tutelary divinity of the hill. Certainly the references to the

Vestal Tarpeia do not lead to this conclusion. The explanation offered by Sanders is more probable, namely, that the rock was named from the gens Tarpeia who lived upon it; that the Vestal Tarpeia, who appears in some of the versions, was a member of this family, and was buried in that vicinity; and that it was the proximity of her tomb to the place identified with the execution of those who had been guilty of treason which resulted in her being transformed into the traitor of the legend.

In Chap. VI Pais reopens the old question of the site of the Saxum Tarpeium. He places it on the northern part of the hill, where the Arx and the temple of Juno Moneta were. His arguments, however, have not the weight of those advanced by Jordan, Gilbert, Richter, and Huelsen in favor of the southern site.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is that dealing with Servius Tullius. Professor Pais' analysis shows clearly the legendary character of the various achievements attributed to that king. For example it was said that he had abolished the nexum; but it is probable that this was not done away with till the end of the fourth century B. C. It was Servius Tullius who was supposed to have divided the city into four urban tribes; but it was only in 304 B. C. that these four tribes were formed. Legend said that Servius laid the foundations of the temple of Diana Aventinensis with the purpose of compelling the Latins to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome; but such supremacy was not attained till a far later period. It is likewise stated that Servius Tullius, after the conquest of the Etruscans, erected a temple to Fortuna on the right bank of the Tiber and a second one to Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium; it is probable, however, that the latter was erected only in the time of Furius Camillus, and the former by the consul Carvilius. Further, there is no evidence that Servius Tullius was the first to coin money. Nor does the Servian wall belong to the time at which he was supposed to have lived. It is a structure of the fourth century B. C. Pais is at his best in this part of the essay. But when he comes to his explanation of the origin of the legend he is not so successful. By a series of daring and in many cases manifestly improbable combinations and parallels he attempts to show that Servius Tullius, associated as he was with the cult of Diana Aventinensis, was identical with the *servus rex* of the cult of Diana at Lake Nemi.

The treatment of the other legends cannot be discussed in detail. The myths of Horatius Cocles and Mucius Scaevola are traced to the influence of local monuments. The analysis of the story of the three hundred and six Fabii—a composite of Greek legend, Roman history, and Latin topography—is one of the most satisfactory in the book.

The typography of the book is reasonably good. I have noticed only the following misprints: *memorensis* (p. 144),

ception (p. 58), Compilalicia (p. 66), Ambarvalio (p. 65). On p. 58 Palilia occurs; elsewhere the better attested form of the word (Parilia) is used. The general appearance of the page would have been improved if the paragraphs had been a little more deeply indented. The illustrations, on the mechanical side, are good. Their purpose, however, seems to be decorative rather than illustrative.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

G. J. LAING.

Anecdota Oxoniensia: Classical Series. Part X. The Vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio. By A. C. CLARK. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905.

Clark's new volume in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* is concerned with a Cluni MS of Cicero's orations, and makes a still more valuable contribution, if possible, than its predecessor did, to the study of the text of Cicero. The *Vetus Cluniacensis* contained the orations pro Milone, pro Caelio, pro Cluentio, pro Roscio, and pro Murena, and is the archetype of all existing copies of the Rosciana and Mureniana. Consequently its importance can hardly be overestimated, yet strangely enough it has hitherto received very scant attention. As Clark concisely puts it, for Cicero's speeches "the MSS have been not weighed but numbered."

In this paper he addresses himself to the task of tracing the history, so far as it can be followed, of the lost *Cluniacensis*, and of determining the relations which its descendants bear to it and to one another. By a clever bit of reasoning he identifies it with no. 496 in the twelfth-century catalogue of Cluni, in which catalogue, it will be remembered, Peterson's Holkham MS was set down as no. 498. Clark's Cluni MS antedates the Caroline reform in spelling, and cannot, therefore, be later than the end of the eighth century. From it we have a French and an Italian tradition. The French tradition is best represented by Σ (= Lat. 14.749) in the Paris library. This MS gives us in full from the *Cluniacensis* the speeches pro Murena and pro Sex. Roscio and marginalia to the pro Milone, pro Caelio, and pro Cluentio. From Σ are derived Par. 6369, Par. 7777, and Wolfenbüttel. 205. One of the best representatives of the Italian tradition is Laur. LIV. 5, which contains excerpts made from the Cluni MS by Bartolommeo da Montepulciano, the friend of its discoverer, Poggio. It was the identification of these excerpts in the Laurenian library which gave Clark his first important clue in establishing the relations which the existing representatives of *Cluniacensis* bear to one another. The connection of certain other Italian MSS with Poggio's is also clearly determined, although Clark was unable to find the copy which Poggio caused to be

made for himself in 1427. Here is an interesting quest for some other Ciceronian scholar. From the brief summary which has been given here of the results of Clark's investigations it is clear that his paper puts the study of the text of the orations mentioned above on a new and scientific basis. The two MSS which have been mainly followed for the *pro Sex. Roscio* are shown to be comparatively worthless by the side of Σ . Similarly for the *pro Cluentio* ST must give way before the newly discovered marginalia, while equally valuable contributions are made to our knowledge of the text of the *pro Milone* and the *pro Caelio*. Even if the results were not so valuable every classical student is under obligation to the writer of this paper for an opportunity to read a very stimulating and delightful piece of constructive reasoning. The reviewer does not recall having read any detective story which surpasses in suspended interest and in keenness of deduction Clark's account of the way in which he identified the Laurentian excerpts and thereby made out the history of the other descendants of the *Vetus Cluniacensis*.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

FRANK F. ABBOTT.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, VOL. VII.

Pp. 1-23. A. Otto, Staatliche und private Einrichtungen und Berufsarten im Sprichwort.

23-24. A. Funck, Clanculum—clanculo—clancule. Questions the correctness of Stowasser's etymology of clanculum in Vol. VI, p. 563. Munitare. The word is not *ἀπαξ εἰρημένον* in Cic. Rosc. Amer. 140, but occurs in Corp. Gloss. IV, 259, 43 (cod. Sangall.). The frequentative form suggests comedy as its source.

24. O. Keller, Fer=Ferraria. Would give this meaning, in the general sense of metal-works, to Fer on the lead-bars from the harbor of New Carthage (Arch. Zeit. 1884, I, 71) instead of Ferox.

25-64. G. Gröber, Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter. Conclusion, general summary, inferences as to the chronological relations of the Romance languages.

64. L. Havet, Nictire. This form, instead of nictere, is probable in Ennius on metrical grounds, as well as from the analogy of mugire, hinnire, etc.

65-72. M. Ihm, Vulgärformen lateinischer Zahlwörter auf Inschriften. A collection of examples of the cardinals, ordinals, and multiplicatives.

73-102. A. Funck, Was heisst "Die Kinder"? An historical and lexicographical study of the various words for "children": liberi, pueri, infantes, nati, parvuli, etc.

103-113. Ph. Thielmann, Usque ad, usque in, II. Usque sub, super, post, ante. A continuation of the article in Vol. VI, pp. 75 ff., with a similar treatment of usque sub, etc.

113-114. H. Schuchardt, Lausa. Apropos of the reading lausam in Plaut. Truc. 731, S. points out the danger of adding to the Latin vocabulary words inferred from Romance forms, and then making these the basis of Romance words.

114. H. Kothe, Ueber die Ableitung von praestare. Would separate transitive and intransitive praestare and derive the former from praes, surety, bondsman.

115-131. E. Wölfflin, Der Genetivus comparationis und die präpositionalen Umschreibungen. The earlier examples of the

genitive are to be explained by ellipsis of *quam*. The genitive began to prevail towards the end of the second century, especially in the works of the juristic writers, who were, for the most part, not native Romans. This later use may be explained, like the earlier, by ellipsis of *quam*, but is more probably due to Greek influence. There follows a discussion of the prepositional phrases, *ab* with the ablative, *prae* with the ablative, and the like, which are used in place of the ablative and the genitive of comparison.

132. A. Miodoński, *Zur Erklärung der Infinitive auf -ier, -rier*. Criticises Brugmann's derivation of these forms from the preposition *ar*. Suggests that owing to the difficulty of distinguishing such forms as *bibi* (perf. ind. act.) and *bibi* (pres. inf. pass.) a form *bibier* arose, formed on the analogy of *biber*=*bibere*.

133-146. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Psychologie der Völker des Altertums*. A study, based on lexical grounds, of the characteristics of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Greece.

147-183. F. Cramer, *Absum*. Lexicon article with explanatory notes.

183. L. Traube, *Captiosus, auf Jagd bedacht*. Testimony to *caciare*=*captiare*, derived from the *Life of the h. Germanus* by Heric of Auxerre. The word is found in a letter included in the preface to the *Life*, which goes back to the sixth century.

184. A. Funck, *Colitor*=*cultor*. Cites an instance of this form from an inscription of Belgrade.

J. Wrobel, *Uncinulus*. This word occurs in the *Ambraser codex* (seventh century) of the *Praefatio in librum de benedictionibus Iudae* of Rufinus Aquileiensis (Migne XXI, 299).

185-206. E. Wölfflin, *Absumo*=*absurdus*. Lexicon articles with explanatory notes.

207-267. J. Stöcklein, *Abundabilis*=*abundans*. Lexicon articles with explanatory notes on *abunde* and *abundus*.

267-268. Ph. Thielmann, *Psaltrix*. This word, of which the vulgar form is *saltrix*, should be read in *Vu¹. eccli. 9, 4* and recognized by the lexicons. *Ictuatus*. Another example of this word (see III, 251) in a gloss. *Sine causa* = *frustra*. An earlier example (see II, 22) in *Bell. Alex. 39, 1*. *Silbentrennung*. The division *Ca-dmi* is indicated in *Carm. Priap. 67*.

268-280. *Miscellen*.—M. Bréal. *Suum cuique*. Döderlein in 1838 anticipated Bücheler and the writer in recognizing Umbrian *subocau* as a perfect, and Philip Buttmann in 1803 called attention to the connection of Sanscrit with the languages of Europe.

W. Schmitz, *Malacia*. Infers from the *Tironian Notes*, 135, 2, Gruter, the existence of a goddess of that name. *Arsio*=*Rocitudo*. Calls attention to the occurrence of these words in the

Anthidotum Egias. *Septizonium*. Approves Hülsen's view that the name is derived from seven girdle-like strips formed by the architectural members of the building. Cites from the Tironian Notes evidence that the word is not derived from *saepio*.

J. W. Beck, *Allobrox*, ein Spitzname. Notes that *Allobroge*, with the meaning "rustic", occurs in the dictionary of Furetière, ed. of 1701, and in the *Dict. de l'Académie* of 1762.

G. Helmreich, *Zu den Glossen von Epinal*. Criticisms of Nettleship's notes in the *Journal of Philology*, XVII, No. 33, pp. 120-124.

G. Landgraf, *Egens=exgens*. Since *indiges* (*indigens*) has the double meaning of "native" and "poor", suggests that *egens* may sometimes be synonymous with *extorris*.

L. Bauer, *Absto*. Would read *abstabat* in *Sil. Ital.* XII, 480 and add the example to those cited in Vol. VI, p. 539.

E. Wölfflin, *Necare*. The word originally meant to kill without weapons. *Zur Konstruktion von clam*. The accusative is more common than the ablative. In *Bell. Hisp.* 18 *clam a Caesaris praesidiis*, the *a* is not the preposition, but a correction of *praesidiis* to *praesidia*, which has found its way into the text. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina*. Would explain the cognomen *Asina* as meaning "afraid of water", on the basis of *Plin. NH.* VIII, 69.

281-311. Review of the Literature for 1889, 1890.

311-312. Sixth Annual Report.

313-331. K. Rittweger and E. Wölfflin, Was heisst "das Pferd"? A full abstract, with additions and corrections, of R.'s dissertation *De equi vocabulo et cognominatis*, Halle, 1890.

332. E. Wölfflin, *Hoc=huc*. The form *hoc* is used by some of Cicero's correspondents, while Cicero himself uses only *huc*. Caesar always has *huc*, while examples of *hoc* occur in the *Bell. Afr.*, *Bell. Alex.*, and *Bell. Hisp.* Hence *huc* was the high Latin and *hoc* the vulgar form, and the use of *hoc=huc* is earlier than it is said to be by Bücheler, *Lat. Deklin.*, p. 102.

333-342. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Psychologie der Völker des Altertums*. A continuation of the article on pp. 133 ff., dealing with Rome and Italy.

343-388. Ph. Thielmann, *Der Ersatz des Reciprocums im Lateinischen*. A lexicographical study of *inter se*; *alter alterum*, *alius alium*; *invicem*, *mutuo*, *vicissim*; *pariter*, *simul* and the like, with a discussion of the use of the reflexive as a reciprocal pronoun in Romance.

389-407. F. Cramer, *Absens*. Lexicon article with explanatory notes.

408. P. Geyer, *Inante, incontra, desubtus*. Additions to the collections of Hamp in Vol. V, pp. 321 ff.

M. Petschenig, *Ruribus*. Cites an indubitable instance of this form in Augustine, *Contra litteras Petilianus*, III, 31, 36, in support of his own conjecture in *Corippus*, *Ioh. VI*, 244.

409-420. J. Stöcklein, *Abundantia—abundatio*. Lexicon articles with explanatory notes.

420. E. Wölfflin, *Die Konzessivsätze*. Points out that they are related to comparative and proportional clauses, as well as to conditional and causal clauses.

421-434. E. Wölfflin, *Abusio—abutor*. Lexicon articles with explanatory notes.

435-445. *Miscellen*.—A. Zimmermann, *Etymologische Versuche*. Would derive *augur* from the abstract *augus* seen in *augus-tus*; *rusticus* from *rus-tus*; *Sallustius* from *salus-tus*. *Paenitet, oportet*. Regards these words as frequentatives from *poenio* (*punio*) and *oporior*. *Necesse est*. From *cessim* (*cessis*).

E. Klebs, *Lautus und Aurelius Victor*, *Caes. 10, 5*. Takes *opere lautus* in this passage as the pure Latin equivalent for *thermae*. Victor shows a tendency to avoid the use of Greek words.

Fr. Schöll, *In fugam convertere*, *Caes. B. G. I, 52*. Would read *conversa* with α and not *coniecta* with Meusel and β . The reading of β is a proof that that class of MSS deserves the name "interpolated". *Fronti praeponere olivam*, *Hor. Carm. I, 7, 7*. Suggests taking *fronti* in the sense of *frons libelli*; cf. *Ovid, Trist. I, 7, 32*.

P. Mohr, *Zu Sidonius*. In *Epist. II, 1, 1*, would read *quique* with the MSS, instead of Lütjohann's *quippe*.

C. Frick, *Colpus—colfus—colfora*. Differs with Gröber, in Vol. II, p. 442, in regarding *colpus* as intermediate between *κόλπος* and *golfus*. *Assis*. This is doubtful as a feminine form; see Vol. V, p. 566.

J. M. Stowasser, *MEITA*. This form, which was assumed by Wölfflin in Vol. VI, p. 200, actually occurs in Varro, *Ling. Lat. VII, 8*. *Comitare* has but one fundamental meaning, namely "go"; *mēta* is *meita* used as a substantive.

W. Meyer-Lübke, *Malacia*. Suggests that Italian *bonaccia*, "calm", is from **bonacia*, a new form from *malacia*; there is no trace of the latter word in the Romance languages.

446-465. Review of the Literature for 1889, 1890, and 1891.

465-466. Announcement of a lexicon of Latin personal names by Prof. A. Zimmermann.

466. A reply by F. Heerdegen to H.'s review in this volume, p. 288. A correction of J. Stöcklein's statement in this volume, p. 263 by J. H. Schmalz.

467-484. E. Wölfflin, Minucius Felix, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des afrikanischen Lateins. An introduction on the general characteristics of vulgar Latin in general and African Latin in particular is followed by an examination of the Latinity of the Octavius. Whether the writer of the Octavius was a native of Africa or not cannot be determined. Would place him chronologically between Apuleius and Tertullian.

485-506. A. Funck. Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Adverbia auf -im. Gives a list of 56 adverbs in -im which are not found in the seventh edition of Georges, but are certain as regards text and meaning. This is followed by a list of 11, also not in Georges, which are less well attested, and one of 54, for which new and important examples have been found in addition to those cited by Georges.

506. E. Wölfflin, Af. Two examples of this form, both before V, from an inscription of Amiternum. There is a third instance of af in the same inscription, but the following word is not preserved.

507-522. E. Wölfflin, Zwei Gutachten über das Unternehmen eines lateinischen Wörterbuchs. Reports favorable action on the part of the Prussian and Bavarian Academies, and gives an abstract of Hertz's address to the former.

522. G. Gröber, Zu colpus, colfus. A reply to Frick's note on p. 443.

523-526. R. Thurneysen, Zur Bezeichnung der Reciprocität im gallischen Latein. A criticism of the article of Thielmann on pp. 343 ff. from evidence based on the Romance languages.

527. F. Skutsch, Iaiutare, iaiunus. Would read iaientaculum in Plaut. Curc. 72 f. and iaiunus in 574. Would assume the spelling with a for Plautus.

529-568. C. Weyman, Abyssus=accedo. Lexicon articles with explanatory notes.

568. Max Bonnet, Mare femininum. Mare in this gender occurs in Gregory of Tours.

E. Wölfflin, Eine Alliteration Caesars. Reconstructs de victoria de vita certavi from Plutarch, Caes. 56 and Appian, B. C. II, 104.

569-578. E. Wölfflin, Accelebro=accendo. Lexicon articles with explanatory notes.

578. H. Nettleship, Absanitas=insanitas. Should be read in Varro, Eumenides apud Non. I, 67, 16 M., where codd. F, H,¹ and L have adsanitas; cf. abnormis and abnormitas.

579-598. Miscellen.—J. Netušil, Zur Etymologie und Semasiologie von *iste* und *ipse* nebst Zubehör. Regards *te* and *se* in these words as originally datives, so that *iste*=*is-te*, "der dir", one who stands in some relation to you, unless *te* has merely the force of the so-called ethical dative. *Ipse*=*i-pe-se*, one who stands in some relation to the subject of the sentence.

E. Wölfflin, Zur Konstruktion der Ländernamen. *Aegyptus* and *Epirus* omit the preposition in expressing relations of place because they end in *-us*, like the names of many islands, while most names of countries end in *-ia*.

A. Funck, Inschriftliche Zeugnisse für lateinische Verwandtschaftsnamen. The results of an examination of 2039 inscriptions from Ostia, CIL. XIV. Formelhafte Wendungen im Inschriftenlatein. Shows that *benemerenti* and similar expressions lose their force and become mere stereotyped expressions like German "Wohlgeboren". Epithets like *pius*, *carus*, and *dulcis* are transferred from the dead to the mourner by the uneducated through lack of clearness of thought.

G. Gundermann, Malacia. Points out that the word has the meaning "calm" in *Actus Petri cum Simone*, *Acta Apost. Apocr.* ed. Lipsius, I², 1891. Suggests that the word is a *terminus technicus* from the language of sailors, which would account for its rare occurrence in literature. Cf. pp. 270 and 445 and Vol. VI, p. 259. *Gubernius*—*Gubernus*. The former word, which was used by *Laberius* and is discussed by Gell. XVI, 7, 10, where Ribbeck would read *gubernus*, occurs twice in the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, ed. Lipsius. The correct reading in Gellius is therefore probably *gubernius*. *Gubernus* also existed in vulgar Latin, and Greek had the corresponding forms *κυβήριος* and *κυβερνός*.

E. Wölfflin, *Fluvius*—*fluvia*—*flumen*. Notes on the use or avoidance of these synonymous terms by various writers.

L. Traube, *Expiare*. Should be read instead of *explere* in Val. Max. VIII, 11, 7: cf. VIII, 1, *Damn.* 8.

B. Kübler, Juristisches. The juristic literature separated *boves* and *iumentum* and reckoned them with *pecus*, where they formed the special class of *armentum*. *Armentum* is derived from *aro*, but by the ancients was falsely connected with *arma*. The term meant in general horses and oxen, but was restricted by the Jurists to the latter signification. In view of these facts K. would read *dumtaxat* for *etiam*, the false reading being due to confusion of the abbreviations for these words, in *Mod. Dig.* 32, 81, 3. There follows a note on *Fronto*, V, 42 (57), p. 88, N., where K. would read in *integrum* and in *solutum*, and one on *Fronto*, I, 5, p. 103 N., where he suggests *defero* for *desero*. Die Appendix Probi. Further evidence for the African origin of this work.

S. Brandt, Zu den präpositionalen Umschreibungen des genitivus comparationis. Ab with the ablative is found in Lactantius, a further indication of his African origin. Zu saeculorum. Sator saeculorum, Arnob. I, 34, supports Bücheler's derivation of saeculum from the root sa-, sow. Cf. p. 126.

W. M. Lindsay, Spuren vulgärlateinischer Betonung bei den alten Dramatikern. Words of four syllables beginning with three shorts (υυυυ) have in anapaestic metres the accent either on the penult or on the first syllable. In other metres they are almost without exception accented on the first syllable. Words of four syllables with a long initial syllable (—υυυ) in all metres have the accent on the first or second syllable. The pronunciations muliérerem, sequimíni, etc. in vulgar Latin, assumed by Gröber in Vol. I, p. 223, are not justified by a few isolated and perhaps doubtful examples.

J. Stürzinger, Sursum von surgere. Would make sursum a participle of surgere, comparing sortus from sorrectus, Festus, 279 M. Sursum could be formed from surgere, and its existence as a participle, at least in vulgar Latin, is made probable by Provençal and Old French sors.

599-623. Review of the Literature for 1890, 1891.

623-624. Necrology. O. Riemann by E. Wölfflin.

624-625. Seventh Annual Report.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LX, Pts. 3, 4.

Pp. 321-60. Ein neuer Kämmeibericht aus Tauromenion. H. Willers. A study of an inscription found at Taormina in 1892. It must have been written between 70 and 36 B. C. Unlike the other inscriptions of this group, it reckons in νόμοι (denarii) instead of in talents. A talent = 3 nomoi = 120 litrai. From the prices of grain mentioned in the Verrine orations, the purchasing value of a νόμος (= 4 sesterces) in Tauromenion is calculated at about 2 M. 8½ in the Germany of to-day.

Pp. 361-87. Aus Vergils Dichterwerkstätte. P. Jahn. A detailed study of the sources of Virgil's matter: Varro, Aristotle, Nicander, etc. For similar studies of other portions of the Georgics, see Hermes, 1902-03; Rheinisches Museum, 1903; Philologus, 1904; Progr. d. Köllnischen Gymnasiums, 1897-99 and 1905. (P. S.—This article deals with Geor. iii. 49-470.)

Pp. 388-416. Zu Didymos' Demosthenes-Commentar. A. Körte. I. Die vierte Philippika. A defense of the genuineness of the Fourth Philippic. As Wilamowitz has suggested, it is really a political pamphlet rather than an oration. The commentary of Didymus removes some of the old difficulties (§§ 6, 32, 35-45, 70-74. II. Neue Fragmente des Timokles.

Pp. 417-24. Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Firmicus Maternus de errore. K. Ziegler.

Pp. 425-47. Inschriftliches zur Geschichte der attischen Komödie. A. Körte. A study of three Roman inscriptions, I. G. XIV 1097, 1098, 1098 a. These seem to be fragments of a long catalogue of the writers of Attic comedy, made for some Roman library under the early Empire. It may have been a copy of Callimachus' *πίναξ κατὰ χρόνους τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων*.

Miscellen.—P. 448. R. J. T. Wagner. Aristoph. Ach. 23 sq. The writer would change *ἐλθόντες*, l. 24, to *εὐδουσιν*.—Pp. 449-54. H. van Herwerden. Ad novissimam Alciphronis editionem.—P. 454. H. van Herwerden. ΠΙΝΑΤΠΑΝ—ΕΙΝΑΤΠΑΝ? Suggests that in an inscription recently published from Isauria (Journ. Hellen. Stud. XXV 174) we should read, not *πίνατραν*, but *είνατραν* (= *εἰνάτεραν*, brother's wife).—Pp. 454-7. L. Ziehen. Zum Tempelgesetz von Alea.—Pp. 457-8. A. Deissmann. ΠΡΟΘΥΜΑ. In Aquila's translation of Exodus, xxiv 6, we find the expression *ἔθηκεν ἐν προθύμασιν*. Some scholars have supposed that he meant "in pateris"; but his words can only mean "verwandte zu Voropfern".—Pp. 458-9. M. Niedermann. Zur Appendix Probi (153 ed. Heraeus). For "raucus non raucus" read "raucus non [d]racus".—Pp. 459-62. M. Niedermann. Laptuca=lactuca und Verwandtes. Discusses such forms as "consectum" for "consaeptum", "suctilissimo" for "suptilissimo". *smaraldus: *smaraudus (Fr. émeraude, Prov. esmerauda): smaragdus:: salma: sauma: sagma.—Pp. 462-3. E. Petersen. Pigna. The writer still maintains that the Pigna of the Vatican was not originally designed for use as a fountain (see Rh. Mus. LX 297).—Pp. 463-4. F. Jacoby. Amores. A protest against the statement of O. Crusius (Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie, V 2293) that the title "Neaera" may be inferred from Lygdamus I 6.

Prefixed to the fourth number of this volume is a brief obituary notice of Professor HERMANN USENER (Oct. 23, 1834—Oct. 21, 1905). He was a contributor to the Museum for nearly half a century, and after the death of Professor Ribbeck, in 1898, he served as one of its editors.

Pp. 465-91. Sol invictus. H. Usener. The celebration of the birth of Christ on December 25 was probably fixed to coincide with an old heathen festival "Natalis Solis Invicti". This was held at the time of the winter solstice, when the sun recommences his upward course, and is, as it were, born anew. The adaptation was the more easily effected because of the conception of Christ as the "Sun of righteousness" (Malachi, 4, 2), who had triumphed even over death. The pagan festival seems to have been introduced at Rome in the days of the Empire. In the triumph of Aurelian (274) the sun was officially recognized as the god of the court and of the Empire, but, as the Roman coins show, the oriental worship of a "Sol Invictus" had long been known in

the city. Hippolytus, the commentator on Daniel, writing about 202, and again in 222, gives the date of the Nativity as April 2. An early list of bishops (Mommson, *Chronica minora*, I p. 70) shows that by 336 the December date was officially recognized by the Roman church, though as late as 354 the day had not been formally made a festival on that account. If we may believe Ananias of Shirak, the first official celebration of December 25, as opposed to the older joint festival of the Birth and Epiphany on January 6, was held at the court of Constantius, apparently between 354 and 360. For the statement of this Armenian scholar of the early 7th century see the *Expositor* for 1896, p. 326.

Pp. 492-504. Die metrischen Wirkungen anlautender Consonantengruppen bei Homer und Hesiod. F. Solmsen. In Homer, apart from the cases in which *ν ἐφελευστικόν* may help to make position, there are 115 cases where a final short vowel in the thesis is followed by an initial consonant group. In 88 of these the vowel is treated as if long; in 27 it remains short. The usage of Hesiod agrees in all respects with that of Homer. Incidentally, the writer discusses the formation of *δαφουνός*, *δάσκιος*, *δασπλήτης*, *δάπεδον*.

Pp. 505-51. Die Schrift des Martinus von Bracara formula vitae honestae. E. Bickel. A long study of the language, style and matter of this treatise. The conclusion seems to be that it is an epitome of Seneca's *De Officiis*.

Pp. 552-59. Randbemerkungen (continued from p. 314). W. Kroll. Textual notes on *Dirae*, 10, 82; *Ciris*, 361; *Cicero*, *Orat.* 152; *Quintilian*, IX 4, 28, IX 4, 63, XII 10, 13, X 1, 77 (for *minoribus causis* read *vilioribus*); *Germanicus*, *Arat.* 531-64, 32; *Theodorus Priscianus*; *Manilius*, *Prooem.* to IV, 18, 27; *Prooem.* to I, 25 ff.

Pp. 560-73. *Analecta in Aetnam*. R. Hildebrandt.

Pp. 574-83. Zur Ueberlieferung des Gedichtes *Aetna*. S. Sudhaus.

Pp. 584-93. Zur Hadesmythologie. L. Radermacher. In the *Frogs*, 300, Dionysos had good reason for wishing to conceal his real name. If the *Empusa* had learned it, she might have gained power over him. In the rather late dialogue *Hermippos* (*Rh. Mus.* LII 345) we have the popular belief that if the names of the dead are changed the ghosts cannot molest them on their journey.

Pp. 595-613. Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus. G. Loeschcke. I. Gelasius, sein Werk und seine Quellen.

Pp. 614-23. *Nixi di und Verwandtes*. O. von Basiner.

Pp. 624-29. Eine verschollene Priscianhandschrift. P. Lehmann. A 'Codex Corbeiensis' used by Franciscus Fabricius *Marcoduranus* (1527-1573).

Pp. 630-35. *Klassische Reminiscenzen*. A. Brinkmann. The beginning of the funeral oration in Thucydides, II 35, has served as a model in the story of the twelve martyrs of Gortyna. In the Sinaitic story of Galaktion (Migne 116, 93 ff) the hero's parents are named Kleitophon and Leukippe.

Miscellen.—Pp. 636-7. F. Solmsen. *Philocomasium*.—Pp. 637-9. E. Assmann. Zu Martial 4, 64 (read *virgines liquore*).—Pp. 639-40. H. Schickinger. Zu Caesar b. G. 7, 35, 4 (read '*coartatis quidem cohortibus*').

HAVERFORD COLLEGE.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE XXIX, 3, 4.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 177-201. *Studies in Plautus, Asinaria*. II. Corrections of the text. By Louis Havet. Critical discussion of about forty passages.

2. Pp. 201-204. The musical fragment of Oxyrhyncus, by C. E. Ruelle. This article would not be intelligible if much compressed. M. Ruelle rejects the assignment of the fragment to Aristoxenus.

3. Pp. 205-236. *Plautinian Metre*, by Georges Romain. This elaborate investigation, which all interested in the subject will examine in the original, is divided into three parts. I. Discussion of the weak part of the fourth foot of the iambic trimeter and the fifth of the trochaic tetrameter (the corresponding half-foot). II. Critical discussion of passages containing archaisms (*siem*, *possiem*, *duim*, *fuas*, *nevis*, *danunt*, etc.) in the foot named. III. Discussion of the *proceleusmaticus*.

4. Pp. 237-272. *Inscriptions of Didyma*. Accounts of the construction of the temple. By B. Haussoullier. This interesting article discusses, among other things, a long inscription in which is incorporated a financial account of part of the construction.

5. Pp. 273-276. *Book Notices*. 1. F. Solmsen. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas dialectos selectae*. Leipzig, 1903. B. Haussoullier, regretting a few defects, finds this work on the whole useful and recommends it to French Hellenists. 2. Otto Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, Zweite Aufl. Berlin, 1905. Reviewed by Victor Chapot, who describes the work and considers it so important that he hopes it will soon be translated into French. He finds one objection to the execution of the work: the failure to arrange and classify clearly and give headings of the various topics.

No. 4.

1. Pp. 277-288. The use of the diminutive in Catullus, by P. de Labriolle. Rejecting the view that Catullus employed the

diminutive simply because he was "fond of it" or for metrical reasons, and at the same time disavowing any theory that it was *always* used for stylistic effect (since not a few diminutives had ceased to be felt as such), the author enumerates the examples and classifies the uses according to the effects intended. [The conclusions he reaches are for the most part what, it seems to me, any one who has often read Catullus must feel to be correct.]

2. Pp. 289-291. Theocritus as imitator of Sophron, by Edmond Faral. Starting out with the remark of the scholiast in the argument of Id. II of Theocritus, that τὴν Θεοκυλῖδα ὁ Θεόκριτος ἀπειροκάλως ἐκ τῶν Σόφρονος μετῆνεγκε μίμων, and his remark at v. 10 that certain things were taken from Sophron (MSS εὐφορίωνος), the author finds some striking resemblances between this Idyl and the fragments of Sophron.

3. Pp. 291-292. Anchurus, by P. Roussel. This interesting note clearly demonstrates that in Anth. Pal. XV, 25 (Dübner, II, p. 509) v. 7, for ταγχύρου we should read Ἀγχούρου. This Anchurus was the son of Midas, and how it came about that he was identified with gold is fully explained by M. Roussel.

4. Pp. 293-295. Κέλμης ἐν σιδήρῳ, by P. Roussel. This is an interesting explanation of the proverb: Κέλμης ἐν σιδήρῳ ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα ἑαυτοῖς πιστευσάντων.

5. Pp. 296-305. Apropos of a correction by Scaliger of Tibullus I. 2. 65, 66, by A. Cartault. The correction consists in changing "fuit" into "fuat", a correction ungenerously characterized as "méthodique une fois par hasard." The discussion of this passage leads the author to an interesting investigation of several other questions relating to Tibullus.

6. Pp. 306-309. De carmine quod est inter Horatiana 4. 8, by Mortimer Lamson Earle. This article is devoted to the support of those that consider this ode spurious. It consists largely of citations of passages in Horace that seem to be imitated in this ode.

7. Pp. 309-314. The origin of the name of Phoenicia, by Isidore Lévy. The Greek origin as well as all previous explanations of the name are rejected, and it is pointed out that the early name of Caria must have been Φοινίκη. How the name was, so to speak, pushed around to the eastern end of the sea is also explained and illustrated by analogous cases. No attempt, however, is made to explain the word itself.

8. Pp. 315-318. Critical discussion of Plaut. Mil. 435-439 and Truc. 826-831, by Félix Gaffiot.

9. Pp. 319-320. Κρόνου or Ἥλιου ἀστήρ (Epinomis 987 C)? by J. Bidez. It is shown that the designation Ἥλιου ἀστήρ to denote the planet Saturn was employed sometimes, and that the preference should be given to Ἥλιου in the Epinomis, supported as it is by A (Parisinus 1807).

10. Pp. 321-327. Psellus and the commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* by Proclus, by J. Bidez. This interesting article shows that Psellus copied Proclus so closely that his work can be utilized in constituting the text of the latter.

11. Pp. 328-333. Three critical notes on Minucius Felix's Octavius, 1) on three passages by F. Préchac, 2) on one passage by P. Médan, 3) on two passages by J. de Decker.

12. Pp. 334-336. De titulo Ionico, by Bruno Keil. Critical discussion of a short inscription published by Haussoullier, Ofrande à Apollon Didyméen, Chalon-sur-Saône, 1905.

13. Pp. 337-346. Book Notices. 1. Hermann Reich. *Der Mann mit dem Eselskopf*.—Separatabdruck aus dem Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft (XIV Jahrg.). Weimar, 1904. A. Grenier commends this work, which traces the history of the (theatrical) man changed into an ass from the first century to Shakespeare, and suggests that the same character should be traced from a much earlier period, even from the Mycenaean age. 2. Attilio de Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica. La religione gentilizia e collegiale*. Milan, 1903. Ch. Dubois gives a very appreciative account of this work with some slight reservations. 3. Ch. Dubois calls attention to "A Dictionary of the Latin Inscriptions" by N. Olcott, in course of publication. 4. G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*. München, 1904. Ch. Dubois, pronouncing it a happy idea of Wissowa to collect and publish his various remarkable articles on Roman religion, adds a list of titles of the fifteen articles. 5. Fr. X. Burger. *Minucius Felix und Seneca*. München, 1904. J. de Decker regards this work as exhausting the subject and furnishing a complete repertoire of all the relations of Minucius Felix to Seneca.

The *Revue des Revues*, begun in a previous number, is completed in this number.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

BRIEF MENTION.

Many years ago I wrote for my own amusement a little essay intended to ridicule the mania for hunting up plagiarisms; and I used a couple of sentences from it in the Introduction to my Persius xxiii, in connexion with Persius' supposed borrowings from Horace. Among the mock examples adduced was one from Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome, and I charged that *vir immortalis memoriae* with cribbing part of the familiar line, 'And now, mine own dear little girl, there is no way but this', from Twelfth Night, Act III, Sc. 2, where Fabian says: 'There is no way but this, Sir Andrew'. Imagine then my surprise at finding after all these years in Mr. SHARPLEY's edition of *Aristophanes' Peace* (Edinburgh, Blackwood) the following note on v. 110: οὐκ ἔστι παρά ταῦτ' ἀλλ': 'A colloquial phrase *not* equivalent to the high sounding "There is no way but this"'. Now, old experience has taught me that an underscored *not* means a stab at a rival editor (A. J. P. XIV 499), and sure enough, I find that Mr. SHARPLEY is hitting at what he considers a peccant translation in Merry's edition. But what could be more colloquial than 'there is no way but this'? The 'high sound' is due to Mr. SHARPLEY's association of the phrase with Macaulay's ballad, and the Rector of Lincoln, who has an established reputation as a sympathetic editor of Aristophanes (A. J. P. XXI 229), must have been as much amused at the criticism as I am. But Aristophanes is the dear delight of every Greek scholar, and as every new edition sets me to reading him again, I am going to forgive Mr. SHARPLEY for a number of things that happen to be particularly irritating to an old stager. The genesis of a book, for instance, is a matter of supreme interest to the author, who is prone to take the public into his confidence, as if the public were the happy party of the other part in the procreative process, whereas the public cares for nothing except the finished product, unless perchance the author has reached autobiographical rank, as in the case of Gibbon's Decline and Fall, as in the case of Goethe's Faust. There was no woe upon Mr. SHARPLEY to edit the *Peace* before he consulted Mr. Rogers' 'famous work', and if Mr. SHARPLEY had been a serious editor, and thought the book essential to the proper preparation of his edition, he might have walked from Hertford to London, and got a green ticket at the British Museum. What a striking contrast is this way of doing things to what we read of that admirable scholar, whose loss we have lately been called upon to deplore. WENDLAND tells us in his sketch of Usener, in the December number of the

Preussische Jahrbücher, how in order to have a complete set of Bernays' essays that great scholar copied them out with his own hand; and similar stories are told of other professional philologists. Then again, Mr. SHARPLEY informs the world that 'owing to a personal dislike which <he> is not prepared to defend, the asterisk and the obelus have not been used in the text'. All this self-consciousness, all this wilfulness would not be tolerable even in a scholar of the highest rank, but unfortunately Mr. SHARPLEY has a great deal of company in this sort of thing, as I have been compelled to note in so many highly dispensable school editions. The same airiness, the same careless manner of handling his subject is, I am sorry to say, discernible in another performance of Mr. SHARPLEY'S, which has just come to hand, a translation of the *Mimes of Herodas* (London, Nutt), in which he ignores Symonds's translations of the *Mimes*, to which I called attention in my review of Mr. NAIRN'S edition (A. J. P. XXV 228). By the way Mr. SHARPLEY accepts the ellipsis of κύλικος in I 25, and translates πέπωκεν ἐκ καινῆς in a stilted fashion that reminds one of the eighteenth century, 'and drained the honeyed cup of love anew'. Symonds's 'has drunk at fresh fountains' is much more natural, even if κύλικος be the more plausible ellipsis.

'Cupio me esse clementem', though it is hard work sometimes, and I am aware that the kind of flicking criticism, in which I indulge, is not altogether fair. A book may have a positive value as a whole, in spite of grave errors in detail; and the few additional remarks that I shall make, will be at least a tribute to the suggestiveness of Mr. SHARPLEY'S commentary. It is something in these days to be even suggestive. On v. 32 he says: 'A great deal has been made of the fact that the collocation *τίως ἴως* is not found elsewhere in Attic. But it would not be found here, if the speaker were not dwelling on the curse and shaking his fist'. From which we deduce the rule, 'when one dwells on a curse and shakes one's fist, *τίως ἴως* is in order', a rule which may be commended to the attention of the psychological syntactician. At first, this assumption of superior insight into the mind of a master is annoying. It might be well enough in St. Paul on a ticklish theme (I Cor. 7, 40), but we are hardly prepared to accept Mr. SHARPLEY'S unsupported dictum. The area of impressionism is large enough, and he who reduces it does a service, and so I will allow myself to attack this problem in another way. To me the matter is simple enough. Everybody knows that the expression of correlation gives a certain deliberateness to style. So *πρότερον—πρὶν* (A. J. P. II 483). So *οὕτω—ὥστε* (A. J. P. XIV 240). Aristophanes seldom uses *οὕτω* with *ὥστε*, and in the whole range of the language *τίως—ἴως* are seldom found in correlation. The combination is 'as formal as a lawsuit'

(A. J. P. XXIII 256), and the juxtaposition here gives the line a certain grimness which is better expressed in my judgment by a setting or gritting of the teeth than by a shaking of the fist, especially when one remembers what may be called the 'episiktik' effect of the double sigma. In the same verse I am quite in accord with the reading λάθοις (A. J. P. XXI 231), and as I have not much reverence for the author of Dawes's canon, I should not have felt myself bound to cite his emendation, ἔως σεαυτὸν ἂν λάθῃς but ἔως σεαυτὸν ἂν λάθῃς is not an 'impossibility', unless we can get rid of Ran. 259: ὁπόσον ἢ φάρυγξ ἂν ἡμῶν | χανδάνη δι' ἡμέρας, where even Blaydes stares and gasps but submits. See also S. C. G. § 466.

It happens to every commentator, I suppose, to overlook a grammatical point when it first occurs in his author, so that the note is not made at the right place, and I will not quarrel with Mr. SHARPLEY for postponing his remark on πόθεν ἂν with optative (v. 20), until he comes to v. 521, where he recognizes the wishing character of πόθεν ἂν. But the oversight is all the more remarkable, because it is this equivalence to the pure optative in v. 20 that gives the only sensible explanation of the negative μή which he passes over dryshod (A. J. P. XXI 231). In the note on v. 59: μή 'κκόρει τὴν Ἑλλάδα, we are informed with magisterial impressiveness that the sense of 'deflower' is wholly irrelevant. But who wants relevancy in the *verkehrte Welt* of comedy? We shall be told next that the Pisthetairos' threat to Iris in the Birds is irrelevant. He ought to have threatened to clip her wings (Av. 1254). —v. 71: ξυνετριβὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Mr. SHARPLEY calls τῆς κεφαλῆς 'the old undifferentiated local genitive, it cannot be classed under the partitive'. Here again we have a fling at Dr. Merry, who calls it a partitive genitive as do most of the grammarians. If by undifferentiated local genitive, Mr. SHARPLEY means an original genitive that has elsewhere crystallized into a local sense, he may be right, but he has not expressed himself clearly, and it might be well for him to heed the advice of Dionysos: ἀμαθιστέρων πως εἰπεῖ καὶ σαφίστερον.—In v. 241 ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν is explained 'in accordance with a suggestion of Mr. J. C. Miles' as ὁ κ. τ. σ. χίζειν ποιῶν. But why not cite M. MAZON, who says: 'Le scholiaste sous-entend avec raison τιλῶν ποιῶν. En même temps, Trygée s'accroupit comme Dionysos (Ran. 308, 479). L'expression, obscure pour un lecteur, était fort claire pour un spectateur'. I am not convinced. Nor can I see that 'Mr. Miles's' theory is supported by Lys. 1257: πολὺς δ' ἀμὰ καττῶν σκελῶν [ἀφρός] ἴετο. Of course, 'sweat' might be used euphemistically (Ran. 237), but here ἀφρός must be taken literally, as is shown by ἀμφὶ τὰς γέυνας.—On κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν I said my say long ago, A. J. P. XI 372.—v. 323: διὰ τὰ σχήματα is not 'for the sake of your antics' but 'thanks to your antics'. The chorus does not intend to do

any harm (A. J. P. XI 372). It is not the same thing as ὑπὸ τῶν σχημάτων, Eur. Cycl. 220, which Mr. SHARPLEY has quoted. That is the ὑπό of accompaniment.—v. 1076: πρίν κεν . . . ὑμεναιοῖ. ‘As a matter of fact’, Mr. SHARPLEY says, ‘Homer never adds κεν or ἄν to πρίν with subjunctive’. He might have added that as a matter of fact, Homer never uses the present subjunctive with the conjunction πρίν. But ὑμεναιοῖ is optative, not subjunctive, and πρίν is the adverb, and Aristophanes was a better Homeric scholar than is Mr. SHARPLEY. Why the editors are so superstitious as not to punctuate differently, I cannot divine. Certain it is that the Latin translation in Blaydes would have saved Mr. SHARPLEY. πρίν is rendered *ante* not *antequam*.—The proof-reading is not faultless. v. 524 ‘homoeoarchon’ for ‘homoeoarkton’ ought not to have escaped a fairly vigilant eye, and v. 603 we read of an ‘epirrhematising choryphaeus’.—v. 549 ‘bamboozle’ should be spelled with a *u*, if the point is not to be broken off, but while Mr. SHARPLEY has not incurred what Balzac calls ‘le dangier d’estre trop cocquebin’, he prefers to hint at improprieties rather than to bring them out with antique candor. See f. i. his note on v. 712: βληχωνίαν. For ‘depositious’ (ἀποβολιμαῖος), v. 678 read ‘deposittitious’ to match ‘supposititious’ (ὑποβολιμαῖος).

Mr. SHARPLEY’s note on πρίν, to which I have just referred, is a sad reminder that after all that has been done to clear up the use of πρίν, its genesis and its use, there is a good deal of haze about the edges still. The practical formula which I published nearly thirty years ago,¹ Just. Mart. Apol. I 4, 13, abides for all the Greek that the average student is likely to encounter, and yet it has not won its way to universal acceptance. πρίν with the aoristic (apobatic) tenses is the type. Why the aoristic tenses is clear enough, as clear as the aorist indicative with ὅπως, as clear as the aorist with ἕως ‘until’. Establish a type and it works automatically, thanks to what Ouvré calls ‘la grande endormeuse de la pensée, l’habitude’ (A. J. P. VIII 230). The only thing that really concerns the syntactician is the exceptional use of πρίν with the durative tenses (A. J. P. II 477). Present infinitive and present subjunctive shew that reflection is at work, that there is a distinct notion of a process, of overlapping. One illustration among many. In Plato’s Theaet. 166 B we read δοκεῖς τινα . . . δώσειν ποτὲ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀνομοιούμενον τῷ πρίν ἀνομοιούσθαι ὄντι; In the Symp. 208 B in which Diotima describes the same process, she says: τὸ θνητὸν σφίζεται . . . τῷ τὸ ἀπὸν καὶ παλαιούμενον ἕτερον γένος ἐγκαταλείπειν ὅσον αὐτὸ ᾗν, where Hug thinks that the overlapping of the participle deserves a note; and so Plato, or Plato’s puppet,

¹ (1) When πρίν *must* be translated ‘before’ it *must* have the infinitive.
 (2) When it *may* be translated ‘until’ it *may* take the finite constructions of ἕως ‘until’. Exceptions are found in Iss. and later Greek.

Protagoras, seems to think that *πρὶν ἀνομοιοῦσθαι* deserves a note, for he breaks up the verb afterwards into its constituent parts, and makes sneering use of the periphrasis *ἐάνπερ ἀνομοίωσις γίγνηται*, so as to satisfy the carpers, the *δομάτων θηρευταί*, who wish to make everything turn on *εἶναι* and *γίγνεσθαι*. Another example of overlapping is found Ar. Pax 85, this time in the subjunctive (A. J. P. II 481): *πρὶν ἂν ἰδίης καὶ διαλύσης*, where some excellent scholars, following the scholiast's *ιδρώσης*, read *ιδίσης*. The scholiasts are not always to be followed in the matter of tenses, and in v. 87 as Sobolewski notes, Synt. Ar. p. 144 (cf. A. J. P. XIII 501), with the later preference for the aorist, translate *μὴ πνεῖ* by *μὴ βδέσσης* just as Schol. x 5 commenting on *πῖνε* says: *ἀντὶ τοῦ πῖθι*. M. MAZON, in his recent edition, who says that the verse will not scan and cites v. 204, forgets Ran. 237, where *ἰδτεῖ* is likely, if not certain. Tr. 'ere you begin to sweat (not 'break out into a sweat'), and so supple the sinews of your limbs' (*ιδίων διαλύσης*).

Professor GOODWIN's edition of the *Midiana of Demosthenes* (Cambridge University Press) will at once command respectful attention. In knowledge of the history of the period, in knowledge of the minutiae of Attic legal proceedings he has few rivals. And then Demosthenes is his special province, and Professor GOODWIN's style ordinarily sober, as befits a grammarian of his school, never rises so high as when he pleads for Demosthenes, the patriot, Demosthenes, the champion of a lost cause. Some of us who have championed lost causes are not so enthusiastic about other people's lost causes and are tempted to subscribe to Nietzsche and to accept Philip as an 'Uebermensch'. At all events, I am not ashamed to confess that my interest in Demosthenes is largely of the aesthetic order. But the interest is keen enough, though it is haply quickened by sundry frank utterances on the part of other scholars. Koch, the grammarian, evidently cannot abide Demosthenes (A. J. P. XIV 106) and Demosthenes was evidently antipathetic to Ivo Bruns (A. J. P. XXV 356). I only wish there were more people to speak their minds freely about the heroes of classical literature, as did the Scaligers and the Casaubons of an earlier day. Demosthenes was a bit of a blackguard and offends the conventional soul of to-day as Isokrates does not. But I have long since exhausted my resources of indignation at the naughtinesses of the ancients, and I am not distressed at Demosthenes' lack of refinement, as Professor GOODWIN is, any more than I take it to heart when I read how the great and good George Washington swore like the trooper that he was, and how he belaboured his cowardly colonels in the streets of New York with his cane and not with the orthodox flat of his sword. Demosthenes, as is well known, outswears all the Attic orators and is not overparticular about the shape of the

cudgel with which he breaks his enemies' heads. ὁ μισρὰ κεφαλῇ and the familiar imperative ὅπως c. fut. ind. (A. J. P. VI 60) take one back to Aristophanes again (A. J. P. IV 440). Once in the swing of his oratory I give myself up to him but I do not lose my head for all that, and when the whirl is over, and the flush wears off, I come back to study the secrets of his art, or shall I say? the tricks of his trade, the skilful use of rhetorical figures, the effective position of his words, the recurrent crack of the whip, the sting in the tail of his sentences, the *staccato* passages and the *legato* passages, and the wonderful rhythms. To me as a syntactician, his use of the participle, his use of the articular infinitive speaks volumes. After he exhausts his stock of adjectives, he takes to the participle, e. g. 21, 114: ἀσεβῆς καὶ μισρὸς καὶ πᾶν ἂν ὑποστᾶς. After he exhausts his stock of abstract nouns he resorts to the articular infinitive, e. g. 21, 96: παρὰ τὴν πενίαν καὶ ἐρημίαν καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς εἶναι. It was as a syntactician that I spoke when I said some years ago at Chicago that I wished I could induce some of my audience 'to listen to the long roar of the wave that sweeps the wreckage of a world on the shore or to watch the Titanic orator as he hurls, first one smooth stone after the other at his foe, and then when ammunition fails, gathers up in his mighty grasp the loose substance of the earth, balls it into a weighty mass and brings it crashing on his adversary's head'. There is something of the Megaera in this Βάταλος, something feminine in his fury, something that recalls the Corcyraean women of Thukydides 3, 74: βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκῶν τῷ κεράμῳ. He fights at times, as it were, with clods and fence-rails, and yet it is all planned, and these apparently extemporized weapons are as much a part of his armory as the Chalkidian blades of Alkaios were a part of the armory of the warrior poet of Lesbos. Cf. 21, 191: ἐγὼ δ' ἐσκέφθαι μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημί καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀρνηθεῖν καὶ μεμελετηκῆναι γ' ὥς ἐνὴν μάλιστα ἔμοι. And the preciousness of this very *Midiana* lies in the fact that we are inducted into the orator's workshop, that we see all this in the making. The roughnesses of the *Midiana*, its turbulence at which Professor GOODWIN waxes impatient at times, these things are valuable documents to him who is concerned with the artistic process.

In Professor GOODWIN'S *Midiana* syntactical matters are usually despatched by a reference to the editor's *Moods and Tenses*, so far as they fall within the scope of that authoritative manual. Very few of the points made admit discussion, and most of them seem to be rather elementary for the stage that a student is supposed to have reached who is ripe enough for the *Midiana*, which is at a long remove from Xenophon's *Anabasis* (A. J. P. XXV 227). But of the limits of syntactical annotation a professed syntactician is hardly a judge, and Professor GOOD-

WIN is pardonable in yielding to the strong temptation to shew how well his *Moods and Tenses* responds to every emergency that he recognizes. And any suggestion that he is too much given to M. Γ.'s would come with an ill grace from one who is equally given to A. J. P.'s. One knows one's own wisdom so well and so often forgets the source. At least I do—and besides, who has the time to hunt up Matthiä and Bernhardt and Rost and Kühner and Krüger and Madvig and Bäumlein and Aken and all the rest to whose stores of facts and observations we Epigoni have not added so much after all (A. J. P. XXV 111). As WILAMOWITZ says in the preface to his *Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* IX 'Mir liegt gar nichts daran, ob ich die Wahrheit zuerst sage: ich bin Platoniker und denke nur an den λόγος, nicht an die λέγοντες'. But if one reads himself too much there is great danger of narrowing the vision, of overlooking points that are not made by the syntax with which one is most familiar; and in one of his notes Professor GOODWIN has slurred a distinction that seems to be of some importance. 21, 159 reads: οὐ δέῃ δὴ . . . τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐκ τούτων κρίνειν, εἴ τις οἰκοδομεῖ λαμπρῶς ἢ θεραπαίνας κέκτηται πολλὰς ἢ σκεύη ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν ἐν τούτοις λαμπρὸς καὶ φιλότιμος ᾖ ὃν ἀπασι μέτεστι τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑμῶν. Whereupon Professor GOODWIN: 'A sudden change from εἴ τις οἰκοδομεῖ. The general relative conditional with ὅς ἂν and the subjunctive and the corresponding protasis with εἰ ἂν are often practically equivalent; and the indicative without ἂν may be used in both without an essential change of force'. But there is an essential change of force. εἴ τις, as I pointed out in 1876, and repeatedly since (Tr. A. Phil. Asso., 1876, p. 2, A. J. P. III 435, Pindar I. E. cvii, S. C. G. § 365) is a 'double ender' (A. J. P. XIX 343). It may be particular, it may be generic. It is the very form for personal argument, for a general cap that fits a particular head. εἴ τις is Meidias, ὅς ἂν any praiseworthy creature, not to say Demosthenes himself; that would be immodest. In short, Demosthenes is punching Meidias as Meidias punched Demosthenes. Temporal syntax of which Professor ADAMS has made a special feature in his *Lysias* (American Book Company) does not fare so well as modal syntax. Professor ADAMS would not have failed to recognize the force of the negative imperfect § 90: οὐκ ἀπῆντα, nor would he have translated § 157 ἐγενόμην 'was made' where it is simply the aorist of εἰμί with definite numbers as in D. 38, 12, Thuk. 5, 26, Ar. Eccl. 277. I am afraid to touch on οὐχ ὅπως (§ 11) again (A. J. P. XXII 228), but an ellipsis of λέγω with ὅπως has never satisfied me. How often is a verb of saying used with ὅπως and how? It is not certain that ὅπως follows ὅτι blindly, and, in fact, any ellipsis is unsafe. There is, however, a suggestion of οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως. The rhythm of § 149 as well as the language points to a poetical semi-quotation: καὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὑμῶν τὰς ἀπορρήτους—ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ—[τὰς] τοῦτου γονάς. Cf. Ar. Eccl. 3 (paratr.): γονάς τε γὰρ σὰς καὶ τύχας δηλώσομεν. A student who needs a note on ἐπειδὴν and ὅταν (§ 34) would surely need a note here, to reinforce Demosthenes' ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ.

No more striking sign of the times than the publication of a Latin Phonetic, *Phonétique historique du Latin* (Paris, Klincksieck), for which a distinguished master of linguistic science, M. MEILLET, stands sponsor, and in which the author, M. NIEDERMANN, frankly discards all reference to Greek, as a language unknown to the majority of young Latin students, and cursed with an alphabet almost equally unknown. That is the passing of Greek with a vengeance. Not so much as the alphabet left. Some day the mathematicians will discard π , and if the *caret* mark \wedge remains, it will be because the world has forgotten that it stands for *λείπει*, and looks upon it simply as an entering wedge. Is Greek after all a 'drunken cloud' that has sailed over and is gone? Is it a mere shape that Zeus has conjured up to fool Ixion? But your 'robust and brass-bound man' has no fear. His cloud like Shelley's cloud is the daughter of earth and water, but *ἴδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένουσθε* has no terrors for him.

I am the daughter of earth and water,
The offspring of the sky;
I pass through the pores of ocean and shores,
I change but I never die.

Now there are those who contend that unless Greek change, it must die, that the argument of which we heard so much some years ago, that the truest as well as the easiest way to ancient Greek is through the modern tongue will not hold, that the 'lingo' we find in Greek books and newspapers and letters is a sham, and that the German compounds and the French syntax must give way to something truly alive. Greece itself is divided into two camps and the names of the protagonists, Hatzidakis and Psycharis (Psichari) are familiar even to those who know nothing of the great scholar and the brilliant *littérateur*. The controversy has borne bloody fruit, and some have even dared to die for the maintenance of the old tongue. In this battle of Bianchi and Neri I have neither the desire nor the equipment to engage, and my sympathies are somewhat divided. Every Greek scholar, who visits Greece and finds himself helpless when it comes to intercourse with the people, tries to get some comfort or at least some amusement out of the situation, as he contrasts the vocables that figure in the grammar with the words he hears in the street, and the artificial language of the signs that seem to have been contrived to delude the foreign Hellenist with the actual speech of muleteer and sailor. He jots down in his note-book the various forms that such a familiar name as *Οἰκονόμος* assumes in the *sggraffiti* of Athens—and smiles. And yet there is another side and a very practical side. No study, it is true, more interesting to the student of linguistics than the dialects of modern Greece, but there are few more complicated, and who has the time to wait

until the new and living tongue is born? Who would not miss such a means of intercommunication as the newspaper Greek of to-day? Artificial, it may be, but it lends itself wonderfully to the exigencies of modern life, and the style is not always the non-conductor that the Germans have been calling of late years the 'paper style'. In the hands of such a master as Bikélas, Modern Greek of the bookish pattern can yield the same thrill as any 'living' speech. All modern languages are more or less artificial. When the veriest rustic takes pen in hand, he leaves speech aside. All book English is to a certain extent unreal. If I cannot make out the jokes in the comic journals of Athens, I find it difficult to make out the jokes of some American newspapers that vie with one another in reproducing the slang of a world that is almost as strange to me as the abodes of the multiform dialects that Thumb has sampled.¹ But under the fresh impression of my visit to Greece ten years ago,² I recorded some of the thoughts that arose in me on this subject, and I recall them here merely to give a place in *Brief Mention* to the recent work of HATZIDAKIS, *Die Sprachfrage in Griechenland* (Athens, Carl Beck), written for the benefit of Western Europeans in a language that in Greece, as elsewhere, has come to the front as the language of technical scholarship. In this treatise the reader will find set forth in brief compass and with the cogency of an acknowledged master the contentions of the conservatives—which are these—(1) The formation and maintenance of the Modern Greek written language, for all these centuries down to the present day, is a natural consequence of the history of the highly conservative language of the Greeks, and their long, continuous and peculiar culture. (2) The language is not dead, nor are the many apparently antiquarian elements dead, as has often been maintained after the analogies of other languages.

¹ See B. I. Wheeler, A. J. P. XVIII 119 foll.

² In the perpetual struggle between the waking tongue of the people and the dormant language of the books, the school is on the side of the sleeping beauty—one dare not call it the dead language; and while the passionate insistence that it is not dead but sleepeth, will not recall the past to life, still it is impossible for the classical scholar not to feel touched when the patriotic archaizer apostrophizes the ancient tongue in the language of the disciple: 'To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life'. The modern tongue is too restricted, too carnal in its range. To expatiate on moral or aesthetic themes in the language of the Klephts does not seem feasible; and in the to and fro of this struggle the school is a great power. Theoretically we may ask, why not let the old language die the death? Why not abolish the old alphabet, introduce phonetic spelling throughout, and let things take their course? The processes are very much such as the Romance languages have passed through. There would doubtless emerge from the caldron, in which the disjointed language simmers, a new and beautiful creation. But it is impossible to reason thus with the archaizer. So long as the language of the people receives the grafts that are made on it from the old stock, so long as the dead tree revives at the scent of the waters of Castaly and Pieria, so long the archaizer will not lose courage' (A Spartan School, in the Atlantic Monthly for May, 1897.)

(3) It is absolutely impossible for the Greeks to throw this written language overboard, and to create another in its stead. And this third point is the practical point to which one always comes back.

K. F. S.: DR. HUSSEY has the distinction of being the author of the first *Handbook of Latin Homonyms* (Boston, Sanborn and Co., 1905), which has ever been published. The field examined is confined for the most part to the actual usage of those authors who are read in the schools and the list of homonyms, which is arranged alphabetically, is preceded by an introduction in which the author explains his work and gives an interesting account of the subject in general.

It is surprising that a phenomenon of such importance should have been so long ignored. Synonyms, words of the same meaning but of different form, have never lacked attention since the days of the Stoics. Homonyms, on the contrary, words of the same form but of different meaning, have been adequately treated only by the French.

Homonyms may be homophonic or merely homographic. The homophone is the father of the pun and in Latin the rarity of the one accounts for the scarcity of the other. The few puns evolved by the Roman mind between the time of Plautus and of Priscian were often repeated and, for the most part, have been carefully recorded. The homograph is much more common although, as a rule, it offers no practical difficulty except to the beginner.

But a book of homonyms is not intended as a 'Punster's Vademecum' nor is its usefulness exhausted by those who have not yet passed the stage of linguistic attainment represented by the man who ordered a carriage 'à deux cheveux' or who took 'riz de veau à la financière' to mean 'the laugh of the calf at the banker's wife.' On the contrary this book is the nucleus of a work which ought to be indispensable to the advanced scholar. For example, the 'silences of language' are as important to know as they are difficult to discover. DR. HUSSEY himself says that what an author avoids is almost as instructive as what he chooses. I venture to add that in the study of style silence is often quite as instructive as speech. As an interpreter of silence a complete list of homonyms and of their occurrence would undoubtedly be of the greatest possible value, and it is to be hoped that DR. HUSSEY will sometime complete the work which he has so well begun.

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WHOLE No. 107.

I.—ANCIENT SINOPE.

SECOND PART.

CHAPTER VI.

SINOPE UNDER PERSIAN RULE.

Sparta never had a Black Sea fleet or any great ambitions there. It was easy for her, when the Athenian sea power was broken, to leave Sinope to its fate, and the latter's independence wanes with the waning of Athens. The attack by Datames¹ in 370 B. C. shows us Sinope as no longer a Greek city fighting against non-Greeks, but rather as an object of strife between some Persians in possession of it and other Persians seeking to gain possession. If a Persian satrap ruled a long distance from the Great King his loyalty to him was likely to be somewhat loose in those days. Datames was anxious to carve out a little empire for himself in Asia Minor and went beyond his own satrapy of Cappadocia into Paphlagonia. After subduing large portions of it, his ingenuity conceived against Sinope itself a wily scheme which Polyænus has entered for us in his compilation of strategic operations.² Being in need of siege-engines and ships, he tricked the old enmity of the Sinopeans against Sestus into furnishing him with engineers and mechanics to construct them as if for operations against that distant town, but treacherously used them, when completed, for a combined land and sea attack upon Sinope itself. Artaxerxes Mnemon, getting information of the siege,

¹ Cf. Polyænus VII, 21, 2, 5.

² Ibid.

ordered Datames off, and he abandoned the siege and withdrew his ships by night.¹ But we get a glimpse of the perilous position of the city in the statement that the Sinopeans dressed their women as men and led them about the walls in order to create a false idea of numerical strength.² From all this we gather the impression of a strong Greek element in the population, but of a Persian political preponderance; for Artaxerxes II would scarcely have ordered Datames to raise the siege of an unsubdued autonomous Greek city.

It is probable, however, that Datames renewed the attack and subsequently entered the city. Certainly he succeeded in subduing large regions of Paphlagonia, including Amisus,³ and at some favorable season may afterwards have secured Sinope itself, which he desired for his capital. The evidence is numismatic. The coins with the nymph Sinope on one side and DATA with the eagle and the dolphin on the other must be assigned to Datames,⁴ and Six's⁵ argument that these pieces of money do not necessarily show that Datames was at any time in power at Sinope, but that they were made for him at the time when his relations with Sinope were friendly enough to secure mechanics and engineers can hardly have much force; for such a personal coinage implies possession of personal authority and ambition, and any appearance of these qualities would have been very carefully avoided by the wily Persian just at that time. The simpler and, as I think, the truer view of these coins and those of Orontobates, Vararanes, Ariarathes, Abdsasan and others⁶ is

¹ Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* II, p. 185 is in error when, referring to this attack, he says "Sinope fiel nach tapferem Widerstande in Datames' Hand"; cf. also p. 186, n. 1 "Über die Einnahme durch Datames cf. Polyæn. VII, 21, 2, 5; Aeneas 40, 4". Others as Meyer op. cit. V, 964 appear to make the same mistake, but it is definitely stated in Polyænus that Datames gave up the siege, and the language of Aeneas implies that Sinope was not captured. Cf. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, p. 193 f.

² Aeneas 40, 4.

³ Cf. Polyæn. VII 21, 1; Ps. Arist. *Oecon.* II 1350 b; cf. also Meyer op. cit., V, 964 and Nepos, *Dat.* 2-3.

⁴ Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 6, pl. I, 5; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 26, pl. II, 7; 1895, p. 169; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 434; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins, Pontus*.

⁵ *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 25.

⁶ Cf. Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 26 f.; 1895, p. 169; Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, p. LXXX f.; Head, *Num. Chron.* 1892, 253; Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, II 236; cf. also Head, *Hist. Num. and Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins*.

that they indicate Persian officials actually in power at Sinope.¹ Datames died in 362. We must then assign his acquisition of power in Sinope, if he did acquire it, to some time between this date and his interrupted siege in 370.

Sinope's isolated position keeps its internal condition from being wholly clear to us except at such times as some great power, being at its zenith, becomes so important as to draw the whole ancient world into its light. One of these epochs was in the time of Pericles; that of Alexander was another. Appian² tells us that Alexander on his great eastward march incidentally restored to Amisus by edict its freedom and autonomy, and Droysen³ surmises that the other Greek cities on the Pontus asked him for a similar service, but that their remoteness made him unwilling to deviate so far from the line of his larger movement, or to suffer the delay necessary to detaching troops for the purpose. This would indicate that the Greeks of Sinope were ready at any time for an uprising against Persian authority. But this is not quite in accordance with the clear inference, to be drawn from the definite details of Alexander's meeting with the embassy from Sinope. Among the Mardi, at the immense distance of 1500 miles from their own city, these Sinopean Greeks had come to the Persian court. They came to meet Darius and met Alexander. The great Macedonian did not put them under guard as he did the Lacedaemonian envoys to Darius. He told them that, being subjects of Persia, they had done right in sending ambassadors to its court. He released them on the further and express ground that they had not joined in the Greek league against himself.⁴ This incident reveals at least five facts. First, it shows the importance of the Greek element in Sinope, for these ambassadors were not Persians, but Greeks. Secondly, it shows that the Sinopean Greeks were loyal enough to Darius to send an embassy to him. Third, it shows that their acceptance of Persian authority was not sullen but rather willing, loyal, and cöoperative. Fourth, the contrast of Alexander's treatment of

¹ Cf. Reinach, *Trois Royaumes de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 10, whose language seems to imply a similar view. Cf. also Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Abdsasan is right. Head, *Six*, *Num. Chron.* 1885, and others give Abdemon. But in *Num. Chron.* 1893, p. 7, *Six* gives also Abdsasan.

² Appian, *Mithr.* 8, 83.

³ *Hellenismus I* 1, 247. He cites the case of Heraclea; cf. Memnon (*Phot.* 223, 40, c. 4).

⁴ Cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, III 24, 4; Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* VI 5, 6.

them with his treatment of the Lacedaemonians shows that they had had no active part in the alliance of the other Greeks against him. And fifth, it shows that they were so isolated from the affairs of the Aegean Greeks as to be practically neutral, so that Alexander could afford to consider them, although envoys to Persia, as friends of his own cause.

The vicissitudes of Sinope under the divided rule of the Diadochi cannot be known.¹ Not unlikely anarchy alternated with order; for at the close of this period we find the tyrant Scydrothemis in power. The name has a barbarian, perhaps a Paphlagonian, sound and Tacitus gives him the title of king, which is in fact more accurately descriptive than tyrant. Yet on the occasion of the mission of Ptolemy to obtain the statue of Serapis he calls an assembly of the people, who feel free to oppose his plans, and there is no suggestion of any use of troops or other force to put them down. We may infer from all this a vague general theoretic subjection to the Diadochi, but a practical autonomy with considerable democratic liberty and appeal to public assemblies.²

CHAPTER VII.

SINOPE AND THE PONTIC KINGS.

The practical autonomy of Sinope was one of the results of that division among the successors of Alexander which made their Empire fall back from its previous limits. Ground was thus cleared for the rise of the Pontic kingdom. And we must now see in the third century a descent of these barbarians upon the Sinopean civilization. The movement, though it is on a smaller scale, suggests the barbarian inroads of the Middle Ages. There is the same final outward defeat and the same victorious inward and permanent invasion of the minds and thoughts of the conquerors by the civilizing and organizing genius of the conquered. The tradition that when Mithradates, the subsequent founder of the Pontic kingdom, was serving with Antigonus, the ruler of the Syrian kingdom, the latter dreamed that he sowed gold in a field and that Mithradates ran away with the harvest, sufficiently

¹ Diod. XVIII 3 tells us that Paphlagonia was given to Eumenes, but nothing is said with regard to Sinope itself.

² Cf. Tac. Hist. IV 83, 84.

suggests the young man's rapid and ambitious appropriation of knowledge and power which brought him under suspicion and led to his flight into Cappadocia, where he made a realm for himself and ruled over it and even as far as the eastward coast of the Euxine.¹ Westward, however, the mountain rampart behind Sinope again secured its immunity from direct attack until the unsuccessful attempt of Mithradates II in 220 B. C.²

The intervening epoch shows the Hellenic civilization of Sinope in close relations with the rest of Greece. Significant in this connection are the coins which the Sinopeans struck of the Attic standard of weight and fineness and bearing a head of Athena closely conformed to the Attic type.³ Such uniformity in money clearly indicates intimate commercial intercourse. The silver coins of the Seleucid kings of Syria⁴ also circulated at Sinope between about the middle of the third century and 190. These two silver coinages in successive circulation at Sinope testify to her continuous freedom from the domination of the Pontic kings, whose fiat bronze money of the same type as that in other Pontic villages⁵ was immediately forced upon Sinope as the sole medium of exchange when Pharnaces finally took the town in 183 B. C. To the numismatic evidence I am glad to be able to add that among the inscriptions which Dr. Wilhelm has copied and studied there is one of this period from Histiaea in Euboea. The inscription is long and much mutilated, but clearly states that the Histiaeans extended to ambassadors from Sinope the privileges of proxeny and granted ἀσφάλεια, ἀσυλία, ἰσοτέλεια and other honors to Sinopeans who came to Histiaea.⁶ There are at Athens, moreover, numerous inscriptions which mention the names of Sinopeans,⁷ some of them doubtless of this period. These are an excellent though very general indication of transit between Sinope and Attica. And, finally, the prompt, generous, and effective assistance which Rhodes gave to Sinope when attacked by Mithradates II throws a strong light backward and

¹ Appian, Mithr. 9; Plut. Demetrius 4; On Mithradates Ktistes cf. also Diod. XIX 40; XX 111.

² Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 297.

³ Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 43.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁵ Ibid., p. 49.

⁶ Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 333. For the first two lines of the inscription not given there cf. Wilhelm, Proxenenliste aus Histiaia, in the Arch. Epigr. Mitt. aus Oester. 1892, p. 114.

⁷ Cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II 3, 3339-3358.

discloses the previous friendly and trading relations between the two peoples.

That attack itself, though unsuccessful, was the beginning of the end of Sinope's independence,¹ for it marks the practical recognition by the Pontic kings of the strategic importance of the town and of its natural destiny as the capital of the Pontic empire. At the same time it revealed the resourceful energy of the Sinopeans. They promptly built palisades at every point in the entire circuit of the promontory at which, in case of a sea attack, a possible landing could be made. Their colonies rendered efficient help. They also dispatched, as has been indicated above, an embassy to Rhodes appealing for help. The Rhodians responded at once by making three of their number a committee to purchase the needed arms, bow-strings, and engines of war, which the Sinopeans took home along with an amount of money. They also gave them wine, to the extent of 10,000 amphoras.² We get evidence of the military strength of Sinope from the fact that, with this help, the great power of the Pontic kingdom could not capture it.

When indeed it did finally fall, it was by a sudden and unexpected attack, perhaps in time of peace and through treachery³; for details of the capture by Pharnaces in 183 B. C. are significantly absent. And there is no evidence of other hostilities at the time. Nor does Sinope ever appear to have been taken by a protracted siege. It was naturally so nearly impregnable that surprise and perfidy were the only available means of capturing it. Sinope's colonies fell with it. Pharnaces deported the inhabitants of Cotyora and Cerasus to a spot not far from Cerasus and there formed a new colony named after himself, Pharnaceia.⁴ The Rhodians again showed their sympathy for Sinope⁵ by sending ambassadors to Rome to complain of the fate of Sinope

¹ Polybius IV 56, *καὶ τις οἶον ἀρχὴ τότε καὶ πρόφασις ἐγένετο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀχθείσης ἀτυχίας Σινωπεύσιν.*

² Cf. Polyb. I. c. For an amphora-handle with the name of a Rhodian month on it, which I found at Sinope, cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 296, 297.

³ Strabo, XII, 545; Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 34; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus II*, 122.

⁴ Arrian *Peripl.* 24 is speaking only in a general way when he says *αὐτῇ Φαρνάκεια πάλαι Κερασούς ἐκαλεῖτο Σινωπέων καὶ αὐτῇ ἀποικος*. Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*

⁵ Polyb. XXIV, 10; Livy XL, 2, 20.

but failed to push the matter.¹ Pharnaces also sent ambassadors, but in the meanwhile prosecuted his campaign against Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Cappadocia. The Romans sent envoys to examine into the situation, but they accomplished nothing. However, in 178 B. C. peace was made and Pharnaces retired in the main from the districts named, but retained Sinope itself.² About this time he removed his capital from Amasia to Sinope. At Amasia below the citadel in the smoothed rock are still to be seen the five tombs of the Pontic kings.³ The fifth one is in an unfinished state and the conjecture of Perrot⁴ is interesting, that this was Pharnaces'⁵ own sepulchre, the work upon which was abandoned for the construction of a new one at Sinope when he removed his seat of government to that place. But there are no monumental remains at Sinope to testify to the embellishment of the new capital by Pharnaces or even by Mithradates the Great.⁶

Although Pharnaces' successor, Mithradates III,⁷ did so much for Sinope that he was called Euergetes, his large-hearted and enterprising figure appears but briefly on its stage. He sent Dorylaeus to Crete for mercenary troops and while there the latter helped the Gnosians against the Gortynians.⁸ Mithradates III also had a share in the third Punic war⁹ by sending ships to assist the Roman fleet, but he was suddenly murdered in his capital,¹⁰ leaving behind him a wife and two boys, the older of whom became Mithradates the Great.¹¹ The limits of the present study prevent us from entering into the career of this strange and typical

¹ This was undoubtedly due, as Meyer (*Gesch. des Königreichs Pontus* p. 72) suggests, to the fear of injuring their commercial relations with the Pontus.

² Cf. Polyb. XXVI 6.

³ Appian, *Mithr.* 113; Hamilton, *op. cit.* I 339 ff.; Ritter, *Kleinasien* XVIII 154 ff.; Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 69; Strabo, XII 561; Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, p. 48.

⁴ Perrot, Guillaume, et Delbet, *Exploration Arch. de la Galatie, Bithynie, Mysie, Phrygie, Carie, et du Pont*, I 371 (cf. pl. 80). Reinach-Götze, *op. cit.* p. 288, thinks the fifth grave was for the successor of Pharnaces. This seems to me unlikely. Cf. next note.

⁵ Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 56 makes Pharnaces the fifth Pontic King. He would naturally have the fifth grave.

⁶ Cf. Lydia Paschkow, *Tour du Monde* (1889), p. 404.

⁷ Reinach-Götze, *op. cit.* p. 27.

⁸ Strabo, X 477.

⁹ Appian, *Mithr.* 10.

¹⁰ Cf. Strabo, I. c.

¹¹ The epithet "Great" does not occur at all in official documents and only rarely elsewhere (cf. Suet. *Caes.* 35 and *Eutrop.* VI 22).

combination of Oriental cruelty and despotism with Greek culture and comprehensiveness. Indeed Reinach's monograph, which tells us of the Greek playmates of his boyhood and of the twenty-two languages he could talk and familiarizes us with his empire 2500 miles in length and reaching from Greece itself to the land of the Colchians, has made such entrance wholly unnecessary. We need only note for Sinope's honor that it was his birth-place;¹ that he made it his capital,² improved its double harbor, fortified it and put it in condition to resist the Romans, and embellished it with a market-place, stoas, and a gymnasium;³ that his phil-hellenic appreciation⁴ led him to make Greek his official language,⁵ and to use Greek models in designing his coins, and to make the Sinopean Greek Diophantus his chief-general, through whom he freed the Greeks of the Tauric Chersonesus from the Scythian tyranny, as is shown by their grateful inscription discovered at Olbia.⁶ The lustre of his character is the lustre of Sinopic Hellenism, while his barbarities may reasonably be charged to the Pontic and Persian blood which he claimed to have in his veins.

CHAPTER VIII.

SINOPE UNDER THE ROMANS.

Sinope does not figure in the first war between Mithradates and the Romans. In the course of the second Murena intended, following the best advice available, to besiege Sinope as the key to the whole country⁷; but, while still far distant from this strategic point, he was defeated at the Halys by the energy of Mithradates.⁸ In the third war, however, Sinope is the scene of several important events. When Mithradates was forced by Lucullus to raise the siege of Cyzicus, he hastened away from the Propontis

¹ Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 423, says Amasia was his birth-place. But Strabo, who was related to Mithradates and himself came from Amasia, and hence would have known if Mith. had been born there, says (XII 545) ὁ δὲ Εὐπάτωρ καὶ ἐγεννήθη ἐκεῖ (Sinope) καὶ ἐτράφη, διαφερόντως δὲ ἐτίμησεν αὐτὴν μητρόπολιν τῆς βασιλείας ὑπέλαβεν.

² Cf. Strabo, l. c. and Cic. *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 21(8). For his palace at Sinope cf. Diod. XIV 31.

³ Strabo, l. c.

⁴ Bevan, *op. cit.* I, p. 153.

⁵ Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶ Cf. Dittenberger *Sylloge* 326.

⁷ Cf. Memnon 36 (Müller F. H. G. III, p. 544).

⁸ Appian, *Mithr.* 65.

into the Euxine; but a storm destroyed most of his fleet and he was obliged to flee in a pirate's boat to Sinope.¹ Thence he sailed to Amisus, leaving Sinope under the control of pirates, led by Leonippus.² Meanwhile Lucullus pushed on and finally came to Amisus, forced Mithradates to flee into Armenia, and turned his forces against the Pontic kingdom in general, taking such places as Heraclea. At last in 70 B. C. he appeared before Sinope.³

He found the pirates in full possession and confident in their sea power, for they had but lately defeated in a decisive battle fifteen triremes sent by the Romans under command of Censorinus.⁴ The leaders of the pirates were Leonippus, Cleochares and Seleucus. Dissensions existed among them, and Leonippus had previously, sometime before the naval attack by Censorinus, undertaken to negotiate with the Romans for the betrayal of the city to them. But the other two members of the triumvirate of pirates had discovered the plot, called an assembly of the Sinopeans, and disclosed the treachery of Leonippus. He, however, enjoyed the confidence not only of Mithradates but also of the people of Sinope and Cleochares and Seleucus were obliged to resort to assassination to get rid of him. Soon after this deed came the defeat of the Roman fleet by that of the pirates.

After the victory over the Romans the pirates ruled Sinope with a high hand. The insecurity of their position caused Seleucus to propose to Cleochares the delivery of the city to the Romans. Cleochares, who favored continued resistance to the Romans, objected to the plan, perhaps because it involved the massacre of the people. Finally the two men shipped their goods to Machares at Colchis at the eastern end of the Pontus, intending to follow later themselves. But Machares entered into friendly communication with Lucullus. Lucullus agreed to an alliance provided Machares would send no provisions to the Sinopeans. Machares not only agreed to the proposal but went so far as to divert to Lucullus supplies intended for the army of Mithradates. Under these circumstances Cleochares himself despaired of success against the Romans. He and his followers

¹ Appian, *Mithr.* 78. Memnon 42 also mentions the storm but is silent about Mithradates' escape in a pirate's boat.

² Memnon 53 (Müller F. H. G. III, 554) *Λεόνιππος δὲ ὁ σὺν Κλεοχάρει παρὰ Μιθράδατος τὴν Σινώπην ἐπιτραπείς.* Strabo, XII 546 *ὁ γὰρ ἐγκατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φρούραρχος Βακχίδης.*

³ Appian, *Mithr.* 82, 83.

⁴ On the name Censorinus at Sinope cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 310.

seized what valuables they could, gave their soldiers liberty to plunder the town, and fled in their lighter ships by night to the eastern end of the Pontus. Before starting, to avoid pursuit, they set fire to the remaining ships which were heavier and also (according to Plutarch) to the town. The sight of the flames apprised Lucullus of the situation. He ordered his scaling ladders against the walls, took the town, put 8000 of the pirates and their adherents to the sword, and then by a sudden change of plan stayed the slaughter, restored to the inhabitants their property, gave the city its freedom, and promoted its welfare.

The cause of the change was a statue which Lucullus saw lying upon the shore or being carried along by the citizens. It was wrapped up in linen and bound with ropes. But when uncovered at his command it proved to be the statue of Autolycus which the final haste of the pirates had prevented them from carrying away and which seemed to him to be the exact likeness of a figure which had appeared to him in a dream the very night before and had said to him "Go on a little further, Lucullus; for Autolycus is coming to see thee". The coincidence seemed to him a divine call to care for the city whose deity had so favorably appeared to him.¹ Thus Sinope passed into the power of the Romans and the story of its capture reveals one more phase in its strange, eventful history, and to almost every other possible form of government Sinope has now added a government by pirates. The transition to Roman rule marked an epoch in its history and a new era was dated from it, stamped on coins as the era of Lucullus.²

Some years of Roman order and organization, of Roman favor and Roman rebuilding, succeeded the anarchic violence of the piratical regime.³ But the next striking scene on Sinope's streets was the pomp and splendor of the funeral procession of Mithradates the Great. His own son, the worthless Pharnaces II, was in power in the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the northern shore of

¹ On the capture cf. Plut. Luc. 23; Appian, Mithr. 83, and Memnon's detailed account c. 53, 54 (source Nymphis of Heraclea, 3rd cent. B. C.); cf. also Cic. pro lege Manil. VIII 21; Oros. VI 3; Strabo XII 546, Eutrop. VI 8; Reinach-Götz, Mithr., pp. 352, 353.

² Cf. Eckel, *Doctrina Numorum* II 1, 394; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885; Head, *Hist. Num.*

³ Plut. Luc. 23 τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη. Appian, op. cit.; Memnon, op. cit. Cic., *De lege agr.* II 20, 353 shows that Sinope was under the Roman rule in the time of Pompey, who succeeded Lucullus in 66 B. C.

the Euxine. Thither the father, defeated by Pompey, had fled. But he met with an unfriendly reception and in despair ended his own life with poison and the sword.¹ To win the favor of Pompey, who was now at Sinope, Pharnaces sent the mutilated and all but unrecognizable corpse across the sea to him. But that large-hearted conqueror, whose own body, by a strange injustice of history, was to lie upon the Egyptian shore, decapitated, mutilated, dishonored and unburied, gave at his own expense a magnificent interment to his barbarian enemy. He viewed the body with emotion and averted eye and had it laid with marching and flute music in the royal tomb at Sinope.²

For going over to Rome Pharnaces received as his reward a kingdom on the northern shore; but it was too narrow for his ambitions, and while Pompey was absent in his western war with Julius Caesar, Pharnaces crossed the sea and took Sinope from Calvinus, who had been given charge of Pompey's territory. There are no details of the capture, but in 47 B. C. Caesar, after conquering Pompey at Pharsalus and pursuing him to Egypt, marched rapidly against Pharnaces and quickly overthrew him in the "veni, vidi, vici" battle of Zela. Pharnaces fled to Sinope by way of the Amisus road, made his ignoble agreement there with Calvinus that if allowed to depart in safety, he would remain upon the northern shore, whither he went to end his career by dying in battle, wounded by a personal enemy.³

Beginning with Pompey, Bithynia and Pontus were formed into one province.⁴ He endeavored to improve the condition of the cities he captured by giving them better laws and regulations,⁵ and we cannot doubt that after his visit to the place Sinope experienced the beneficial effects of his attentions. But the important event in the city's improvement was a considerable influx of new blood in the colony sent by Julius Caesar about 45 B. C.⁶

¹ Appian, *Mithr.* 111, 112; Dio Cass. XXXVII 3, 11-13; Plut. *Pomp.* 41; Oros. VI 5; Eutrop. VI 12.

² Plut. *Pomp.* 42; Appian, *Mithr.* 113; Dio Cass. XXXVII 14.

³ Appian, *Mithr.* 120; Dio Cass. XLII 46-8; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II 91, 92; Plut. *Caes.* 50; Suet., *Jul. Caes.* 35, 37; J. H. S. 1901, p. 59.

⁴ Strabo, XII 541; J. H. S. 1901, p. 60; and Schoenemann, *De Bithynia et Ponto, Provincia Romana* (Göttingen 1855); cf. also Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. I, p. 351.

⁵ Appian, *Mithr.*, 115.

⁶ Cf. Strabo XII 546; Pliny, *Epist.* X 91 "*coloniā Sinopensem*"; Pliny, *N. H.* VI 2 "*colonia Sinope*"; Appian, *Mithr.* 120, 121.

Another chronological era dates from this time.¹ It marks a new era of prosperity also. The evidence of an imperial coinage is always perfunctory, and in the C. I. F. or C. R. I. F. S. or C. I. F. S. (Colonia Julia Felix Sinope)² which now makes its appearance on the city's coins³ and in inscriptions on stone⁴ the "Felix" is not necessarily descriptive, and indeed shows itself with almost monotonous continuity down to the time of Gallienus. Even the *λαμπροτάτη*⁵ on a sarcophagus is tainted with a kind of municipal cant. But, as a matter of fact, becoming a Roman colony included very tangible municipal privileges as well as a strong addition to the population. The new colonists were not distributed throughout the city but occupied a separate quarter by themselves,⁶ while the remaining territory was occupied by the earlier inhabitants who had survived the fire and sword of the Mithradatic wars.

The history of Sinope being thus merged in the world-embracing history of Rome, its separate annals are largely lost to view. Almost the only mention of it at this time is found in Josephus who speaks of Marcus Agrippa's warm greeting of Herod there and the departure of the two in 16 B. C. upon an expedition to the Cimmerian Bosporus.⁷ The same old natural sources of commercial prosperity continued. The fish still appears on the coins and the figure of Ceres and the plough.⁸ Strabo⁹ writes of the beauty of the city and its surroundings in words to which we have referred in an earlier chapter. Roman mile-

¹ Eckel, *Doctr. Num.* II, 391 f.; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* I 357; Schoenemann, *op. cit.* p. 96; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 435.

² C. I. A. S. or C. A. S. (colonia Augusta Sinope) also occurs. It is not surprising to find Augustus' name on the coins. He was regarded as a king in Paphlagonia, temples were built to him, and his cult established, cf. *Revue d. Études Gr.* 1901, pp. 26-45.

³ Mionnet, *Descr. de Médailles Antiques* II 400 f.; IV 575 f.; Eckel, *Doctr. Num.* II 1, 389 f.; Rasche, *Lex. Num.* IV 2, 1105 f.; Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies* V, pp. 123, 174, 324, 474; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, pp. 6-10, p. 231, pl. I; Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* II, p. 238; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; *Six, Num. Chron.* 1885; Head, *Hist. Num.*; Schoenemann, *op. cit.* p. 96.

⁴ Cf. C. I. L. III 239, 6978.

⁵ Cf. *λαμπροτάτη κολωνεία* in *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 314.

⁶ Strabo XII 546, *ὡν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν δέδεκται καὶ μέρος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνων ἐστί.*

⁷ Josephus, *Arch.* XVI 21; Dio Cass. LIV 24.

⁸ Cf. Mionnet, etc., as cited above; Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.* p. 7, 4; pl. I 7.

⁹ XII 545, 546.

stones were set up in the vicinity and a multitude of inscriptions,¹ honoring Germanicus, Tiberius, Agrippina, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and other lesser Romans testify, if the testimony were needed, how completely Sinope had become merged in Rome.

And yet in a general way it seems permissible to indicate certain ascending stages by which the city's prosperity and honor were increased. Whatever the general welfare of Sinope under the Roman Republic, it nevertheless had to suffer from the self-seeking ambitions of its governors, who regarded their provinces as prizes to be exploited in their own interests. A better day came under the more solid government of the Empire, for there was at least some sense of responsibility felt by the proconsuls to the authorities at Rome. In the time of Augustus, however, Bithynia and Pontus were not an imperial province but were under the Senate.² Her proconsuls were appointed for a year at a time. Their characters doubtless varied very greatly and continuous plans for the improvement of the city, stretching over a considerable period, were unlikely to be made. But under Trajan Bithynia and Pontus became an Imperial province and its governor was obliged to consult the Emperor even upon matters of detail and to be responsible to him for his administration, so that an Imperial province, at least under such an Emperor as Trajan, was better off than a senatorial one. In the younger Pliny Sinope had a governor of unusually excellent personal qualities. His construction of an aqueduct, by which a much needed supply of pure water was brought from a distance of sixteen miles in the interior, testifies to his care for the physical well-being of the inhabitants, while his thoughtful and discriminating report in regard to the new superstition, Christianity, shows a similar consideration of mental and spiritual welfare.³

CHAPTER IX.

THE CIVILIZATION OF SINOPE.

"To high Sinope's distant realms
Whence cynics rail'd at human pride".

Tennyson, Persia.

The external history of ancient Sinope, as we have now studied it, interests us by its striking vicissitudes. But more important

¹ Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 310, 327-329.

² *Dio Cass.* LIII 12; *Strabo* XVII 840; *Suet.* Aug. 47; *Tac. Ann.* I 74.

³ *Pliny, Ep.* X 90, 91. On the aqueduct cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 131.

than battles, captures, recaptures, autonomies and successive subjections is the internal history of its people, the instruction their annals give in the development of the race in character and culture, government, occupation, literature, and art.

Sinope's position on the borderland between Orient and Occident gave it a strange and cosmopolitan mixture of nationalities. The Assyrian element was in force down to the fourth century. The native Paphlagonian was there. The subtle and finished Greek, with his peculiar power of communicating his civilization, the wily and treacherous Persian, and the resolute Roman successively found their way to the chief Pontic sea-port and despite depopulations and municipal tragedies of all sorts, Sinopean civilization must, in its rude frontier fashion, have acquired something of that universal character which Rome had in its larger and more magnificent way, when in its hour of power the different elements of the world were poured into it. There must have been, at first successive and afterwards synchronous, many different costumes and complexions, many languages spoken, many cults observed, many conflicting ideas of honor and dishonor and many individual acts both brave and base.

What the characteristic spirit and temper of the people of this frontier sea-port were is a question of profound interest. What mental and intellectual qualities did Sinope's able men nourish and develop? An answer seems obtainable and is what would naturally be expected. Life at the limit line of civilization is perpetually bringing forward sharp contrasts between the rude and the cultured, the cowardly and the brave, the blunt-minded and the keen. Constant hardship and privation teach such men to scorn delights and luxuries, to increase the catalogue of things they can go without and to write the articles of necessity in the fewest lines. The temper of mind becomes independent, brave, terse, and cynical. That this was the characteristic Sinopean spirit is evident from the quality of literary genius her men developed after being transferred to the congenial soil of Athens. The Sinopean product there was the keen laconic contempt of Diogenes (412-323) and in the new comedy ludicrous scenes drawn from the realism of life and executed with a fine scorn extending in Diphilus even to the chronology which makes Hipponax and Archilochus suitors of Sappho.¹ Not that Sinope

¹ Athen. XIII 599 d.

produced no historians or geographers,¹ for our appendix of Sinopeans will show that she did; but scarcely a line from them has survived and chroniclers seldom mention their names, while the apophthegms of Diogenes and the jests of Dionysius and of the brothers Diodorus and Diphilus² are repeatedly found in quotations and fragments which have had too much life in them to be allowed to die; and when the authors themselves passed away their honored names were cut into Athenian gravestones. The tradition that Diogenes fled with his father to Athens because the latter had been detected in forging or adulterating coins, the entrance of the young man into the school of Antisthenes, indeed the whole career of this remarkable cynic are not to be cited in this connection.³ Nor need the multiplied jests which Athenaeus and Stobaeus quote be exploited; but the individual courage amounting to recklessness which made Diogenes ask Alexander to get from between him and the sun, the casting aside of the wooden bowl after he saw the lad drink from the hollow of his hand, the reduction of his living quarters to a *piṭhos*, together with the coarse fun of the comic poets, perpetually directed against the irksome embarrassments of the parasitic temper, which cannot live from its own resources but eats the bread of belittling dependence upon the wealthy, may serve to reflect that ready individual courage of man against man, that cheerful acceptance of hardships in matters of food and shelter and especially that rough humor and biting scorn of everything soft and effeminate, which is continually putting itself in evidence all along the line of adventurous colonial life. The fully developed form of Sinope's peculiar talent, the only talent of which she gives any great literary evidence, coming to flower when transplanted to the favoring soil of Athens in such instances as that of Diogenes;⁴ of the brilliant slave Cynic, Menippus,⁵ whose skilful combination of prose and poetry led the Roman Varro

¹ E. g. Baton, Diophantus, and Theopompus.

² Cf. *Prosopographia Sinopensis*.

³ Cf. *Diog. Laer. Vitae Phil. VI*; cf. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik XXIII* (1901), p. 138; and *Six, Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 50, for coins with ΔΙΟ and 'Ιεροίου on them; cf. also C.I.G. 7074.

⁴ What time these men went to Athens it is impossible to tell, but probably it was early in their career, because they seem to have imbibed the spirit of Athenian life so deeply. Their fragments show no explicit references to their native town.

⁵ Cf. *Prosopographia Sinopensis*.

into imitation;¹ of Hegesaeus the Cynic,² and of the line of comic poets which I have indicated, clearly points back to its hardy beginnings in its indigenous Sinopean soil.

The scenic character of Sinope must always have tended to induce in its people a spirit of boldness and freedom. The mountains lay behind them and their lofty promontory commanded a far-reaching view of the sea. The combination of mountain and sea, together with their geographic isolation, must have helped them to that boldness and freedom of spirit and that individualism and enterprise for whose presence in the Greeks of the motherland so much credit is given to the similar features of her natural scenery. Such people have the travelling instinct and we are not surprised to find great numbers of them at Athens.³ A stronger testimony is the inscription of their names as *πρόξενoi* at Delphi,⁴ at Histiaea in Euboea⁵ and, more remarkably still, at the secluded interior town of Cleitor in Arcadia.⁶

Material for constructing the history of the governmental development of Sinope is meagre. The tantalizing numismatic list of magistrates⁷ belonging to the autonomous period yields the names of no specific offices. The names of only two tyrants⁸ are known and the mention of public assemblies is bare of details. From an inscription at Sinope (Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 312, No. 40) we know that in the Macedonian epoch there were *prytanies* as at Athens. We have a list of fourteen *πρωτάεις* of whom one is *ἐπιστάτης τῆς βουλῆς* and another *γραμματεὺς*. Even in Roman times details of the method of the city's government are lacking. The municipal functions of the priestly *πομπάρχης* are hardly evident beyond the obligation to give public games at his own expense.⁹ From Roman mile-stones we learn the name of Aur. Priscianus who was *praeses pr(ovinciae) P(onti)* and that *praeses* was used

¹ A good specimen of the Menippean satire is Seneca's Apocolocyntosis of Claudius. Cf. Bücheler's Petronius.

² Pupil of Diogenes, cf. Diog. L., VI 84. An inscription from Sinope makes even Perseus a Cynic, because he too carries a pouch and the *ἀρπη*, the equivalent of the Cynic's *βάκτρον*, cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), pp. 320-322. The harlot Sinope, who took her name from her native town, should also be cited, cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133.

³ Cf. Prosopographia Sinopensis. ⁴ Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 330.

⁵ Cf. Ibid., pp. 332, 333.

⁶ Cf. Ibid. p. 330.

⁷ Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 50.

⁸ Timesilaus and Scydrothemis.

⁹ Cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c., pp. 311, 312; J. H. S., 1900, p. 154; Revue des Études Anc., 1901, p. 138.

in a technical sense before the time of Diocletian. The change to *praesides* was made by Probus or Carus, not by Severus or Aurelian, as has generally been supposed (cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, pp. 240, 263; *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. pp. 328, 329; *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 139, n. 2). But Sinope's early constitutional history must go unwritten by moderns until the discovery of the ancient one which Aristotle composed.

We know more about the occupations of the people. The fish, the plough, the ship, are on the city's coins.¹ The maker of amphoras and other pottery,² the weaver of nets, the forger of steel implements of good repute,³ the wood-cutters who felled the trees for the timber-exports,⁴ the skilful Greek engineers and ship-builders,⁵ were all there. The slave was there, though only two are known by name,⁶ the physician⁷ also and the priest and priestess,⁸ the soldier, and the sailor, always in evidence at such a sea-port. The lyre held by Apollo on coins⁹ reminds us of the presence of musicians. And for the hours of recreation there were athletic contests and, at least in Roman days, though no remains of any amphitheatre are to be found, bull-fights and hunting exhibitions.¹⁰

The early settlement of Sinope by the Milesian Greeks guaranteed its people a continuous course in physical culture. One of them took the prize for boxing in the contest *ἀγνεύουσιν πυγμῆν* at the Amphiaraia at Oropus about 350 B. C.¹¹ An Attic inscription gives us the list of victories won by the Sinopean Valerius Eclectus in 248 A. D.¹² Still another, Damostratus, won six

¹ For the fish cf. Head op. cit.; Six, *Num. Chron.*, 1885; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; for the plough cf. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 7, no. 4, pl. I 7; for the ship's prow cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 135.

² Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. pp. 294-302.

³ Cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 143.

⁴ Cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, pp. 140, 141.

⁵ Cf. p. 245 and Polyæn. VII 21, 2, 5 who says the Sinopeans had a multitude *ἀρχιτεκτόνων, τεχνιτῶν, τεκτόνων, ναυπηγῶν*.

⁶ Manes: cf. Aelian V. H. 13, 28; Diog. Laert. VI 55; Seneca, *De Tranq. Animi* VIII 5; Strabo VII 304; Strabo XII 553; Menippus: cf. *Prosopogr. Sinopensis*. Cf. also Plaut. *Curc.* 443.

⁷ Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., p. 315, no. 44.

⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 312, no. 39; p. 322, no. 63.

⁹ Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, pl. II 18, 19; *J. H. S.* IX. p. 300.

¹⁰ Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., p. 311.

¹¹ Cf. Hestiaeus in *Prosopogr. Sinopensis*, also *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., p. 330.

¹² Cf. *Prosopogr. Sinopensis*.

wrestling contests at the Isthmian games.¹ I may add that there is at Sinope itself at least one evidence of athletic glory. I found there an inscription of which only one word remains, but that word is *παράδοξος*, a victor in the *πάλη* and *παγκράτιον*.² All these evidences point to a multitude of other successful Sinopean contestants and to a still larger multitude of unsuccessful ones. This love of athletics would, of course, be self-evident in Roman times, even without Strabo's mention of the gymnasium³ and without the inscription which gives the name of its director, Claudius Potellius.⁴

Ancient Greece had one great literary focus at which, unless hindered by some special civic enmity, as in Pindar's case, all literary genius centred. The literary element in Sinope's civilization, therefore, must not be judged by the works published within her walls; for no such publications, unless possibly it be the editing of her edition of Homer,⁵ can be proved. She must be judged rather by the product of her citizens after they had migrated to the motherland. That product included the long list of Baton's histories, the work on earthquakes by Theopompus, who is sometimes considered a geographer and sometimes an historian, and the writings of Diophantus, who was historian as well as general; it included the Cynic philosophies of Diogenes, Menippus and Hegesaeus, and the Epicurean of Timotheus of the first century B. C.; it included the comedies of Dionysius, Diphilus, and Diodorus, and the epigrams of Heracleides.⁶ In the field of oratory, in fine, we must not forget Xenophon's critical estimate of Hecatonymus as *δεινὸς λέγειν*.⁷ On a previous page I have already indicated the field in which men of Sinopean origin said their best remembered words. But the list of names we have just recited shows that their general literary activity was not inconsiderable.

Sinope cannot boast with certainty of any painter or sculptor.⁸ Doubtless she had paintings which, like those of the rest of the Greek world, have perished. In any case, her streets and squares and shrines were not devoid of statues. Those of her great Cynic⁹ may possibly have been carved in Sinope itself, but the

¹ Anth. Plan. 3, 25.

² Strabo XII 545.

³ Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133.

⁴ Cf. Xen. Anab. V, 5, 7.

⁵ *Χρηστικός* is simply a *λειτουργός* of late date, cf. Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 331.

⁶ Diog. Laert. VI 78.

⁷ Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 324.

⁸ Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 311.

⁹ Cf. Prosopogr. Sinopensis.

celebrated figure of Autolycus, which probably had its shrine, for he was consulted as an oracle, was the work of the Olynthian Sthennis in the fourth century.¹ As to the sculptor of the storied statue of Serapis, which according to Tacitus and others was carried off to Egypt, we are not informed.² And as to the precise nature of the "sphere" of the astronomer Billarus we are equally left in the dark.³ In later years statues of the emperors would multiply and doubtless the cylindrical stone, now there, whose top is hollowed out into a mortar for grinding corn, and which bears an inscription to Marcus Aurelius⁴ was the pedestal of a statue set up in his honor. No doubt many pieces of sculpture have been carried off to other lands. There is, for example, in the Museum at Constantinople an excellent sarcophagus from Sinope with sculptures of boys bearing grapes. Many of plainer type are still to be seen in Sinope. We have already had occasion⁵ to mention the archaic coins of the fifth century bearing a head with bulging eyes, high cheek-bones and typical smile, and on the reverse the simple incuse square, and we have noted the finer coins that were minted after Athenian influences had come with Pericles, after 444 B. C.⁶ The relief of Hera with a nymph before her mentioned in the *Syllogos*⁷ I could not find; but I discovered a "Funeral Banquet" relief of Roman date, which has not been published. The execution is not of high order but the design is worthy of mention because it is the only specimen, so far as I know, which depicts so many pieces of armor together. Usually there is only a shield or a helmet, but in this one there are helmet, shield, greaves, and spear represented as hanging on the wall. It is about 0.31 high by 0.35m. in width. Perhaps one should not omit the two lions of inferior Roman workmanship, one built into the wall, the other lying on the ground. These and the "Funeral Banquet" relief just mentioned are the only objects of ancient art I noticed in Sinope, aside from a few terracotta figurines. The disfigured bust thought by the inhabitants to represent Autolycus has been carried off from its niche in the wall of the Byzantine tower.⁸ Meagre as these materials are, they

¹ Strabo XII 546; Appian, *Mith.* 83; Plut. *Luc.* 23; Löwy, *Inscripfen Griech. Bildhauer* 103^a, 481, 541; Sthennis of Olynthus is identical with Σθέννης 'Ἡποδῶρον' Ἀθηναῖος; cf. also Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, 1343-1349.

² Cf. Chap. X init.

³ Strabo XII 546.

⁴ C. I. L. III 239, 6978.

⁵ Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 151.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.* p. 153.

⁷ *Syllogos* κς' 1900, pp. 263-264.

⁸ Cf. Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

enable us to think of Sinope as having some satisfactions, perhaps much more numerous than we can now conceive, for the constant human desire to fix the forms of men and living things in stone.

Of the architecture of ancient Sinope, its art as carried into building, no more can be said than of its other art. Notwithstanding the care¹ with which the city was built, the old structures have perished. The only possible trace I could find of the aqueduct is in the arches against which part of the city wall is built.² The wall also contains, as before noted,³ pieces of architraves with inscriptions and columns. Two of these inscriptions testify to a building, or at least parts of a building, having been erected at the expense of certain individuals.⁴ We know that different men did sometimes put their means together to erect a structure, while at other times the whole building was finished at the expense of one person.⁵ Either supposition may have been the fact in regard to these fragments. Quarries still exist out on the promontory.⁶ The finest of Mithradates' palaces was at Sinope⁷ but all its adornments, together with the stoas, gymnasium, and market-place of later times, have disappeared and left no trace.⁸

CHAPTER X.

THE CULTS AT SINOPE.

Many deities were worshipped at Sinope. The literary evidence, which consists of Strabo's account of an oracle of Autolycus⁹ and of what Tacitus, Plutarch, Macrobius and Clement of Alexandria say about Ptolemy's securing the image of Serapis from Sinope, is scant.¹⁰ But the inscriptions upon altars and upon other stones, together with the legends and figures on coins, afford a considerable bulk of testimony. By collating this we find at Sinope cults of seven gods out of the Great Twelve: Zeus, Apollo,

¹ Strabo XII 545.

² Cf. *ibid.*

³ Cf. *ibid.* p. 307.

⁴ Reinach-Götz op. cit., p. 287; Diod. XIV 31; Cic. De Imp. Cn. Pomp. 21(8).

⁵ Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 130.

⁶ Strabo XII 546.

⁷ Tac. Hist. IV 83, 84; Plut. de Iside et Osir. c. 28, 362a (source Manetho); De Sollertia Animalium 36, 984; Eust. ad. Dionys. Per. 255; Steph. Byz. s. v. Clem. Protrept. IV, 48 (26 ed. Sylburg); Macrobius Saturn. I 4; Cyrill. Jul. p. 13.

Athena, Hermes, Ares, Poseidon, and Demeter;¹ of five of the later importations: Dionysus, Asclepius, the Dioscuri, Serapis, and Isis;² of four mythical heroes: Autolycus, Phlogius, Perseus, and Heracles;³ of four astral divinities: Helios, Selene, Hydrachoos, and Sirius;⁴ and of six of the abstract or generalized conceptions: Nemesis, Themis, Eros, Nike, Hygieia, and Fortuna.⁵ I found there also an altar *θεῶ μεγάλῳ ὑψίστῳ*.⁶ Lanaras had previously discovered one *θεῶ ὑψίστῳ*.⁷ There are no large altars. That such existed we may argue from the presence of the great statues of Autolycus and Serapis, but the iconoclasm of the Christian and of the Mohammedan has left no trace of them. Those to be seen at Sinope, numerous as they are, are small. The largest one stands in a field and is only 91 cm. in height, including the rough portion of 17 cm. which was under ground.⁸ Two others about 50 cm. high have been carried into an apothecary shop.⁹ Another, 58 cm. high, stands in a back yard,¹⁰ and another, 49 cm. high, supports the wooden post of a porch.¹¹ All have the same general form, with projecting bases and tops, and

¹ *Ζεὺς δικάϊστος μέγας*, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 302; *Ζεὺς ἡλῖος ναυδάμηνος ἐπήκοος*, Ibid. p. 303; for a similar epithet of Zeus, *εὐρυδάμηνος*, cf. *Revue Arch.* 1888, II, p. 223; Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition, no. 589; J. H. S. XVIII, p. 96; Ramsay, *Cl. Review*, 1905, pp. 417, 419. The Sinope inscription does not favor Ramsay's connection of the epithet with Men, the moon-god. The epithet is probably local. Hermes, Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 323; on Poseidon cf. below. All seven appear on coins, cf. works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

² Asclepius, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 306; Serapis, Ibid. pp. 315, 331; Isis, Ibid. p. 312; for Dionysus, the Dioscuri, Serapis, and Isis cf. works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

³ Autolycus, Strabo XII 546; Appian, *Mithr.* 83; Phlogius, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 306; Perseus, Ibid. pp. 320-322. Heracles, Ibid. p. 305, also on coins, cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques* p. 230, no. 13; *Num. Chron.* 1885, pl. II, 18; for Heracles and Perseus cf. also the works on coins cited. For Perseus at the neighboring town of Amisus cf. Cumont, *Revue Archéologique* V (1905), pp. 180 f. Perseus was the mythical ancestor of the Achaemenidae with whom Mithradates the Great, born at Sinope, claimed relationship.

⁴ Cf. Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 323. For the head of Helios on coins of Sinope cf. Mionnet, op. cit. suppl. IV, p. 574, 131; British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Pontus, pl. XXII, 15. De Koehne, *Description du musée de M. le prince Kotschoubey* p. 59 thinks that the cult of Helios was introduced into Olbia from Sinope. Cf. Hirst, *The Cults of Olbia*, J. H. S. XXII, p. 43.

⁵ Hygieia, Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 306; Themis, Ibid. p. 323; for the others cf. works on coins as cited above.

⁶ Ibid. p. 304.

⁷ Ibid. p. 306.

⁸ Ibid. p. 303.

⁹ Ibid. p. 306, nos. 28, 29.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 305.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 304.

inscriptions occupying the smooth space between. The inscriptions are upon one side only and have the same general wording, conveying the name of the dedicator, the god to whom set up, and a general votive expression.

The statue and the shrine of Autolykus imply a temple where those who consulted the oracle of the city's founder might meet.¹ The two-columned portico in which Nemesis stands on many imperial coins is proof that a temple of that goddess existed at Sinope.² Another temple appears from the expression of the woman Rheipane, who declared herself honored because she dwelt "near pure Serapis", i. e., near to his temple.³ If we receive the stories which relate the carrying off of Serapis to Alexandria their mention of a colossal statue and of the worship of the god at Sinope are another indication of the existence of his temple there. Other temples there doubtless were to other gods named in the lists already given, but these three are reasonably certain.

The sea-girt peninsula would not long be without some worship of Poseidon.⁴ On coins⁵ the figure of the god appears both seated and standing and in both cases with the familiar dolphin and trident, one in one hand, the other in the other. The prominence of this cult at Sinope appears from a decree giving valuable perquisites to the priest of Poseidon Heliconius.⁶ He is to be exempt from military duty. At public contests he is to have a wreath and wine. In certain months he is to have the right leg, the loins, and the tongue of public sacrifices, and of private sacrifices the loins or shoulder-blade and breast. The worship of this god would naturally begin at an early date, and we find his image on many pre-imperial coins as well as upon those of the later emperors.

¹ Cf. Strabo XII 546; Appian, Mithr. 83.

² Cf. coins of Trajan, Caracalla, Maximinus, Gordianus, Philippus Junior, also Faustina, Tranquillinus in works cited, p. 256, note 3.

³ Cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 315. The temple undoubtedly stood in the Greek Quarter where this inscription and Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 312, no. 40 were found, not at the narrowest part of the isthmus just outside the walls to the southwest, where a Byzantine church was excavated, as is stated in Parnassos VI 869.

⁴ Cf. the name Poseidonius on vase-handles from Sinope, Am. J. Arch. l. c. pp. 300, 301. Ποσειδών occurs as the name of one of the months, cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge², 603.

⁵ Cf. Head, Hist. Num. p. 435 and other works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

⁶ Cf. Dittenberger l. c. Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 331, no. 87, also shows worship of Poseidon.

The significance of Sinope's worship of Apollo is somewhat obscure. He was regarded as the founder of Miletus,¹ and Sinope was founded by the Milesians who naturally would promote the worship of their home-god at the new settlement. The migration of the god from the west is further indicated in those forms of the story of the rape of Sinope which spoke of her as being brought from Boeotia by Apollo.² The representations on coins are various. One is an archaic figure standing near a tripod, with laurel branch in one hand and an ointment vase in the other. Another represents him with laurel wreath, seated on the omphalos, with lyre in hand.³

The most prominent Sinopean deity was Serapis. From the time of Hadrian on by far the most frequent figure on her coins was Serapis,⁴ and if we go back to the fourth century B. C. the testimony of the great Cynic is decisive in the same direction. The Athenians declared Alexander to be Dionysus.⁵ "Then call me Serapis" said Diogenes, implying of course that that was the important local god of his native city.

The worship of the heavenly bodies was always prominent at Sinope. Its name was probably connected with Sin, the Assyrian moon-god and its early Assyrian settlers doubtless brought that worship with them.⁶ There has heretofore been no known Sinopean inscription with Selene expressly mentioned nor even any representation of Selene on coins; but a new inscription contains the names of six deities, one of which is Selene.⁷ This is one more testimony to the persistence of the moon cult. It is worth noting that three of the other names, Helios, Hydrachos, and Sirius, also belong to heavenly bodies, the remaining two being Themis and Hermes.

The Sinopeans hearing of Serapis in Egypt, a combination of Osiris, the sun-god, and Apis,⁸ identified him with their own native god, Zeus Helios, and the Egyptians in turn hearing of the Sinopean deity, Zeus Hades, who Reinach thinks was none other

¹ Curtius, Gr. Geschichte I 493. ² Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 147, 148.

³ Cf. Head, Hist. Num. p. 435 and other works cited, p. 256, note 3.

⁴ Num. Zeit. XXI (1889), pp. 2 f., 385 f. A table I made shows that Serapis is the most frequent figure on imperial coins. Nemesis is second.

⁵ Diog. Laert. VI 63.

⁶ Cf. chap. IV (A. J. P. XXVII, p. 144 f.)

⁷ Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 323.

⁸ Wilcken, Sarapis und Osiris-Apis (Archiv III, p. 249 f.) objects to the derivation of Serapis from Osiris and Apis. But cf. Lehmanns, Sarapis contra Oserapis, Beitr. z. alt. Geschichte IV (1904), p. 396.

than the hellenized national god of the Paphlagonians,¹ identified him with their Serapis, giving him attributes not Egyptian. Something like this, I think, is the explanation of the story that arose about Ptolemy Soter having the colossal statue of the god of Sinope brought to Alexandria.² In any case Helios and Serapis were practically identified even in Egypt, just as we know them to have been in Sinope.³

Along with the worship of Serapis naturally goes that of Isis, whose head occurs on coins. A priestess of Isis is known from an inscription found at Sinope.⁴

The cult of the emperors, which in the provinces was so strong as a political and social unifying force, flourished in Paphlagonia, where we know there was, for example, a temple and cult of Augustus.⁵ A similar worship doubtless existed in Sinope. Perhaps the inscription to Marcus Aurelius found there indicates divine honors paid to him. The strongest evidence of emperor worship in Sinope is the head of Augustus or some other emperor on what we may call the divine side of coins, that is, the side where the figures of deities were usually placed, and the name of some other as yet undeified emperor on the other side.

Finally came Christianity, which placed the cross⁶ upon tombstones and churches and for a time caused the pagan temples to

¹ Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II 291. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten*, p. 11 f. thinks Serapis is a chthonic deity native to Egypt and not originally an oriental god as believes Preuschen in his *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult*. So also Bouché-Leclercq, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* XLVI (1902), p. 1 f. On Serapis-cult at Alexandria cf. also Lafaye, *Histoire des divinités d'Alexandrie* p. 16 f.; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 1576 f. (Von Müller's *Handbuch der kl. Alt. V*, 2, 2, 3); Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 72; *The Silver Age of the Greek World* p. 401.

² Zoega, *Nummi Aegyptii*, p. 133, no. 309, thinks a coin of Hadrian represents the Sinopean statue being taken on board ship. On the whole mooted question cf. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians* III, p. 95 f.; Plew, *de Sarapide* (Königsberg 1868), p. 20, who takes the name of the mountain near Memphis, Sinopion, to be a mere fiction to connect the Sinopean tradition with that of Memphis, and rightly I think, cf. also J. H. S. VI (1885), p. 289 f.; *Jahrbuch des arch. deut. Inst.*, 1897, *Anzeiger*, p. 169; 1898, pp. 154, 166 f., 172 f. Representations of Serapis in art always follow the Greek type probably created by Bryaxis, cf. Reinach, *Le moulage des statues et le Sérapis de Bryaxis*, *Revue Arch.* XXXIX (1902), p. 5 f.

³ C. I. G., 4683 f.; *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 306, no. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁵ Cf. p. 256, note 2.

⁶ Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., pp. 311, 322, 325, 326, 329.

be all but deserted and nearly ruined the market for sacrificial animals. Many of the Christians, about whom Pliny the younger wrote in his famous letter¹ to Trajan, must have lived in Sinope, for the "contagion of this superstition" "seized upon the cities", of which Sinope was an important one. "The Christians were wont to meet together on a stated day, before it was light, and to sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ as to God and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft or robbery or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them when called upon to return it". A fuller discussion of the Christian worship of this district as referred to in Pliny's letter belongs to the domain of Church History rather than to this paper. Yet any account of Sinopean cults would be incomplete without this much.

PROSOPOGRAPHIA SINOPENSIS.²

'Αγαθόδωρος, φροντιστής, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. IX, (1905), p. 322, no. 61.

'Αγ[ε]ίδας Βαβύττου, πρότασις, *ibid.* p. 313.

'Αθήναιος 'Αντιάνδρου Σινωπεύς grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3339.

'Αθηνίω[ν] Διονυσίο[υ] Σινωπ[ε]ύ[ς], grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3340.

Διβούτιο[ς] Μά[ξι]μο[ς], grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 318, no. 53.

Διμιλιανός 'Οφιλλίου Κουρίωνος, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 318, no. 52.

Δισχίνης, vase-fabricant, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 20.

'Ακύλας. Cf. *ibid.* p. 324, no. 68 Φλ]αμιν[ί]ου 'Ακύλα.

'Αμφίλοχος Εὐγ[ενίδου], *ibid.* p. 320.

'Α[ο]υείτος, φοράρις (forarius), dedicator to Helioserapis, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 30. Cf. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* III, 1, no. 93.

'Απατούριος, vase-fabricant, *ibid.* p. 299, no. 11.

'Απήμα]ντος, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 15.

'Απολλωνίδης Ποσ(ε)ιδωνίου, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 300, no. 12; p. 301, nos. 16, 17.

'Απολλώνιος Μενάνδρου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone in Athens, cf. Robinson, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1904, no. 49, cols. 1566 f.

¹ Plin. Ep. X 96.

² This list includes all names noted in inscriptions from Sinope and those of Sinopeans found elsewhere. Father's names are as a rule not listed separately.

Ἀρία Πρέιμα. Cf. s. v. Ἑρμων.

Ἀρίστ[αρ]χ[ο]ς [Ἀρ]ιστά[ρχ]ο[υ], πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 313.

Ἀρτε]μίδωρος, vase-maker, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 15.

Ἀ]σκ[λ]ηπιόδωρος Ὀλύμπου, πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313.

Ἀτταλος, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 302, no. 22.

Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀφροδισίου, πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313.

Ἀφροδίσιος Εὐπόρου Σινωπεύς, ἔφηβος, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 467. Cf. also s. v. Εὐπορος.

Βάκχιος Μνήσιος, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Βάτων Σινωπεύς, ῥήτωρ and historian; Strabo XII, 546; Athenaeus VI, 251 e; X, 436; XIV, 639 d; Plut., Agis 15; Susemihl, *Gesch. der Gr. Lit. der Alexandrinerzeit* I, 635 f; Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie* s. v. Baton; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* IV, pp. 347-350. Date, third cent. B. C. Cf. also s. v. Menippus.

Βίλλαρος, astronomer, possibly a Sinopean. Cf. Strabo XII, 546.

Βόηθος Λυσιμάχου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3341.

Β]οῖσκος Μοναί . . . , dedicator, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 306, no. 32.

Γάεις Ἀπολλωνί[δου] Σινωπε[ύς], grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2907.

Γλαυκίας, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 301, no. 21.

Γλῆρις Λεμβίου, πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313.

Δαμόστρατος Σινωπεύς, athlete who won six times in the πύλη at the Isthmian games, epigram. Cf. Anth. Plan. III, 25.

Δημήτριος Φίντιος, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Δημήτριος Σινωπεύς, cavalry soldier and land-owner in Egypt. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Amherst Papyri*, part II, nos. XLII and LV. Date, first half of second cent. B. C.

Δημόστρατος Προμηθίωνος, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Διογένης, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 297, no. 6.

Δι]ογένης, φιλόσοφος, *ibid.* p. 308.

Διογένης ὁ Σινωπεύς, the famous Cynic philosopher (414-323 B. C.); cf. Strabo XII, 546; Diog. L. *Vita Diog.*; epigram in Preger, *Inscr. Gr. Metricae* no. 166. Possibly a tragedian also; cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 3804 and Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie* s. Diogenes. C. I. G. IV, 7074 Διογένης Ἰκεσίου Σινωπαῖος is probably a forgery.

Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς = Διόδωρος Δίωνος Σημαχίδης in I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343. Comic poet; cf. Athenaeus VI, 235 e, 239 b; X, 431 c; Preuner, *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk* p. 72; Meineke,

Hist. Crit. pp. 418-419; Frag. Com. Graec. III, pp. 543-546. Meineke and Kaibel in Pauly-Wissowa op. cit. and A. Müller (Philologus LXIII, p. 354) classed him under the Middle Comedy, but Capps (Am. J. Arch. IV (1900) p. 83) has shown that he is a poet of the New Comedy. He took part in the comic contests at Delos in the years 284 and 280 B. C. (B. C. H. VII, pp. 105, 107. The dates given are those of Homolle, Archives de l'Intendance sacrée pp. 58, 127, which are two years later than in the B. C. H.). Diodorus was also second and third at the Lenaea in Athens in 288 with the plays *Νεκρός* and *Μαινόμενος*. Diodorus was granted Athenian citizenship and is called an Athenian in Auctor Lex. Hermann, p. 324. His deme is given in I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3343 on the family tomb-stone on which the name of Diphilus also occurs. For the inscription, which Wilhelm has rediscovered, cf. Wilhelm, Urkunden Dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen (Sonderschriften des Oest. Arch. Inst. in Wien, Band VI), p. 60. The identification of Diodorus and Diphilus as comic poets is due to Kumanudes, but he thought that Diodorus, father of Dion, was the comic poet. Capps (l. c.) with the aid of I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 972 proves that the comic poet was the son of Dion and flourished about 300 B. C. Kirchner, op. cit. 3959, thinks the Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος of B. C. H. VII, p. 105 is not a different poet, wrongly citing Capps. This Diodorus must be different from the Διόδωρος Σιωπηύς, whose name follows that of Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος among the κωμικοὶ. The ethnonym Σιωπηύς is used in the Delian inscriptions (B. C. H. VII, pp. 105, 107) because Diodorus of Sinope did not receive Athenian citizenship till after 282 B. C. or because he preferred to be known in Delos as a Sinopean to distinguish him from an Athenian of the same name who was performing at the same time in Delos. There is no reason for Wilhelm's suggestion (op. cit., p. 61) that Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος was also from Sinope and Διόδωρος Σιωπηύς was his nephew, son of Diphilus. A comic actor by the name of Diodorus occurs also in B. C. H. IX, p. 134. Diodorus should not be read in G. D. I. 2565, l. 42 as restored by Kirchner Pros. 3934, cf. Wilhelm, op. cit. p. 245.

Διονύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου Σιωπηύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3342.

Διονύσιος Σιωπηύς, poet of the New Comedy; cf. Pauly-Wissowa s. Dionysius (105); cf. Meineke, Hist. Crit. I, p. 419; Frag. Com. Graec. III, 546-555; Athenaeus XI, 467 d, 497 c; XIV, 615 e.

In the last passage Athenaeus quotes the play of Dionysius called *Ὀμῶνυμοι*; cf. also IX, 381 c. This led astray both Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 13 and Streuber, op. cit. p. 90, who say there was a grammarian Dionysius from Sinope who wrote *περὶ Ὀμῶνυμων*. In I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 977 m, l. 2 the name Dionysius should be read, cf. Wilhelm, op. cit. pp. 128 f., 135, 180.

Διονύσιος Σινωπεύς, grave-stone in Rhodes, I. G. (I. G. Ins.) XII, 1, 465.

Διονύσιος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 301, no. 18.

Διονύσιος Ἀρχίππου, ἐπιστάτης τῆς βουλῆς and *πρύτανης*, ibid. p. 313.

Διονύσιος Προκλείου Σινωπεύς, Kumanudes, *Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι* no. 2396; *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1852-1855, p. 921, no. 1505. This inscription is omitted in the Corpus. For *Πρόεδρος* cf. infra.

Διόφαντος Ἀσκαπιοδώρου Σινωπεύς, general of Mithradates the Great, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 331, no. 85. Perhaps to be identified with the author of the *Ἱστορίαι Ποντικάι* (cf. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* IV, p. 396). Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa Encycl. s. v. Diophantus gives the third cent. B. C. as the date of the historian Diophantus, but I see no reason for placing him so early. Agatharchides who quotes him belongs to the end of the second cent. B. C. (cf. Niese, *Gesch. der Gr. und Mak. Staaten I*, p. 12). Diophantus' victory over the Scythians was about 110 B. C. and he may have written the *Ποντικά* before then. A man who knew all about the Pontus would be just the one to send on such an expedition: Niese, *Rhein. Mus.* XLII, p. 569 makes the identification.

Διόφαντος Εὐλαμπίχου, πρύτανης, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Δίφιλος Δίωνος Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343, poet of the New Comedy, brother of the comic poet Diodorus, cf. supra; cf. Meineke, *Hist. Crit.* I, 446 f., *Frag. Com. Graec.* IV, 375-430; Strabo XII, 546; Anonym. de Com. XXX, XXXI; Susemihl, *Gesch. der Gr. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit I*, 260 f. Floruit about 320, cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 977 g and Capps, Am. J. Arch. IV (1900) p. 83, note. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa op. cit. s. Diphilus and Wilhelm, op. cit. pp. 123, 132.

Δίων Διοδώρου Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343, father of Diphilus and Diodorus.

Δῶρος Διοσκουρίδου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2908.

Δῶρος, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 1.

Σίλξτος Ἐγγάτιος Ἐγγατίου ὁ υἱός, ibid. p. 318, no. 51.

Εἰδᾶς, vase-maker, ibid. p. 301, no. 16.

'Εκατόνυμος, δεινὸς λέγειν, Sinopean ambassador to Xenophon's Ten Thousand at Cotyora, Xen. Anab. V, 5, 7; Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 23.

Οὐαλέριος 'Εκλεκτος Σινωπέυς, βουλευτής and athlete, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 1, 129.

'Ενδημος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 8.

'Επίδημος 'Επ[ι]έ[λ]π[ου], νομοφύλαξ, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

'Επίελπος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 3.

'Επιχάρης Θεαρίωνος, Sinopean ambassador, made πρόξενος of Histiaea, *ibid.* p. 333, no. 96.

L. E[r]en[n]ius Pompeianus, sarcophagus *ibid.* p. 326, no. 72.

'Ερμαῖος Σινωπέυς. See Φαίδριον below.

'Ερμων. Inscription¹ found near Sinope, letters 0.03 m. high.

'Εστιάιος Σινωπέυς, athlete who won in the ἀγενείους πυγμῇν at the Amphiarara at Oropus, I. G. VII (C. I. G. S., I) 414.

Εὐκλῆς, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 299, no. 10; p. 300, no. 12; p. 301, nos. 14, 17.

Εὐλάλιος, epigram, *ibid.* p. 311.

Εὐρους Βιότου Σινωπέυς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2909.

Εὐξένη Σινω[πίς], grave-stone, I. G. II, pars V (C. I. A. IV, 2), 3343 b.

Εὐπ[ορος], sarcophagus, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 314, no. 41.

Γ. Κάιος Εὐ [τυχία]νός, ναύκληρος, πρόξενος, Latyschev, Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Ponti Eux. IV, no. 72.

Ζόη, wife of M. Haterius Maximus, sarcophagus, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 315, no. 44.

'Ηγησαῖος Σινωπέυς ὁ Κλοῖδς ἐπὶ κλην, Cynic philosopher, pupil of Diogenes; cf. Diog. L. VI, 84. The name Hegesaeus occurs also as that of a δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ in a Greek inscription of the year 1781 A. D., still to be seen over the gate-way of Sinope and published by Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* II, pp. 351, 352; IV, pl. XII, 4.

'Ηγησίθεμις 'Ηρακλείδω Σινωπέος, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3344.

'Ηδύλη, member of the family of Dion, Diodorus, and Diphilus, grave-stone; cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343.

'Ηρακλείδης, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 2.

Ἰ ΕΕΡΜΩΝΟΧ
ΑΡΙΑΤΡΕΙΜΑΕ
CΙΟΥ · ΑΜΦ.

—ε 'Ερμωνος χ[ροστὲ χαῖρε. | ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ] 'Αρία Πρεῖμα ἐ[αυτῆς ἀνδρὶ |
..... σίου 'Αμφ[ιπολείτην.

Ἡρακλείδης Μι[κρ]ίου, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 13.

Ἡρακλείδης Σιωπεύς, writer of epigrams; cf. *Anth. Pal.* VII, 281, 392, 465.

Ἡφαίστιος Ἐξηκίστου, πρύτανης, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 313.

Θεμιστῆς Νύμφ[ω]νος, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 60.

Θίσονις Σιωπεύς, *ibid.* p. 332, no. 93, epigram attributed to Simonides.

Θεόπομπος Σιωπεύς, wrote *περὶ Σεισμῶν*; cf. Phlegon of Tralles in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* III, p. 622, 48.

Θεῦδαρος, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 295, no. 3.

Θρασωνίδης, rhapsode, cf. p. 279.

Ἴκεσίας Ἀντιπάτρου, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 298, no. 9; p. 299, no. 10.

Ἴκεσίας, father of Diogenes the Cynic, *Diog. L.* VI, 20.

Ἰουκοῦνδος, dedicator of altar to Heracles, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 305, no. 27.

Ἰστιαῖος, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 294, no. 1.

Λικινία Καισελλία, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 317, no. 50.

[Καλλικράτης] Μήτριος, Σιωπεύς, πρόξενος of Delphi *ibid.* p. 330.

Γαῖος Μάρκιος Κησωρίνος, πρεσβευτῆς Καίσαρος, κηδεμὼν τῆς πόλεως, *ibid.* pp. 309, 310.

Κίττος Διονυσίου Σιωπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.) II*, 3, 3345. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques II*, p. 903, no. 1867 reads Σίττος.

Κλαίνετος, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 302, no. 23.

Κλεοχάρης, pirate and prefect of Sinope; cf. p. 253.

Κορνοντίων Σιωπεύς, child who died abroad (Rome), *θρεπτός* of Diodorus, Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 702; *I. G. (I. G. S., I.) XIV*, 1787; Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. ad Res Rom. Pert. I*, 293.

Κτήσων, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 299, no. 9.

Λάμαχος Χορηγίωνος, γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, *ibid.* p. 313. Also πρύτανης.

Λάμαχος Ἀντίφου, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 319, no. 54.

Λεόνιππος, pirate and prefect of Sinope, cf. p. 253.

Λε]ωμέδων Ἀριστῶνα[κ]τος, dedicator to Phlogius, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 31.

Λέων Σιωπεύς, *I. G. (C. I. A.) II*, 3, 3346. Grave-stele with relief of lion.

Κ. Λικίνιος Φροῦγης, προξενητής, sarcophagus, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 315, no. 45.

Λικίνιος Χρυσόγονος Ὀλυ, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 33.

L. Licinnius Fr(u)gi, an enormous grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 327, no. 73.

Ποπίλλιος Λουτατιανὸς υἱὸς Ποπ(ιλλίου) Οὐφικιανοῦ δις ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ
 Σηστίας Μαρκιανῆς ἱερείας μεγάλης Ἀθηνᾶς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.)
 III, 2, 1450.

Olcinius Macrinus, C. I. L. III, 14402.^b

Μάης Σαροάνδου, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 316, no. 49.

Σεουῆρος Μάκερ, dedicator to Zeus Hypsistos, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 29.

M. I . . . ἀτέρμιος Μάξιμος, physician, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 315,
 no. 44.

Μεγαλήμερος, χαλκεύς, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 62.

Μένιππος Σινοπεύς, Cynic philosopher, cf. Diog. L. VI, 95. In all the handbooks Menippus, from whom the Menippean satires took their name, is spoken of as coming from Gadara in Syria. Strabo XVI, 759, followed by Steph. Byz. s. v. Gadara, is the only authority for this; and Diogenes Laertius' statement in VI, 99, that Menippus was in origin a Phoenician, is interpreted to mean that he came from Gadara, for Gadara was in Coele-Syria, a part of Phoenicia. But Diog. Laert. VI, 95 mentions a Menippus from Sinope who became ἐπιφανής among the pupils of Metrocles. Diog. L. then gives the life of Hipparchia, which is followed (VI, 99) by the life of Menippus. The probability is that this Menippus is the same as the one in VI, 95, especially since the Sinopean is not included among the Menippi in sec. 101. Diog. L. makes the blunder of calling him a contemporary of Meleager whose date is the first half of the first century B. C. The fact that Meleager of Gadara wrote Menippean Satires is probably accountable for Diogenes' statement and led Strabo to say that both came from Gadara. Menippus probably lived in the third century B. C., cf. Probus ad. Verg. Ecl. VI, 31, Varro qui sit Menippeus non a magistro cuius aetas *longe* praecesserat. This is certainly true if we identify the Menippus of Diog. L. VI, 99, who wrote nothing σπουδαῖον and is undoubtedly the Cynic whom Varro imitated in his Satirae Menippeae or Cynicae, with the Cynic from Sinope who was a pupil of Metrocles (floruit about 270 B. C.). Zeller, Phil. der Griechen II, 1, p. 286, n. 3 identifies the two. It is possible to go further. Diocles, who had made a special study of the lives of the philosophers and, therefore, ought to be followed in preference to Strabo, says (apud. Diog. L. VI, 99) that Baton from the Pontus was the master of Menippus. This may be the Sinopean ῥήτωρ and historian, whose date falls also in the third century (cf. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Baton and Susemihl, op. cit. I, 635 f.). That Menippus was a slave, as

Diogenes says, we know also from A. Gellius II, 18, 7 and Macrobius I, 11, 42. Of course it is possible that Menippus was born in Gadara and went to Sinope where he lived with his master Baton (so Susemihl, op. cit. I, p. 44 f. who gives the literature on Menippus) but Sinope had enough slaves of its own without importing any. Menippus is an example of the characteristic Sinopean temper referred to above in c. IX.

Μενίσκος Μήριδος Σινωπεύς, I. G. II, pars V (C. I. A. IV, 2), 3346 b.

Μένων Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3348.

Μηρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου Σινωπεύς; Comptes Rendus 1877, p. 277, Roman inscription found at Kertch.

Μηροφίλα Μάου Σινώπισσα, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2910.

Μῆτρης [Κ]αλλικράτους, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 343.

Μῆτρης Νικάνδρου Σινωπεύς, Athen. Mith. XIII (1888), p. 429. On name Μῆτρης cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 330, no. 82.

Μητ[ρ]ό[βι]ος (?) Δεινίου, Sinopean ambassador, πρόξενος of Histiaea, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 333.

Μισθραδάτης Σινωπεύς, the Great, cf. Strabo XII, 545 and p. 252, n. 1 supra.

Μισθραδάτης, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 7.

Νάννα Διονύσοιο, ibid. p. 319, no. 55.

Ναύπων Καλλισθένους, ἀστυνόμος, ibid. p. 302, no. 23.

Λούκιος Φιδεκλάνιος Νέπως Σινωπεύς, lived to be more than a hundred years old, cf. Phlegon, Macrobioi (Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. III, p. 609, 1).

Νικίας Φι[λέου?] Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3348.

Νικο Πλουτά[ρχου] Σιν[ω]π[εύς], I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2911.

Ὀνήσιμος Ὀνησίππου Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2912.

Ὀνησίχα Μέν[ω]ρος Σινω[πέω]ς [γυνή], I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3349.

Πά[μφιλος] Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3350.

Published in the Rhein. Mus. 1866, p. 513, no. 308 among the unedited inscriptions. The inscription, Πάμφιλος Σινωπεύς, published in the Bolletino dell' Istituto 1864, 48 has been overlooked. This is probably the same inscription and the Πα has become obliterated since the first publication.

Πασιχάρης Δημητρίου, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 2.

Κ[λαυδία] Παῦλα, priestess of Isis, ibid. p. 312, no. 39. Cf. Cagnat, op. cit. III, 1, no. 95.

Ὀφθαλλίος Πολύκαρπος, dedicator to Asclepius and Hygieia, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 306, no. 28. Cf. Αἰμιλιανός supra.

Αἰλίας Θρεπτίων Πορτιανός, dedicator to θεός ὕψιστος, ibid. p. 306, no. 29.

Ποτικὸς [Θ]άλλον, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 314, no. 42.

C. Ael[ius?] Pontius, *ibid.* p. 327, no. 74.

Π]οσειδώνιος Μει[δίου], πρύτανις, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 313.

Ποσιδεῖος [Θ]εα[ρί]ωνος, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 19.

Κλαύδιος Ποτέ[λιος], γυμνασάρχος, ἄρχων τοῦ πρεσβυτικοῦ, ποντάρχης, *etc.*, *ibid.* p. 312, no. 39. Cf. Cagnat, *op. cit.* III, 1, no. 95.

Ἄρια Πρεῖμα. Cf. s. v. Ἑρμῶν.

AUR(ELIUS) PRISCIANUS, pr(aeses) pr(ovinciae) P(onti) d(evo)tus) n(umini) m(ajestati) q(ue) eorum, *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 139, n. 2; p. 260 f.

Πρόκλος Σινωπεύς, renders thanks to Nymphs and Poseidon for being cured, *Am. J. Arch.* p. 331, no. 87.

Πρωταγόρας Ἀντισθένης Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.)* II, 3, 3351.

Πρωταγόρας Κυρίσκου, ἀστυνόμος, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 299, no. 11; p. 301, no. 14.

Πύθης Διονυσίου, dedicator to Ζεὺς δικαιοσύνης μέγας, *ibid.* p. 302, no. 24.

Πυθοκλῆς ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 21.

Πυρρίας Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.)* II, 3, 3352.

Ῥειπάνη, γέιτων καθαροῖο Σαράπιδος, daughter of a pious and virtuous father, *ibid.* p. 315, no. 48. Cagnat, *op. cit.* III, 1, no. 96 wrongly reads Τειτιανή.

Ῥουφεῖνα, joint-dedicator with her husband of an altar to θεὸς μέγας ὕψιστος, *ibid.* p. 304.

Σαιουεῖνιος, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 314, no. 43.

SALVIUS, vir n(obilis) m(emoriae), unpublished grave-stone in church at Ortoi, one hour from Sinope.¹

Σέλευκος, pirate and praefect of Sinope; cf. p. 253.

Σ]έλλιος, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 324, no. 68.

Τιβ. Κλ. Σεουήρος, Σινωπεύς, cured at Epidaurus, dedicator to Ἀπόλλων Μαλεάτας and Σωτήρ Ἀσκλάπιος, *I. G.* IV (C. I. P., I), 956.

Λούκιος Σε[πτι]κιος Ἀπόλαυστος, dedicator of altar to Ζεὺς Ἥλιος ναυ[δα]μνης ἐπήκοος, *ibid.* p. 303.

Σεραπίων Ἡφαιστῖωνος Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.)* III, 2, 3633.

¹ Large marble slab with gable at the top, 1.16 m. high, 0.74 m. wide, 0.12 m. thick. Letters vary from 0.08 m. to 0.10 m. in height.

VISEIIIALI
IINGIONII
SALVIVS VIRNM
SIT

Σινώπη, wife of Midias; cf. I. G. III, 3349 and Bechtel, Die Griechischen Frauennamen, p. 60. Cf. also Sinopis, daughter of Dionysius, wife of Diophantus in C. I. G., IV, 6991.

Σινώπη, a harlot named after her native town, who lived in the first half of the fourth cent. B. C. Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133. Add to references there Schol. Dem. XXIV, 762, 4 and Leutsch-Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci I, p. 451 (σινωπίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσχημονήσαι ἀπὸ ἐταίρας τινὸς ἐκ Σινώπης).

Σκυδρόθεμης, tyrant and king of Sinope, Tac. Hist. IV, 83.

Σοφοκλῆς Δημητρίου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. II, 3, 3353.

Σοφοκλῆς Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. XII (Inscr. Gr. Ins.), 1, 466 (Rhodes).

Σπόρος Σινωπεύς. See Σωτηρίς below.

Στρατοκλῆς Διονύσιου, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 55.

Σύρι[ος], sarcophagus, ibid. p. 315, no. 46.

Σφοδρίας Πυθαγγίλου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3354.

Σωτηρίς Σπόρου Σινωπέως, θυγάτηρ Νικομήδου Ἀντιοχείως γυνή, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3355.

Τεύθρας Θυμοχάρους, κεραμεύς, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 296, no. 4.

Τιβ. Ἄρακτος, ibid. p. 324, no. 67.

Τιμησίλεως, tyrant; cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 151-2.

Τιμόθεος Σινωπεύς, Epicurean philosopher, Strabo XII, 546.

Τίμων Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3356.

Τι]μώριος, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 8.

Φαίδριον Ἑρμαίου Σινωπέως θυγάτηρ, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2913.

Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου Σινωπεύς, died abroad, epigram, Kaibel, op. cit. 252.

Φειλητίων Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2914.

Φήμιος Ἀντίφου, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Φιλή[σιος], grave-stone, ibid. p. 319, no. 54.

Φιλοκράτης, vase-maker, ibid. p. 302, no. 22.

Φίλων Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3357.

Φίλων Διονυσίου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3358.

Φορμίων Συνήμονος, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Μάνιος Φούλβιος Πακάτος, grave-stone, same family as Δικιννία Καισελλία and the following name, ibid. p. 317.

Φούλβιος Πραιτωρείνος, υἱός of the preceding man, ibid.

Φρύνη Σινωπίς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3359.

Χαῖρις Ἀφειναῖος Φάλερες = Ἀθηναῖος Φαληρεὺς perhaps, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 56.

Σαρμοσύνα Σινωπῆς, grave-stone, I. G. XII (Inscr. Gr. Ins.), 1, 467.

Χορηγίων Λεωμίδεος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 7. Cf. also s. v. Λάμαχος and Λεωμίδων supra.

Χρηστος Σινωπεύς, λιθουργός, *ibid.* p. 331, no. 87.¹

Incomplete names are here added.

.. αλλιος, vase-maker (?), *ibid.* p. 297.

... ἀνίτα[ς], Christian tombstone, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 59.

..... α (?) Μάρκου, *ibid.* p. 324, no. 68 and no. 66.

| — ιππος Δαμει Σινωπεύς, πρόξενος of Cleitor, Athen. Mitt. VI (1881), p. 303 and Beilage 2.

..... ν Θρασωνίδου Σινωπεύς, ῥαψωιδός; cf. Collitz, Gr. Dialekt-Inschriften II, p. 742, no. 2564, l. 11.

.... ιος, dedicator with his wife Ρουφείνα το θεοῦ μέγας ὑψιστος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 304.

.... ος Καλλισθένο[υς], πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313. Cf. Ναύπων Καλλισθένους supra.

.... ος Πολυδώ[ρου], Σινωπεύς, dedicator to Serapis, *ibid.* p. 331, no. 84.

..... ς Φιλίππου, Σινωπεύς, πρόξενος of Cleitor, Athen. Mitt. VI (1881), p. 303 and Beilage 2.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

¹ Since this article was paged, I have received copies of three more unpublished inscriptions on grave-stones found last August on the isthmus of Sinope. These I hope to publish in the near future. They marked the graves of Ἰούλιος Καλπεικός(?), ναύκληρος; of Μάνης, the name also of Diogenes' slave (cf. p. 261, n. 6); and of Νάρκισσος.

II.—THE GERUND AND GERUNDIVE IN LIVY.

I.

Next to the ablative absolute, the gerunds and gerundives are the most commonly recurring construction in Livy. Expressing the oblique relations of the participle, their different phases are worthy of exhaustive presentation. By the time of Livy the leading features had become fixed, and a discussion of their origin lies outside of a consideration of the use made of them. In presenting this recourse has been had to statistics, though a complete statistical setting forth would require three sets of figures, one for the forms themselves, another for the governing expressions, and still a third for the number of dependent nouns and pronouns. We shall give figures for the first only; for the other two the numbers would be considerably less.

The use of a gerundive or of a gerund with dependent noun, is the result, not of an inherent difference in the content, but rather of selection in stylistic presentation. Let a few of the many examples suffice to illustrate this: 21, 5, 5 large *partiundo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsolvendo*; 31, 26, 6 *subeundo muros et comminanda oppugnatione*; 2, 34, 7 *tempus premendae plebis putabant recuperandique iura*; 30, 4, 6 *et speculatores omnia visendi et Scipio ad comparanda ea . . . tempus habuit*; 40, 25, 6 *ita ut ne efferendi quidem signa Romanis spatium nec ad explicandam aciem locus esset*. In the last three examples the avoidance of the long genitive plural endings seems to have had a determining influence; but in the first, no reason for the change is apparent. However, the concurrence of a gerund and gerundive is sometimes incidental to the combination of a transitive and an intransitive verb, inasmuch as the latter excludes the gerundive, e. g. 2, 49, 11 *non pugnae modo incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum*; 23, 20, 7 *ut pars profugiendi . . . ac deserendae urbis auctores essent*; 23, 29, 16 *non modo in Italiam traducendi exercitus sed ne manendi quidem . . . spes reliqua erat*. Conciseness of statement may also account for the use of the gerund, as in 3, 11, 10 *legem interim non tam ad spem perferendi quam ad*

laccessendam Caesonis temeritatem ferre; and 35, 11, 10 velut quos, impotentes regendi, equi invitos efferent.

A noun and a gerund or gerundive are frequently parallel in construction, or they may be in apposition: 2, 47, 12 neque immemor eius, quod . . . inbiberat, reconciliandi animos plebis; 24, 18, 10 aedium sacrarum tuendarum curuliumque equorum praebeendorum ac similium his rerum; 1, 56, 2 et ad alia . . . traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos cloacamque maximam . . . sub terram agendam; 21, 4, 3 numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilis fuit; 22, 8, 5 ad remedium . . . dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit; 6, 11, 9 re damnosissima etiam divitibus, aedificando, contracta. But more frequently the two are merely parallel, as in 1, 15, 4 ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio; 3, 40, 1 cum decemviri nec irae nec ignoscendi modum reperirent; 5, 27, 2 lusus exercendique causa; 6, 13, 6; and 39, 20, 8 fugae sequendique . . . finis; 9, 34, 12 clavi figendi aut ludorum causa. The accusative is also used in the same way, generally with corresponding particles in the two members: 3, 16, 2 non ad populandos, ut ante, fines, sed ad urbem ut ex parte captam venirent; 23, 15, 7 nunc ad prodicionem patriae, nunc ad transfugiendum stimulabat; 28, 33, 16 ad spectaculum magis tutum quam ad partem pugnae capessendam; 34, 36, 4 vanis, ut ad ceteram fidem, sic ad secreta tegenda satellitum regionum ingeniis; 34, 39, 6 ut non modo ad caecos ictus sed ne ad inserendum quidem ex propinquo telum loci quicquam esset; 37, 20, 2 simul ad quietem hominum equorumque et ad visendas hostium stationes; cf. 4, 27, 4 planitiem in medio non parvis modo excursionibus ad proelia sed vel ad explicandas utrimque acies satis patentem habebant. The ablative is more freely used in this way than either the genitive or the accusative, and only some illustrative passages will be quoted: 4, 6, 7 abhorrebant a caede violandisque, quos . . . acceperant; 25, 12, 11 ut decemviri de ludis Apollini reque divina facienda inspicerent; 28, 39, 22 tum de republica, de exercitibus scribendis, de provinciis relatum; 5, 6, 9; 8, 31, 8 si consensum . . . qui in proelio fuerit, in tuenda victoria videat; 38, 25, 13 plus in mora periculi quam in ordinibus conservandis praesidii esset; 41, 4, 8 perierunt plures in matutina fuga, quam in recipiendis castris; 3, 39, 7 (perhaps with *in*) quanto fortior dolor libertate sua vindicanda quam cupiditas iniusta dominatione esset; 25, 6, 22 vis tu mari, vis terra, vis acie, vis urbibus oppugnandis experiri virtutem; 25, 38, 23 expediendis armis et curatione corporum consumptum;

26, 48, 2 quippe qui et acie dimicassent et capienda urbe tantum laboris adissent; 29, 24, 12 expertos non variis proeliis modo sed urbibus etiam oppugnandis; 3, 19, 3 nemo Caesoni cedebat magnitudine animi, consilium et modum adhibendo; 2, 9, 8 nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit; 2, 65, 1 fessum stando et vigiliis; 21, 35, 5 fessis labore ac pugnando; 6, 15, 9 quin eam diducitis beneficiis, intercedendo, eximendo de nervo cives vestros, prohibendo iudicatos addictosque duci . . . sustinendo necessitates aliorum? 22, 14, 14 stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse . . . audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his signibus consiliis; and with variation in form of statement: 36, 41, 1 securitatem . . . aut per errorem aut adsentando faciebat.

As a feature in the rhetorical coloring of Livy, the use of the gerund and gerundive in correlated and complementary statements is of some interest. The formula *non modo . . . sed etiam* is not infrequent: With the genitive 2, 49, 11; 4, 21, 6 non modo praedandi causa quisquam ex agro Romano non exiret, bellive inferendi memoria . . . esset, sed . . .; 28, 38, 8 non suffragandi modo, sed etiam spectandi causa P. Scipionis; with *ad* and the gerundive 21, 32, 4 non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandos novos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem; 23, 26, 8; 25, 15, 18; 28, 40, 1; 29, 34, 4. The ablative is used in the same way 24, 18, 7 neque senatu modo aut equestri ordine regendo cura se quaestorum tenuit; 28, 40, 13 iam vivendo, non solum rebus gerendis fesso; 29, 24, 12; 39, 40, 8 non solum accusando, sed etiam causam dicendo fatigavit inimicos.

Cum . . . tum occurs with the accusative 26, 17, 8 paucitas cum ad hostem silentio fallendum aptior tum ad evadendum per artas semitas. *Nunc* repeated is freely used with the ablative, as in 30, 42, 14 nunc purgando crimina, nunc quaedam fatendo . . . nunc monendo etiam patres conscriptos. The accusative occurs less frequently, as in 7, 32, 3 nunc ad ferenda nunc ad accersenda adversus se auxilia. *Partim . . . partim* was noticed with the ablative 21, 60, 3; and 37, 18, 2 p. sociis ferendo opem, p. quos in societatem perlicere non potuit, depopulandis. *Saepe . . . saepe* occurs 23, 15, 3 with noun and gerundive; *simul . . . simul* 39, 35, 2 s. ad purganda crimina, s. ad deprecandam iram senatus; 37, 17, 7 s. . . commemorando, s. . . miserando pervicerunt; cf. 5, 10, 3 s. dilectu, s. tributo conferendo laboratum est; and *vel . . . vel* 8, 13, 14 pacem . . . parare in perpetuum v. saeviendo, v.

ignoscendo. There are comparatively few instances of temporal correspondence: 36, 11, 1 *cum patrem primo allegando, deinde coram ipse rogando fatigasset*; 41, 15, 8 *quae noscendis prius quam agendis rebus inbuenda sit*. Contrasted statements are occasionally found: 30, 36, 6 *non tam noscendi in praesentia quam terrendi hostis causa*; 28, 32, 12 *non tam ad bellum gerendum . . . quam ad expetendas . . . poenas*; 33, 28, 12 *non tam idoneum ad celandam rem eum videri sibi, quam ad agendam fuerit*: 1, 35, 6 *nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor*; 7, 27, 7 *ferocior ad rebellandum quam ad bellandum gens*; 44, 36, 3 *ut consuli non minore arte ad suos eludendos quam ad hostes opus esset*.

Relative clauses with the gerund or gerundive are not infrequent, there being fifteen with the genitive of the gerund, e. g. 32, 7, 11 *creandi quem velit*; 27, 38, 9 *elegendi . . . quos vellent*; 1, 22, 6 *dicendi potestatem quid petentes venirent*: 23, 9, 1 *velut si iam agendis quae audiebat interesset*. Similar to these are 33, 14, 2 *per speciem conloquendi quantum equitum dare . . . possent*; 25, 23, 11 *aestimando ipse secum, quid in fronte paterent singuli*. The usage with the accusative is the same: 3, 43, 6 *ad sepeliendos qui ceciderant*; 7, 39, 7 *consedit ad excipiendos quos consul . . . mittebat*; cf. 33, 10, 6 *ad excipiendos si qui proelio superessent*; and 24, 27, 9 *ad prohibendos si in terram egredierentur*. Like the ablative absolute the ablative of the ger. may take a relative as one of the members: 28, 19, 2 *prodendis qui . . . perfugerant interficiendisque*; 1, 34, 11 *comitate invitandi beneficiisque quos poterat sibi conciliando*; 4, 6, 7; 7, 25, 13 *prohibendo populationibus, quos raptu vivere necessitas cogeret*; 27, 13, 3 *sunt hi hostes, quos vincendo et victos sequendo priorem aestatem absumpsistis*; 37, 18, 2. 4, 55, 1 *sed nulla erat consularis actio, quam impediendo id quod petebant exprimerent*; 9, 4, 14 *opes sunt quas servando patriam servamus*; 5, 15, 10 *tacendo forsitan quae di immortales vulgari velint*. 29, 20, 10 *relatum est de expiandis quae . . . tacta essent*; 30, 12, 8; 32, 20, 2 *quae difficilia essent promendo admonendoque*; 45, 25, 3 *quae dixerit referendo*.

In some passages a noun or pronoun must be supplied from a preceding noun: 10, 9, 4 *legem tulit . . . causam renovandae saepius haud aliam fuisse reor*; 26, 43, 2 *quod ab urbe . . . et spem potiundae . . . faceret*; 29, 1, 10 *Siculis Romani equites substituti . . . docendorum atque exercendorum curam Siculi habuerunt*; 42, 3, 11 *tegulas relictas in area templi, quia reponendarum*

nemo inire rationem potuerit; 43, 5, 9 illa petentibus data, ut denorum equorum iis commercium esset educendique ex Italia potestas fieret. In a few instances with the accusative of the gerundive, the expected object *eos* or *eum* has probably fallen from the text after the ending *-os* or *-um*: 26, 25, 8 ad frangendos igitur vastare agros; 35, 25, 9 momenti ad excitandos ad bellum; 38, 29, 3 una ad coercendos inventa . . . res est; 39, 41, 2 coierant . . . candidati omnes ad deiciendum honore. Similar to these are 3, 20, 1 in peragendis consularis officii partem ad se vindicabat; 5, 31, 4 fuis hostibus, Valerio quod perseverantior caedendis iis* in fuga fuit, triumphus.

Another feature in the use of the accusative and the ablative of the gerundive is the economy in the use of prepositions. With the accusative *in* is occasionally found with noun and gerundive where we should expect *ad* with the latter: 1, 6, 1 in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam; 1, 59, 9 in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae; 2, 48, 4 in agrum depopulandum transiit; 32, 23, 7 in quem locum . . . protegendum armis cum Macedones concurrerent; 32, 30, 4 Boiis in agrum suum tutandum profectis; 44, 30, 7 fratre in Caviorum gentem vi terrore subigendam . . . misso. Perhaps to these may be added 29, 22, 3 circa armamentaria et horrea bellicae alium apparatus visendum praetor legatique ducti, though here *ad* has probably fallen from the text. As has been shown, a noun and ger. form dependent on the same preposition is not unusual, especially in the ablative, as 4, 6, 7 a caede violandisque quos, while in several instances there is a zeugmatic use of *in*: 9, 13, 2 ne mora in concursu pilis emittendis stringendisque inde gladiis; cf. 28, 36, 11 ne in moliendo mora esset; 10, 11, 9 qualis in bellicis rebus fuerat, talis in annonae dispensatione praeparando ac convehendo frumento fuisset; 21, 2, 1 novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit.

The general rule for the use of the gerundive instead of the gerund with an object in the dative and the ablative with a preposition, is observed by Livy, though he has 21, 54, 1 quem ubi equites tegendo satis latebrosum locum . . . perlustravit; and 4, 44, 9 ut in parcendo uni malum publicum fiat.

II.

A. GENITIVE. (1127.)

	Gratia.	Causa.	Other words.	Total.
Gerund, no object,		17	293	310
“ with accusative Sing.			57	57
“ “ “ Plu.		2	134	136
“ “ Dative,			5	5
“ “ Ablative,			2	2
“ “ Pronoun (Dem. and Per.)			46	46
“ “ Relative Clause,			15	15
Gerundive Singular,	2	88	357	447
“ Plural,	1	15	62	78
“ Pronouns,	1	14	16	31
	4	136	987	1127

The number given—1127—is the number of occurrences of ger. forms, but the number of containing passages is about 100 less, cumulation being of common occurrence: 6, 9, 4, et illis occupandi ea . . . et Romanis recuperandi tuendique cura; 24, 48, 7 armandi ornandique et instruendi eos artem ignorare; 38, 34, 2 eos prendendi, abducendi, vendendi . . . ius; 38, 38, 12 id conquirendi, cognoscendi repetendique ius; 27, 38, 9 potestatem . . . supplendi, unde vellent, et eligendi . . . quos velent, permutandique et ex provinciis . . . traducendi.

The gerunds are slightly in excess of the gerundives—571 to 556, though the latter is the regular construction with *causā* and *gratiā*. In the use of the singular and of the plural a few points should be mentioned: A strong preference is shown for the gerundive singular instead of the gerund with dependent noun—447 to 57. On the other hand the gerund with accusative plural is preferred to the gerundive plural—136 to 78, and some of the latter can be explained by the desire for symmetrical construction, as in 3, 15, 3 interficiendorum tribunorum, trucidandae plebis consilia inire; 4, 36, 2 agri publici dividendi coloniarum deducendarum ostentae spes. A distinction is also shown in the construction with the verbs which take the dative or the ablative. The gerund occurs with the dative 2, 44, 10 non parendi magistratibus morem; 4, 53, 4 causam resistendi collegae; 33, 12, 7 morem victis parcendi; 41, 24, 18 adsentandi Romanis; 45, 3, 6 gratulandi . . . Romanis; and with pronouns

31, 31, 4 quibus nocendi maiorem facultatem habuit; and perchance 40, 15, 5 cedendi cui. Of the deponents taking the ablative, *fungendae* occurs 1, 41, 6 and 24, 21, 3, while the gerundive singular of *potior* is used twenty-one times, chiefly in the third decade, though *potiundi castris* is found 21, 59, 5 and 34, 47, 6; and in 3, 7, 2 *potiundi* is placed with another gerund taking the accusative, non potiundi modo, sed ne adeundi quidem Romana moenia.

The gerund largely predominates with pronouns, when not dependent on *causā*, in all 46 to 31. With the gerund, some form of *is* occurs seventeen times, in three passages with three gerunds. *Se* depends on the gerund: 5, 25, 4 religione se exsolvendi curam; 6, 3, 6 se conglobandi . . . spatium; 9, 37, 9 armandi se . . . spatium; 10, 28, 11 spatium respirandi recipiendique se; 22, 58, 4 redimendi se captivis copiam facere; 23, 20, 8 auctores . . . adiungendi se ceteris Bruttiis ac per eos dedendi Hannibali; 23, 40, 7 occasio . . . se iungendi; 25, 28, 9 occasionem reconciliandi se; 35, 35, 14 morem . . . recipiendi se; 37, 32, 9 condicione . . . se tradendi; 38, 14, 8 copiam loquendi ac purgandi se; 42, 24, 4 causam . . . mittendi se. The possessive pronoun is also found in a few passages: 25, 33, 4 fructus videndi suos suaque; 35, 12, 8 recipiendi sua occasionem; 39, 21, 7 suos sepeliendi . . . potestas; 39, 31, 16 spatium sua communiendi. *Vos* occurs 31, 31, 20 et vobis restituendi vos fortuna; and *quicquam* 26, 19, 8 nec abnuendi tale quicquam nec adfirmandi; 28, 15, 11 ulterius quicquam conandi. Of the pronouns in the gerundive, *eius* is the most frequently used—nine times, and with two verbal forms 39, 51, 3 per se necandi aut tradendi eius in potestatem consilium cepit. Four passages have *cuius*, 1, 34, 1; 35, 6, 10; 35, 7, 3; 38, 25, 8 ni pro iure gentium, cuius violandi consilium initum erat, stetisset fortuna. *Huius* is found 25, 23, 9 Damippus . . . huius utique redimendi . . . cura erat ingens; and *sui* 40, 12, 13 occidendi sui consilium inisse me videri vult. With *causā* the gerundive prevails: 10, 23, 1 prodigia . . . quorum averruncandorum c.; 39, 13, 2 and 45, 11, 8 *eius*; 29, 14, 4 *eorum*; 5, 24, 4 and 6, 16, 6 seditio cuius leniendae c.; *huius* 36, 36, 7; 31, 9, 2 defendendi aut oppugnandi cuiusquam c.; 28, 43, 16 retinendi mei c.; 40, 14, 8 tui occidendi c.; 23, 23, 8 deducendi sui c.; 40, 14, 9 et sui se tuendi c. sumpsisse dicunt; 21, 41, 1 vestri adhortandi causa.

The genitive is associated with nouns, adjectives and *esse*, by far the larger part being used with nouns.

Nouns.—Counting *causā* and *gratiā* one hundred and thirty-three nouns were noticed with gerunds and gerundives. *Causā* is used with the greatest freedom, the instances counted including 22, 61, 8 per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem . . . regressi; and 33, 40, 5 where the reading *usurpandae alienae possessionis* has been taken instead of *usurpanda aliena* as given in the 3d edition of Weissenborn-Mueller. The first of these and 2, 25, 3 experiendi animos militum c., have the accusative with the gerund to prevent an accumulation of genitives. Apart from these passages, the gerund with *causā* does not take an object. Of the other one hundred and thirty-one nouns, ninety-three occur less than five times each, sixty of them but once. Those found most frequently are *spes* (105), *causā* (58), *potestas* (57), *occasio* (47), *cura* (38), *consilium* (33), *ius* (32), *tempus* (26), *spatium* (22), *finis* (21). Personal nouns are not of frequent occurrence with the exception of *auctor* (34), e. g. 1, 59, 4 auctor . . . arma capiendi; 40, 53, 6 qui principes et auctores transcendendi Alpes fuissent. In addition to the last, *princeps* is used also in 4, 48, 8; *orator* 9, 45, 18; and 36, 27, 2 oratores pacis petendae; *particeps* 35, 10, 8 pro legato et particeps administrandi belli.

Gratiā with the genitive is an early form of expression, and in Livy belongs to the earlier period of his authorship when he was largely dependent on native Roman sources for his material. It occurs with the ger. 6, 31, 2 erat autem et materia et causa seditionis aes alienum, cuius cognoscendi g. . . censores facti; 7, 3, 9 qua de causa creatus L. Manlius perinde ac rei gerendae ac non solvendae religionis g. creatus esset; and in a speech 22, 59, 7 legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum g. Tarentum misisse. It is to be noticed that *causa* occurs in the first two passages, and *gratiā* may have been used to avoid repetition.

The gerundive singular is the prevailing construction with *causā* and *gratiā*, though there are 16 with nouns in the plural, and one pronoun 29, 14, 4 eorum procurandorum causa. Of the sixteen nouns in the plural, seven are of the third declension, eight of the second, and one—*feriarum* 7, 28, 7—of the first.

Auspiciorum, *comitiorum* and *legum* are of most frequent occurrence, apparently in old formulaic expressions. Only 29 other nouns are of the third or fourth declensions, so that it would

seem that the avoidance of the long ending of the first and second declensions and the rhyme involved was not altogether the factor in determining the use of the gerundive. Cf. Wölfflin, *Liv. Kritik*, p. 16.

Adjectives.—In early Latin the use of ger. forms with adjectives was limited to *cupidus* and *studiosus*. To these Cicero adds six, Caesar *insuetus*, Sallust *avidus*, and the Augustan poets a few others; see Draeger, 2,832. Livy has *avidus* 10, 34, 6; 35, 33, 1; 38, 27, 7 *avidissima rapiendi gens*; *cupidus* 3, 71, 5; 8, 27, 6; 23, 15, 1; 39, 41, 2; 41, 1, 1 *eoque iuventuti praedandi cupidae pergratus esse dicebatur*; *memor* 1, 35, 6 *non minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor*; 2, 6, 9 *neuter sui protegendi corporis m.*; 28, 20, 6 *nemo capiendi vivos, nemo . . . praedae memor est*; *immemor* 2, 47, 12 *neque immemor eius . . . reconciliandi animos plebis*; 44, 42, 3 *immemores fecerat sequendi equites*; 6, 1, 11 *diem . . . insignem rei nullius . . . agenda fecerunt*; *peritus* 4, 33, 11; 23, 1, 9; 29, 1, 13 *peritissimos esse urbium oppugnandarum*; *imperitus* 5, 38, 8 *imperitos nandi*; *potens* 33, 12, 2 *satis potens tuendae pacis libertatisque esset*; *impotens* 35, 11, 10 *velut quos, impotentis regendi, equi invitos efferent*; *studiosus* 40, 29, 9 *studiosus legendi eos libros . . . sumpsit*.

Esse.—The gerundive with *esse* is used chiefly in statements of equalizing and of destroying: 3, 31, 7 *quaeque aequandae libertatis essent*; 3, 39, 8 *quod exaequandae sit libertatis*; 38, 50, 8 *nihil tam aequandae libertatis quam . . . posse dicere causam*; 3, 24, 1 *frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse*; 5, 3, 5 *quam dissolvendae maxime tribuniciae potestatis rentur esse*; 39, 16, 9 *nihil aequae dissolvendarum religionum esse*; 40, 29, 11 *pleraque dissolvendarum religionum esse*; 34, 54, 5 *et concordiae et libertatis aequae minuendae esse*; 27, 9, 12 *quae temere agitassent, ea prodendi imperii Romani, tradendae Hannibali victoriae esse*.

B. GENITIVE OR DATIVE.

In some passages the case is indeterminate, and the gerundive can be interpreted either as a genitive or as a dative. Judged from the earlier nominal standpoint it would be best to take those as genitives with nouns, but judged from the complex of noun and verb they would seem to be datives.

Nouns.

Actio.—9, 33, 5 qui finiendae censurae . . . actionem susceperat.

Ambages.—9, 11, 12 ambages . . . fallendae fidei exquirere!

Cardo.—41, 1, 3 qui tuendae . . . orae Anconam velut cardinem haberent.

Caput.—35, 36, 7 ut caput agenda rei esset; 9, 9, 19 villia haec capita luendae sponsioni (or sponsionis) feramus.

Dies.—38, 50, 10 donec dies causae dicendae venit.

Finis.—3, 36, 1 ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit.

Materia.—31, 26, 13 irae exercendae materia deerat; 42, 40, 11 opto aliquam mihi materiam praebeas agenda tuae apud senatum causae.

Mens.—38, 51, 9 gerendae rei publicae mentem facultatemque dederunt.

Victima.—8, 6, 11 placuit averruncandae deum irae victimas caedi.

Tempus.—1, 47, 8; 4, 13, 9; 21, 52, 7; 25, 8, 11 t. agenda rei; 44, 37, 13 rei gerendae t.; 28, 14, 14 ubi incipiendae iam pugnae t. erat; 28, 19, 4 t. expetendae poenae videbatur venisse.

Esse.—4, 48, 15 dissolvendae rei publicae esse; 5, 6, 15 et si prodendae patriae dissolvendae rei publicae est, adsuestis quieti audire. As these both have *dissolvendae*, and are similar to 3, 24, 1 frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse, they are best taken as genitives. 28, 25, 7 rempublicam esse gratiae referendae.

C. DATIVE.

A single instance of the gerund with object in the accusative is found 21, 54, 1 ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum . . . perlustravit. Other occurrences of the dative are of the gerundive or of the gerund with an object, and like the genitive they are associated with nouns, adjectives and in addition, with other verbs besides *esse*. In 40, 52, 5 duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigendis, the connection is uncertain, as is the reading 24, 27, 3.

a. Nouns.

The dative of the ger. is freely used to indicate that for which a noun is suited or designed, and the interpretation may vary between mere fitness and design, as it is interpreted closely with the noun according to the earliest usage, or more freely with the verb and its dependent noun. The nouns occurring most frequently

are *comitia*, *dies*, *locus*, and *tempus*, and these with the titles of officers make up the larger part of the occurrences. When the noun of the gerundive is of the first declension, there is a possibility of interpreting as a genitive, but these instances have been put in the preceding division.

Comitia.—*Comitia* 1, 35, 1 is used with *ferent*, and with some form of *sum* 22, 35, 2; 38, 42, 2; and 40, 18, 1. *Edicere* is found 3, 37, 5; 23, 31, 12; 31, 6, 5; 35, 24, 3; 43, 11, 3; 43, 14, 1 censoribus deinde creandis comitia edicta sunt. *Indicere* occurs 3, 35, 1; 4, 6, 9; 6, 35, 9; 7, 22, 7 cum censoribus creandis indicta comitia essent. *Habere* is the verb most generally used: 2, 8, 3; 3, 40, 12; 23, 31, 7; 24, 10, 2; 24, 11, 6; 24, 23, 1; 25, 5, 2; 26, 18, 4; 26, 22, 2; 27, 11, 7; 28, 38, 6; 32, 7, 1; 41, 16, 5 collegae subrogando comitia habere iussus. The remaining occurrence of *comitia* is 3, 51, 8 ne . . . urbana comitia isdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur. Similar to these is: *Concilium*.—3, 16, 6 concilium legi perferendae habere.

Dies.—25, 3, 14 cui certandae cum dies advenisset; 35, 35, 15 d. patrando facinori statuerat.

Locus.—1, 21, 5 multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis . . . dedicavit; 5, 54, 4 urbi condendae l.; 6, 23, 6 quem insidiis instruendis l.; 6, 37, 6; 21, 47, 6 l. rate iungendo flumini; 39, 22, 6 locum oppido condendo ceperunt.

Tempus.—3, 69, 7 cognoscendis causis . . . se daturus tempus; 9, 5, 6 tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exercituque mittendo; 26, 51, 8 operibus aspiciendis tempus dabat.

Instances of other nouns occurring less frequently are as follows:

Exemplum.—2, 5, 9 ut . . . arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset.

Finis.—1, 44, 2 is censendo finis factus est.

Feriae.—3, 5, 14 his avertendis terroribus . . . feriae indictae.

Impedimentum.—26, 24, 15 nec tamen impedimento id rebus gerendis fuit.

Iter.—44, 6, 6 commeatibus pervehendis . . . patuisset iter.

Lectisternium.—8, 25, 1 l. . . . placandis habitum est dis.

Lex.—43, 14, 5 legem censui censendo dicturos esse.

Machinamenta.—24, 34, 7 machinamenta alia quatiendis muris portabant.

Materia.—26, 40, 18 velut materiam novandis rebus.

Religio.—9, 29, 10 quod demovendis statu suo sacris religionem facere possit.

Piacula.—10, 28, 13 ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus.

Signum.—8, 40, 3 signum mittendis quadrigis daret.

Sors.—22, 35, 5 Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors . . . evenit. 42, 28, 6 his praetoribus provinciae decretae, duae iure Romae dicundo.

Spatium.—23, 27, 7 cum vix movendis armis satis spatii esset.

Supplicatio.—42, 2, 6 ut supplicatio prodigiis expiandis fieret.

Venia.—33, 11, 3 ad petendam veniam mittendis legationibus.

Verba.—6, 22, 7 verba excusandae valetudini solita.

Via.—44, 9, 11 praeparans vias commeatibus subvehendis.

Vinculum.—21, 52, 8 continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse.

Titles with the duties of the officials indicated by the dative of the gerundive, are not infrequent: *Dictator* 9, 26, 6 dictatorem quaestionibus exercendis dici placuit; 9, 26, 14 d. deligendus e. q. fuit. *Dux* 1, 23, 8; 4, 43, 10 non ducem scribendo exercitui esse; 5, 19, 2 fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis servandaeque patriae . . . dictus; 29, 20, 2 recuperandae Hispaniae delegerit ducem. Compounds with *-viri* are more freely used: *Duumviri* 5, 13, 6 d. sacris faciundis; also 6, 5, 8; 6, 37, 12; 10, 8, 3; 23, 31, 9 d. . . aedibus dedicandis: *Triumviri*: 3, 1, 6 t. agro dando; 6, 21, 4 t. coloniae deducendae; 8, 16, 14 t. c. d. agroque dividundo; 9, 46, 3; 10, 21, 9; 32, 29, 4 t. deducendis iis qui . . . haberent; and also 34, 53, 2; 25, 7, 5 quinqueviri muris et turribus reficiendis, et triumviri bini, uni sacris conquirendis donisque persignandis, alteri reficiendis aedibus Fortunae. Another duty of the *quinqueviri* is mentioned 3, 9, 5 legibus de imperio consulari scribendis; and also 6, 21, 4 agro dividundo.

Decemviri.—4, 4, 3 d. legibus scribendis; and also 4, 48, 5; 10, 8, 2 d. sacris faciundis; also 27, 6, 16; and 27, 8, 4; 31, 4, 2 d. agro metiendo dividendoque.

b. Adjectives.

Aequus.—21, 7, 6 a. agendis vineis fuit.

Aptus.—21, 37, 2 a. faciendo igni; 21, 47, 1 bello gerendo . . . a.; 25, 36, 5 nec virgulta vallo caedendo nec terra caespiti faciendo aut ducendae fossae aliive ulli operi apta inveniri posset; 23, 4, 3 aptior favori conciliando; 28, 12, 11 bello reparando aptior; 32, 10, 11 a. tegendis corporibus; 38, 1, 6 quae celandae rei quam agendae aptior; 38, 3, 11 aestatem a. rei gerendae.

Bonus.—29, 31, 9 mons . . . pecori bonus alendo erat.

Exiguus.—28, 12, 7 e. tamen tanto alendo exercitui erat.

Facilis.—26, 15, 1 f. impetrandae veniae fuit Claudius.

(*Felix*.—3, 17, 2 vobis corrumpendis fuit. See Harpers' Dict. s. v. *felix* β δ).

Firmus.—2, 5, 4 area firma templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis.

Immaturus.—36, 13, 2 tempus rebus gerendis i. fuit.

Insignis.—10, 39, 14 quae insignia publicis etiam locis decorandis essent. Cf. 6, 1, 11.

Intentus.—1, 53, 5 fundamentis templi faciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentus; 1, 56, 1; 4, 37, 4 nec ducibus legendis nec exercitui scribendo intentiores; 10, 42, 1; 23, 35, 14 (3); 24, 27, 3 (?); 30, 8, 1 Uticae oppugnandae intentum; 37, 8 1 classi maxime reparandae . . . intentus fuerat.

Latebrosus.—21, 54, 1 equites . . . tegendo satis latebrosus locum . . . perlustravit.

Levis.—28, 44, 5 levissima fidei mutandae ingenia.

Maturus.—28, 43, 13 maturior bello gerendo fuit.

Opportunus.—2, 49, 8 is o. visus locus communiendo praesidio; 24, 24, 1 his audiendis credendisque o. multitudo; 31, 5, 5 per eos dies opportune his irritandis . . . animis et litterae . . . adlatae, et nova legatio venit. Here the use of the adverb instead of the adjective is due to the double subject with which the adjective could not in form exactly agree.

Paratus.—33, 6, 1 ut paratus omni loco castris ponendis esset.

Promptus.—25, 16, 12 gentem . . . promptiorem veniae dandae.

Propior.—2, 64, 6 paucitas damno sentiendo p. erat; 26, 44, 3 p. subsidiis in certamine ipso summittendis essent; 3, 35, 4 propior interdum petendo quam gerendo magistratui erat.

Satis.—2, 17, 4 interiecto . . . spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset; 9, 43, 19 ne temptando quidem satis certamini fore.

Sollemnis.—3, 36, 3 idus tum Maiae sollemnes ineundis magistratibus erant; 5, 9, 3 sollemnem ineundis magistratibus diem.

Validus.—25, 36, 9 vix feminis puerisve morandis satis validum.

c. Verbs.

Adhibere.—8, 27, 5 si qua ars serendis discordiis adhibeatur; 38, 48, 14 omnibus rebus incipiendis gerendisque deos adhibet.

Adicere.—1, 20, 1 tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit; 22, 22, 8 obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit.

Comparare.—24, 40, 15 quae oppugnandae urbi comparatae erant.

Componere.—10, 41, 3 carmen detestandae familiae stirpique compositum; 25, 16, 9 dies composita gerendae rei est.

Creare.—42, 3, 7 censorem moribus regendis creatum.

Dare.—6, 21, 2 prope in aeternum exercendo Romano militi datos; 7, 3, 1 primum initium procurandis religionibus datum; 21, 22, 4 classis data tuendae maritumae orae. 30, 12, 18 data dextra in id, quod petebatur, obligandae fidei; 36, 35, 4 sorte quadam nutriendae Graeciae datus; with *operam* 3, 34, 1 legibus condendis opera dabatur; 22, 2, 1 placandis dis habendoque dilectu dat operam.

Destinare.—1, 55, 7 quae perducendo . . . operi destinata erant.

Esse and Compounds.—2, 9, 6 ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent; 4, 35, 9 sitne aliqui plebeius ferendo magno honori; 10, 5, 5 esse etiam nunc tolerando certamini legatum; 28, 25, 7 rem publicam esse gratiae referendae; 30, 6, 3 quae restinguendo igni forent; 31, 13, 5 nec tamen solvendo aere alieno res publica esset: *Adesse* 26, 33, 5 gerendis rebus adfuerunt; 29, 6, 9 scriptum ut rei agenda adesset: *Deesse* 24, 29, 6 deesset pro parte sua concitando bello; 26, 38, 5 nec Romanus consul temptandis urbibus . . . deerat: *Interesse*.—10, 39, 7; and 44, 22, 12 intersunt gerendis rebus; 23, 9, 1 velut si iam agendis quae audiebat interesset: *Praeesse* 25, 12, 10 iis ludis faciendis praeerit praetor; 28, 10, 16 qui tuendae . . . orae prae fuerat: *Superesse* 21, 4, 7 id quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum.

Habere.—27, 15, 5 naves, quas Laevinus tutandis commeatibus habuerat.

Intervenire.—44, 20, 4 hiemem . . . rebus gerendis intervenisse.

Nasci.—22, 28, 6 natus tegendis insidiis; 24, 42, 6 nata instaurandis reparandisque bellis; 25, 16, 7 *natum tegendis insidiis*.

Obstare.—22, 25, 4 non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare.

Operari.—21, 62, 6 aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit.

Opponere.—3, 8, 5 populationibus arcendis sociorum agro oppositus.

Opus esse.—1, 41, 1 quae curando vulnere opus fuit, comparat.

Parare.—10, 32, 2 tuendis parari finibus fama erat.

Parcere.—26, 31, 5, contumeliis in eos dicendis parcitis.

Permittere.—2, 56, 2 eum vexandis . . . consulibus permisurum.

Praeficere.—4, 8, 7 censui agendo populus . . . praefecit; 39, 20, 4 T. Maenium dilectui habendo praefecerunt.

Praepondere.—40, 38, 7 agro dividendo dandoque iidem . . . praepositi.

Retinere.—26, 16, 8 urbi frequentandae multitudo retenta.

Sufficere.—26, 36, 11 nec triumviri accipiundo nec scribae referundo sufficerent; 28, 41, 12 commeatibus praebendis sufficimus.

Temperare.—10, 12, 8 urbibus oppugnandis temperatum.

D. ACCUSATIVE WITH PREPOSITIONS.

Ad.—According to *Fügener's Lex. Liv.*, *ad* occurs 1371 times with the accusative of gerund or gerundive. Of the words with which these are associated 971 are verbs, 277 nouns, 103 adjectives and 20 adverbs. The construction is akin to the dative, and some words are used with both. Many of the gerunds show merely the adaptation or fitness of the associated word, but more frequently they indicate the design of an action. In some instances, as with the dative, the construction may be taken as indicating the adaptation of the associated noun, or the design expressed by the verb taken in connection with its dependent noun. In most instances the logical subject is left free to carry out the design and the final force is clearly seen. But when there is compulsion the action expressed by the gerund or gerundive is conceived as an attained result, e. g. 4, 21, 8 percelli ad instaurandum bellum; 21, 41, 5 trahere ad decernendum; 40, 35, 12 excitare ad rebellandum. With some intransitive verbs merely the tendency or the fitness is indicated, as in 22, 3, 13 abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerunt; 39, 28, 2 ad reliquos Macedonas continendos exemplum pertinebat; 23, 46, 1 nec bene nec male dicta proferunt ad confirmandos animos. However, a large majority of the occurrences, about 70 per cent, express design. See A. J. P. Vol. XIX, p. 267.

In.—Some instances have been given where *in* can be taken as governing the gerundive, though *ad* may be understood. The following passages have the gerundive immediately connected with the preposition: 21, 21, 10 partiens curas simul *in* inferen-

dum atque arcendum bellum; 22, 61, 2 magna iam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque; 27, 20, 3, consilio in cetera exequenda belli haud parum opportuni; 28, 45, 18 abietes in fabricandas naves; 29, 4, 1 in haec defienda prolapsos; 34, 34, 4 nunc impensa quoque magna eget in opera, machinationes et tormenta . . . in commeatus vobis nobisque in hiemem expediendos; 35, 36, 5 omnia in maturandam perniciem eorum qui fecerant acta sunt; 39, 24, 4 omni cura in augendas regni opes intentus; 43, 19, 14 hortarentur Gentium in amicitiam . . . iungendam; and in the gerund 22, 35, 4 par magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli, if the text is correct.

Inter.—*Inter* with the accusative of the gerundive is used by early writers, disappears in the classical period, and reappears in Livy: 2, 20, 9 inter spoliandum corpus; 6, 11, 5 and 9, 11, 6 inter aurum accipiendum; 6, 39, 10 inter accipiendas . . . rogationes; 7, 40, 5 inter nuncupanda vota; 34, 25, 6 inter agenda haec; 40, 42, 1 inter exponendas res; and in the gerund 8, 38, 15 inter praedandum.

Ante.—*Ante* is used with the gerund by Vergil G. 3, 206 ante domandum, and with the gerundive in contrast with the perfect participle by Livy, Praef. 6 ante conditam condendamve urbem, as *inter* is used 21, 21, 8 inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos.

E. ABLATIVE.

Gerund without object,	410
“ with Accusative sing.,	114
“ “ “ plural,	156
“ “ Dative,	16
“ “ Ablative,	2
“ “ Se	6
“ “ Rel. Clause,	16
“ “ Prepositions,	16-736
Gerundive without preposition,	161
“ with <i>pro</i> (23, 28, 11)	1
“ “ <i>ab</i> ,	26
“ “ <i>de</i> ,	100
“ “ <i>in</i> ,	114
“ “ “ <i>se</i> ,	1-403
	<hr/> 1139

The gerund forms are about 65% of the entire number of instances, and with but 16 exceptions, not counting 4, 44, 9 in *parcendo uni*, are used without a preposition while 40% of the

gerundives are so used. A preference is shown for the gerund with accusative rather than the gerundive,—270 to 161, and for this reason *se*, in indeterminate cases, has been taken as accusative. Where a preposition is used with the gerund it is generally *in*, though *ab* is found 25, 14, 8 *ab resistendo revocandoque ad incitandos hortandosque versus milites*, where the contrast in the two parts is formally indicated by *ab*. . . *ad*. Separation is also indicated, as in 29, 33, 8 *fessum abstinere sequendo coegit*; 4, 55, 5 *ut desisterent inpediendo bello*. Of the other gerunds most are to be translated 'by', and only about 20% 'in,' though for the gerundives without a preposition the percentage is much larger, but exactness of statement need not be expected where the translation must be a matter of individual interpretation.

The gerundive and the gerund of the pronouns will be given together for convenience in comparison. *Se* occurs 3, 56, 3 in *defendendo se*; 2, 27, 3 *medium se gerendo*; 24, 31, 15 *auctorem se exhibendo*; 22, 16, 2 *recipiendo sese*; 22, 34, 2 *se insectando*; 27, 31, 6 *summittendo se*; 39, 23, 13 *partibus . . . adiungendo sese*; 37, 53, 11 in *colendis vobis*; and 7, 35, 2 in *me audiendo*. Demonstrative pronouns are much more freely used in both constructions: 3, 46, 10 *de retinendo eo*; 22, 43, 7 *de insequendo eo*; 36, 38, 7 in *augendo eo*; 37, 53, 7 in *obtinendo eo*; 23, 43, 3 *iis populandis*; 34, 48, 3 *consumpsit mutandis iis quae*; 8, 4, 10 *postulando eo*; 44, 39, 6 *sequendo eo*; and with the gerund: 3, 56, 3 *accusando apud vos eum*; 43, 16, 3 *id querendo*; 5, 27, 2 *trahendo eos*; 32, 18, 7 *laccessendo . . . eos*; 34, 12, 5 *eas commodando*; 40, 11, 10 *puniendo eos qui*; 35, 4, 2 *tuendo ea*; 4, 12, 4 *ea ipsa denuntiando*; 9, 11, 9 *hos tibi remittendo*; 10, 19, 5 *haec monendo*; 23, 45, 5 *haec exprobrando*; 29, 1, 25 *haec taliaque dicendo*. Other pronouns, exclusive of the relatives, occur as follows: 26, 38, 11 *idem obtundendo*; 1, 45, 1 *saepe iterando eadem*; 3, 50, 10 *eadem illa querendo*; 22, 59, 10 *premendo alium*; 21, 32, 11 *simulando aliud*; 38, 16, 16 *alios atque alios . . . travehendo*; 1, 21, 1 *aliquid agendo*; 31, 1, 5 *prima quaeque perficiendo*; 33, 12, 11 *proxima quaeque amoliendo*; 30, 42, 14 *quaedam fatendo*; 34, 40, 1 *intersaepiendo quaedam*.

The gerund with *in* is followed by the dative 4, 44, 9, and without *in* 1, 14, 7 *adequitando portis*; 27, 32, 1 *obequitando portis*; 2, 45, 3 *o. castris*; 3, 41, 4 *complexus Appium non cui*

simulabat consulendo diremit certamen; 3, 49, 6 adsentiendo multis auctoribus; 10, 39, 6 resistentibus cedendo; 23, 14, 11 concedendo plebei; 28, 44, 18 temperando linguae; 29, 34, 11 aliis . . . ob-sistendo; 30, 42, 17 parcendo victis; 31, 31, 16 v. ignoscendo; 36, 7, 4 praesentibus adulando; 38, 31, 4 obediendo imperiis; 42, 63, 2 deteriori atque informiori favendo; 43, 16, 10 inter-cessioni non parendo; 45, 23, 9 adsentando multitudini. The ablative is used 33, 21, 2 iis . . . utendo; 41, 8, 9 lege male utendo. The accusative is used much more freely with the ablative of the ger. than either the dative or the ablative, though a few instances have been counted in which a prepositional phrase or object clause is used instead of a noun, as in 42, 8, 8 saeviendo in adflictos; 3, 19, 6 hostem se fatendo; and , 16, 64 et plebei aliqui profitendo se ultores fore Maelianae caedis crearentur.

There are three features in the use of the ablative worthy of special notice:

(a) Its equivalence to a present participle; (b) its apparent reinforcement by a pronoun; (c) its use as an ablative absolute.

(a) In 24, 4, 9 we find 'dictitans . . . deponendoque . . . convertit', where the gerund is to all intents and purposes equivalent to a present participle, expressing an action present to that of the main verb. Similar to this is 2, 38, 1 ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque . . . deduxit; and in still other passages in contrast with the perfect participle of a deponent, the gerund expresses a continuative action: 8, 17, 1 ingressi hostium fines populando . . . pervenerunt; 24, 32, 5 primo imperio minisque, deinde auctoritate deterrendo, postremo . . . obliti maiestatis precibus agebant; cf. 40, 33, 9 popula-bundus ducit legiones multa castella oppugnando, donec . . . venit. The principal verb is at times a compound with *per*, or in the imperfect: 2, 59, 9 consul cum revocando nequiquam suos persecutus esset; 22, 3, 10 vastando et urendo omnia . . . perveniat; 32, 16, 4 trahendis plerumque remulco navibus . . . pervenit; 38, 16, 3 pugnando . . . imponendo . . . pervenisset; cf. 32, 20, 2 orationes . . . quae difficilia essent promendo admo-nendoque per totum diem habitae: 4, 12, 11 multi . . . potius quam ut cruciarentur trahendo animam . . . praecipitaverunt; 5, 43, 7 cum diis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque; 22, 14, 7 qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indig-nando . . . deos ciebamur; 34, 7, 14 invidiosis nominibus

utebatur modo consul seditionem muliebrem et secessionem appellando; 30, 34, 10 principum . . . signa fluctuari coeperant vagam ante se cernendo aciem; 35, 39, 7 multitudo obstreperet nunc senatum nunc Quinctium accusando; 45, 23, 9 qui adsentando grassarentur multitudini. The following are instances of occurrences with the perfect: 3, 65, 4 insectandis patribus . . . tribunatum gessit; 31, 47, 5 legiones induxit populandoque . . . bellum gessit; 32, 30, 6 mittendo . . . coepit. In all of these, excepting the last, two parallel continuative actions are expressed, and the gerund differs little if at all from a *dum* clause.

(b) The pronominal subject of the principal verb, usually *ipse* or *quisque*, is occasionally closely associated with the gerund, its position being like that of the subject of the principal verb placed between the parts of the ablative absolute. It is merely a question of the position of the subject, though the absence of case force from some of the ablatives of the gerund permits the pronoun to be associated conjointly with the gerund and also with the finite verb. The following are instances of this position of the pronoun: 24, 4, 9 deponendo tutelam ipse . . . convertit; 25, 23, 11 murum contemplans, numerando lapides aestimando ipse secum . . .; 26, 39, 5 ipse . . . exigendo . . . efficit; 27, 27, 6 integri consules hortando ipsique ex parte pugnando rem sustinebant; 39, 49, 3 locum . . . cogendo ipse agmen praebebat; 40, 23, 1 adsentando indignando et ipse vicem eius captaret; 41, 24, 2 agendo . . . causam ipse . . . efficit; 45, 35, 8 prensando ipse et per milites sollicitando stimulaverat. The occurrences of *quisque* are not as numerous: 2, 38, 6 instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere; 4, 31, 2 tendendo ad sua quisque consilia . . . aperuerunt; 4, 43, 11 quin illi remittendo de summa quisque iuris mediis copularent concordiam. A few other words are similarly used: 9, 29, 8 gerendo solus censuram obtinuit; 24, 5, 8 tendendo autem duo ad Carthaginienses . . . convertebant. Cf. 3, 72, 2; 24, 34, 10; 38, 17, 8.

So far as case force is concerned the examples in *a* and *b* are similar, but in *c* the statement has been strengthened by the introduction of the pronominal subject, and this use of the ablative is analogous to the use of the ablative absolute of the neuter participle as a substitutive element for the lacking perfect active participle. In these too, it is the case force that is lost, and the ger. appears as a substitution for an active participle.

(c) Is the gerund used as an ablative absolute? Theoretically this is the most interesting question connected with the use of the ablative of the gerund or gerundive. The lack of agreement among commentators has been pointed out in the *Journal* (Vol. XXIII, p. 296), and we shall here take up in detail those instances which by the Weissenborn-Mueller edition are taken as ablatives absolute, or as the equivalent of a temporal clause. In about thirty passages, attention is called to a variation from the normal usage, but references cited do not indicate the existence of any general principle of interpretation. Uniformity may be gained in the final revision, yet at present the variety of explanations shows that all examples may be readily explained in other ways.

(a) *Ablative Absolute*.—In the following passages the construction is mentioned as ablative absolute: 24, 36, 1 castris ponendis incompósitos ac dispersos nactus eos (ist ein Abl. abs. mit dem Part. präs. pass.=‘beim Aufschlagen’; s. zu 3, 39, 7 und 25, 6, 22); 25, 6, 22 vis . . . acie, vis urbibus oppugnandis experiri virtutem; and 32, 16, 4 (ist Abl. abs. mit dem Part. Praes. Pass.=einem modalen Abl., ‘bei’ . . . vgl. 30, 6; 3, 39, 7; 26, 48, 2; 28, 14, 11); 26, 48, 2 qui et acie dimicassent, et capi-enda urbe tantum laboris adissent (s. zu 25, 6, 22); 32, 20, 2 orationes . . . quae difficilia essent promendo admonendoque . . . habitae (wie 16, 4; vgl. zu 2, 32, 4); 33, 3, 5 (. . . s. 4, 29, 3; 8, 11, 1; 10, 11, 1; 28, 37, 1; u. a.; vgl. 2, 32, 4).

(b) *Translated ‘Bei.’*—3, 17, 2 tam felix vobis corrumpendis fuit, qui servitia non commovit auctor; 7, 25, 7, contendere . . . dilectu habendo iussit (vgl. 7, 21, 2 prolatandis igitur comitiis . . . res ad interregnum rediit); 25, 30, 6 partibus dividendis ipsi regio evenit (vgl. zu 6, 22); 9, 13, 2 ne mora in concursu pilis emittendis stringendisque inde gladiis esset (wie 7, 21, 2; ‘bei’ oder ‘durch’).

(c) *‘Cum.’*—4, 29, 3 repetendo signo primam impressionem factam (vgl. 5, 43, 7; zu 2, 32, 4); 28, 14, 11 nec quicquam acie instruenda mutat (s. c. 16, 20; 24, 36, 1; 25, 30, 6; s. zu 3, 39, 7; und oft bei L. ohne *in*); 28, 37, 1 classe adpulsa mittendis legatis, querendo quod . . . elicuit (s. c. 16, 10; 25, 30, 6).

(d) *‘Dum.’*—28, 16, 10 causis . . . cognoscendis . . . Tarraconem rediit (s. c. 14, 11; 32, 16, 4).

(e) *‘Indem.’*—3, 65, 4 insectandis patribus . . . tribunatum gessit (=‘indem, so dass er’ s. zu 10, 6); 8, 11, 1 abolevit nova . . .

praefendo; 24, 48, 11 instruendo decurrendoque signa sequi et servare ordines docuit (s. zu 24, 4, 9).

(f) *Without 'in'.*—3, 39, 7 fortior dolor libertate sua vindicanda quam cupiditas iniusta dominatione (s. 3, 17, 2; 23, 17, 10; 26, 48, 2; 28, 14, 11; 41, 27, 13; 42, 45, 6). We have here given reading and note of the earlier editions. 41, 27, 13 moribus quoque regendis diligens (ohne *in* wie 3, 39, 7; 24, 48, 11); 42, 45, 6 trepidaturos . . . paranda classe.

(g) *Miscellaneous.*—In a few passages the notes do not specifically designate the construction, though the passages are cited in elucidation of some already given: 5, 6, 4 tamquam navale bellum tempestatibus captandis et observando tempore anni gerant (s. 3, 39, 7; 4, 29, 3); 7, 21, 2; 9, 5, 11; 8, 36, 7 medendis corporibus animi . . . reconciliantur, 'dadurch dass'; 45, 32, 7; 10, 11, 1 ab rapido cursu circumagendo equo effusus . . . expiravit; 5, 43, 7 cum diis hominibusque accusandis senesceret.

The general features of all these occurrences of the ger. are the same, and their use seems to be due to the extension to the gerund and gerundive of the same freedom which is shown by Livy in the use of other terms. It has been shown that a noun and gerund or gerundive are frequently parallel in construction, and an explanation of the noun must serve as an explanation of the accompanying ger. form as well, and if one is absolute, the other is also, and this would leave us with a noun alone in the ablative absolute. Under (a) 25, 6, 22; and also 26, 48, 2 the construction of *acie* and of the gerundives is the same. In (b) 7, 25, 7; (c) 28, 14, 11; (f) 5, 43, 7; and 42, 45, 6; and (g) 8, 36, 7 the verbs associated with the gerundives are elsewhere used with nouns in the ablative without a preposition. Cf. Kühnast, p. 166, N. 111, 112; p. 173, N. 115.

In the discussion of this point we shall give a fairly complete view of Livy's usage with the gerund and gerundive, so far as the use of the preposition *in* is concerned. This is used with nouns, adjectives and verbs, chiefly with the latter, and the examples which are quoted will show the flexibility of Livy's phraseology. The general locative equivalence of the gerundive with *in* can be seen from 30, 35, 11 nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda.

Nouns.—The ablative frequently indicates the sphere in which a mental attitude was displayed or an activity exerted: 3, 59, 4 in libertate vestra tuenda cura; 10, 11, 9; 3, 56, 3 impudentia in

defendendo se ; 45, 32, 10 prudentiam in dandis spectaculis ; 4, 18, 1 spes in trahendo bello ; 21, 57, 6 ; 42, 5, 4 fraudis in tollendo fratre ; 37, 53, 11 studio in colendis vobis ; 6, 10, 1 in ea urbe recipienda laboris ; 6, 13, 4 ; 37, 33, 2 ; 44, 11, 5 ; 3, 41, 6 moderatione consulum in imperiis exercendis ; 1, 47, 6 nullum momentum in dando adimendo regno ; 30, 34, 1 ; 28, 36, 11 in moliendo mora ; 3, 26, 3 vis . . . in gerendo negotio ; 34, 18, 1 difficultatem in subigendis hostibus. Compare with these 9, 13, 3 nihil illic imperatoriae artis ordinibus aut subsidiis locandis ; but 21, 2, 7 artis in sollicitandis gentibus.

Adjectives.—Most of the adjectives are also used with the preposition : 32, 27, 3 asperior in faenore coercendo ; also 39, 44, 1 ; and 43, 16, 1 : 26, 14, 5 ; 41, 15, 7 in quibus peragendis . . . efficacissima ; 1, 34, 3 immemor in testando ; 38, 23, 8 immodicus in numero augendo ; 36, 38, 7 in augendo eo non alius intemperantior est ; 38, 28, 2 in equitatu recensendo mitis . . . censura ; 4, 51, 6 in retinendis publicis agris . . . pertinacem ; 29, 33, 7 pertinacior in repugnando : 3, 19, 4 non in plebe coercenda quam senatu castigando vehementior fuit. Perhaps with *in* : 3, 39, 7 ; and 41, 27, 13 moribus quoque regendis diligens et severa censura fuit ; cf. 38, 28, 2. The preposition is omitted 44, 10, 2 incautior . . . prociendo pecuniae partem ; 5, 31, 4 perseverantior caedendis iis in fuga ; 6, 31, 4 violentior . . . inpediendo dilectu.

Verbs.—Some verbs are also occasionally used without a preposition : We find in 5, 43, 7 diis hominibusque accusandis . . . senesceret, and the verb used without a preposition 1, 22, 2 s. otio, and 29, 3, 15 fama s. et viribus ; though the preposition is used with *consensescere* 35, 34, 7 ; 39, 36, 15 ; 42, 50, 8. In 34, 14, 4 and 42, 45, 6 we find *trepidare* without *in* ; with it 44, 38, 11 ; and 44, 40, 2. *Absumere* and *consumere* are each used with ger. forms nineteen times without a preposition, still we find 34, 5, 3 plura verba in castigandis matronis quam in rogatione nostra dissuadenda consumpsit. *Terere* occurs a dozen times with the ger. without a preposition, but has *in* with a noun 42, 66, 2 t. tempus in obsidione.

It is possible to reduce all the exceptions in the above examples to the normal form of statement by a Procrustean method of syntax, but it is fairer to consider them as real exceptions, indicating Livy's constructive freedom in the use of the ablative, yet not extended so far as to reach the absolute.

That the ger. is at times equivalent to a temporal clause may be seen by comparing 4, 29, 3 *repetendo signo primam impressionem factam*, with 34, 46, 13 *dum repetunt enixe signum, priores secundani se porta eiecerunt*. All the examples can be brought within the range of grammatical relationship, and even the omission of *in* is defensible. *Experiendo* occurs 9, 5, 11 *omnia tristiora experiundo factura*; and 44, 41, 4 *nam sicut pleraque nova commenta mortalium in verbis vim habent, experiendo . . . sine ullo effectu evanescent*, the latter of which is parallel to Ter. Adel. 857 *et quae tibi putaris prima, in experiundo ut repudies*. Quintilian who was conservative in his syntax has 9, 4, 112 *ut oratio . . . dimetiendis pedibus ac perpendendis syllabis consenescat*, which is the same as Livy, and justifies Livy 5, 43, 7 *cum diis hominibusque accusandis senesceret*.

F. GERUNDIVE. (FUTURE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE).

The gerundive (future passive participle) expressing design after verbs of transferring is not unusual, though it has also acquired other forces. Sometimes it may have adjectival force, as in 1, 56, 7 *neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit*; 6, 37, 11 *omnia . . . magna ipsis fruenda, maiora liberis relinquenda*; and contrasted with other terms 1, 20, 7 *iusta funebria placandosque manes ut pontifex edoceret*; 9, 5, 8 *contemplari arma mox tradenda et inermes futuras dexteras obnoxiaque corpora hosti*; 45, 16, 2 *res et bello turbatas et in statum alium ex regno formandas composuissent*. Although late Latin has *praebenda* as a noun, the verbal force is still retained in Livy, although, disregarding the time element, we might sometimes give the nominal interpretation, as in 23, 48, 11 *conducerent ea lege praebenda quae . . . opus essent*; and 34, 6, 13 *pecuniae frumentum et cetera quae belli usus postulabant, praebenda publicani se conducturos professi erant*. As an expression of future action the gerundive naturally lent itself to the expression of design, yet in 42, 3, 7 *nudatum tectum patere imbribus putrefaciendum*, it expresses merely an incidental result. With a few verbs the gerundive expresses an action conceived as definitely realized. In this list may be put 5, 24, 8 *destinabant habitandos Veios*, unless we read *ad habilandos*, and the occurrences with *curare* and *locare*. In the case of *curare* definite attainment of a given result may be

illustrated by 3, 51, 9 priusquam iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. *Locare*, freely used with *faciendum*, with the gerundive expresses conditions to be enforced by contract, the 'shall' of necessity, rather than the flexible 'may' or 'might' of design. As an illustration we give 40, 51, 7 pecuniam : ex ea communiter locarunt aquam abducendam fornicesque faciendos. The occurrences with these verbs are, *Curare* : 3, 51, 9 ; 10, 31, 9 ; 10, 33, 9 ; 22, 55, 7 ; 23, 34, 14 ; 24, 16, 19 ; 26, 14, 7 ; 29, 1, 8 ; 31, 19, 4 ; 32, 1, 7 ; 32, 1, 8 ; 32, 7, 3 ; 36, 2, 12 ; 41, 27, 7 ; 42, 13, 7 ; 42, 17, 5 ; 42, 22, 5 ; 43, 8, 7 ; 43, 12, 9 ; 44, 16, 10 ; 45, 13, 8 ; 45, 16, 8. *Locare* : 6, 32, 1 ; 10, 46, 14 ; 22, 33, 8 ; 23, 48, 12 ; 27, 3, 2 ; 27, 11, 8 ; 27, 11, 16 ; 29, 37, 2 ; 29, 37, 3 ; 34, 53, 4 ; 36, 36, 4 ; 36, 36, 6 ; 38, 28, 3 ; 39, 44, 5 (4) ; 40, 51, 4 ; 40, 51, 7 (2) ; 41, 27, 5 (6) ; 41, 27, 10 ; 41, 27, 11 (5) ; 42, 3, 8 (?) ; 42, 3, 10 ; 42, 19, 1 ; 44, 16, 4. The text is broken in 41, 27, and the original number of gerundives was probably greater than is now shown.

The list of other verbs associated with the gerundive is not long :

Adsignare.—5, 22, 4 ; 42, 37, 4 circumeundae adsignantur.

Attribuere.—21, 51, 7 ; 31, 28, 3 Aetolos concitandos . . . attribuit.

Dare.—1, 4, 7 ; 1, 28, 9 ; 2, 5, 2 ; 2, 6, 3 ; 2, 43, 5 ; 3, 70, 2 ; 9, 15, 7 ; 9, 42, 10 ; 10, 44, 2 ; 22, 45, 8 ; 22, 52, 5 ; 25, 31, 8 ; 27, 8, 12 (2) ; 27, 48, 4 ; 28, 10, 13 ; 30, 2, 5 ; 35, 1, 12 ; 36, 22, 7 ; 36, 35, 13 ; 37, 2, 6 ; 40, 41, 10 ; 41, 13, 3 bos alenda publice data ; 4, 55, 3 (2) ; 10, 28, 13 ; 42, 65, 4 (2).

Dedere.—24, 30, 14 mox trucidandi populo Romano dederentur.

Deducere.—38, 9, 2 circumventi Thyrraeum custodiendi deducuntur.

Deposcere.—36, 17, 9 cum Hypatam tuendam Heracleamque depoposcissent.

Desumere.—4, 55, 3 singulos . . . adservandos adsidua opera desumunt.

Dicare or *dedicare*.—45, 39, 12 quas traducendas (or *-do*) in triumpho dicavit (or *dedicavit*).

Differre.—40, 5, 6 cetera . . . agenda differunt.

Dividere.—1, 35, 10 ; 2, 47, 12 ; 22, 54, 2 ; 23, 34, 9 ; 24, 20, 16 ; 40, 18, 8 divisa tuenda . . . ora.

Evenire.—8, 22, 9 Graeci persequendi Publilio evenerunt.

Intercludere.—36, 17, 11 obsidendum sese intercluserit.

Mittere.—42, 19, 4 regem educendum filium Romam misisse.

Obicere.—3, 19, 9; 4, 58, 12 (2); 21, 20, 4; 31, 10, 7 quinque milia socium . . . trucidanda obicere velit.

Permittere.—29, 10, 3; 30, 37, 12; 42, 49, 3 rem publicam tuendam permiserunt.

Ponere.—44, 45, 13 posita sunt in ripa diripienda.

Praebere.—9, 1, 9 (2); 21, 3, 4; 27, 48, 17 (2); 29, 36, 12 bona pigneranda poenae praebebant.

Proferre.—6, 20, 7 non commemorasse tantum sed protulisse etiam conspicienda spolia hostium.

Recipere.—39, 50, 2 neque ipsi domum recipere custodiendum audebant.

Relinquere.—1, 56, 7; 10, 18, 9; 30, 12, 20; 31, 29, 11; 32, 21, 11 (2); 32, 21, 15 socios reliquit hostibus diripiendos.

Sumere.—26, 35, 4 plebem Romanam perdendam lacerandam sibi consules sumpsisse.

Suscipere.—2, 43, 3; 4, 13, 8; 4, 24, 4; 36, 11, 2; 37, 54, 17 tuendam . . . libertatem . . . suscepistis.

Tradere.—5, 27, 9; 5, 44, 7; 5, 52, 8; 9, 10, 2; 22, 53, 13; 24, 5, 10; 25, 29, 6; 27, 24, 1; 27, 24, 5; 27, 43, 4; 28, 30, 4; 29, 14, 10; 35, 38, 7; 40, 3, 4 urbes tradidit habitandas; 42, 3, 7 (?)

Because of the nominal element in the gerund and gerundive they are frequently parallel in construction with a noun, and the same rhetorical features are manifest in Livy's dealing with successive occurrences of both. The omission of the antecedent, so noticeable with the ablative absolute, is not infrequent with the gerund, occasionally the gerundive, or if we consider the ger. form as verbal, the relative clause is used as object. Conciseness of statement has led to the omission of the noun with the gerundive in a few passages, though in some apparent instances a pronoun has probably fallen from the text. In the use of the genitive some features are distinctly marked, most so that of the gerundive singular instead of gerund with object, and of gerund with accusative plural instead of the gerundive plural. *Causā* regularly takes the gerundive with both nouns and pronouns, but in other connections the reflexive is generally in the accusative with the gerund. Excepting *auctor*, personal nouns do not frequently occur with ger. forms, while adjectives are used somewhat freely as compared with occurrences in other

writers, though in such comparisons the mass of Livy's work must be taken into consideration. The dative indicates mere fitness or the end for which, as does *ad* with the gerund or gerundive. Some nouns, as *dies*, *materia*, *signum*; and some adjectives, e. g. *aptus*, *intentus*, *maturus*, *opportunus*, *promptus* are found with both constructions. Some words are associated with both genitive and dative, and at times with nouns of the first declension the cases are not formally distinguishable. As we should expect in a political history *comitia* and the names of officers are most frequently used with the dative of the gerundive indicating the object of the one and the duties of the others. A double interpretation is at times possible as we may view the gerundive in accordance with its earlier or its later use. The accusative is rarely found with any other preposition than *ad* and this usually indicates the design of the principal actor.

The ablative, least tenacious of its modal force, is at times equal to a present participle, may have a pronoun conjointly with the principal verb, and in general is used freely though not in the absolute construction. In number the accusative stands first followed by ablative and genitive. The associations of the last are almost altogether nominal; of the others, verbal. Design is usually expressed by *ad* with the accusative, so that it is usually prospective, while the ablative is generally inspective—indicating the immediate sphere of activity,—or is instrumental. Statistically the datives and future passive participles are of less moment, although, compared with other writers, Livy uses them freely.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

R. B. STEELE.

III.—GREEK AND LATIN ETYMOLOGIES.

I. THE BASE SĒP-/SŌP.

1) Lat. sapit: Gr. *ἔπει*, etc.

The Latin verb *sapit* means (1) 'tastes', (2) 'has taste, perceives'. Greek *ἄπτει* means 'fastens, binds' but *ἀπτεται* means 'grasps, touches'; cf. Lat. *stringit* (1) 'touches', (2) 'brings in touch, binds'. Further, *ἀπτεται* has the derived senses (3) 'perceives' (= 'grasps mentally') and (4) 'has sexual intercourse with'. In view of English *tastes* 'sapit, gustat' which is identical with German *taslen* 'tangere, tractare', both borrowed from older French *taster* 'to feel, taste' (cf. *tête-vin*, 'wine taster'); and in view of Lat. *tangit* 'touches', but also specifically 'tastes, eats and drinks'; we may suspect the ultimate cognation of Gr. *ἀπτεται* 'touches' and Latin *sapit*, 'tastes'.

This brings us to a consideration of the Sanskrit verb *sāpati*, defined by Whitney in List of Verb-Roots, etc. by 'to serve'. But in fact *sāpati* seems almost to resist a single definition. The Vedic commentator Sāyaṇa defines *sāpati* by *स्पर्शति* 'touches', and the compound *ṛtasāpas*¹ (nom. plur.) 'keeping the ritus' is hardly to be felt as different from the compound *ṛta-spr̥śas* (nom. plur.). Supposing Sāyaṇa's definition of 'touches' to be correct—and it is borne out by the Avestan idiom *hafši zastā* (= Sanskrit *sāpasi hastena*) 'thou holdest (graspest, touchest) with thy hand', cited by Uhlenbeck (Etym. Woert. d. ai. Spr.)—*sāpati* invites comparison with *ἀπτεται* 'touches, grasps' (cf. Bartholomae, *air. Woert.* col. 1764), and with *sapit* 'grasps (mentally)'. Inasmuch, however, as *sāpati* is cognate with Homeric *ἔπει* 'tractat', the problem of correlating *ἀπτεται* with *ἔπει* presents itself for solution. It is unfortunate that *ἔπει* is as vague a word as *sāpati* and equally defies precise definition. But the cognation of *ἔπει* and *ἀπτεται* might be supposed to lie implicit in the following examples:

¹ Cf. Eng. *clever* 'sapiens', which seems etymologically to have meant 'grasping' (so the Oxford Dictionary): further note *मृच्छति* 'touches; strokes; reflects'; *परिमृच्छति*, 'grasps, seizes'.

² The only other compound in Sanskrit is *keta-sāpas* 'voluntatem-servantes'.

Σ 348 γάστρην τρίποδος πῦρ ἄμφεπε 'the flame began to touch the belly of the kettle on all sides'; Τ 392, ἵππους ἀμφίπορτε ζεύγυσαν 'touching (seizing) the horses on both sides they hitched them up'. The compound *περίεπει* means 'touches gently' (= 'mulcet, tractat'), and *περίεπει τρηχέως* means 'mulcat' (= 'touches roughly').

From the noun *ἔπλα* (plur.), cognate with *ἔπει*, we may derive some light as regards the primary meaning of the latter: *ἔπλα* means 'tools, armour', and more specifically 'tackle—ropes, cordage'. As *tackle* is ultimately derived from old Norse *taka* 'to grasp, seize'—which belongs with Goth. *tēkan* 'to touch', Eng. *takes*—so *ἔπλα* may properly be derived from a root meaning 'to touch'.

Further, *ἔπλος* is used, according to Hesychius, of the *membrum virile*. Though this sense may be quite secondary, like the corresponding euphemistic use of Eng. *tool*, yet in view of Skr. *sāpas*, and Latin *sōpio*,¹ which exhibit the same meaning, to say nothing of Skr. *sāpāyanti*—'futuens', the presumption is that this sense was developed early: cf. also *ἄπτει* 'has sexual intercourse with', while *ψαύει*, *tangit* and *touches* sometimes verge on this sexual sense.

The vowel relations of *ἄπτει* and *ἔπει* constitute a difficulty, however, in the way of their cognation being recognized, unless we are to look on *ε* (*o*) and *α* as sub-varieties of *ɔ* (cf. Hirt, Griech. Gramm. § 109) in a long vowel series. For the long vowel series Latin *sōpio* might be cited, as well as *prō-sāpia* 'posterity' (cf. O. H. G. *fasel* 'young, posterity', M. H. G. *visel* 'membrum virile'). Latin supplies an additional attest of the long vowel series if *sēps*² (*sēpis*, *saeḗpis*) 'hedge, fence, enclosure' be set down as a cognate of *ἄπτει* 'fastens, joins' (cf. German *festung* from *fest*, which Kluge in his *Woerterbuch* supposes to have meant originally 'fastened', whence 'firm').

There is no normal scheme of vocalisms, however, under which the *ē* of *sēps*, the *ō* of *sōpio*, and the *ā* of *pro-sāp-ia* can all fall, and it will be necessary to submit the *ā* of *pro-sāpia* to a special explanation as a secondary gradation to the *ā* of *sapit* and *ἄπτει*, which falls normally into place. Difficulty still confronts us from

¹ In Catullus 37.10 *scipionibus* (*scipionibus*, v. l.) probably has this meaning.

² That this is the etymologically correct orthography, and not *saeḗps*, seems to me raised above all question by the compound noun *prae-sēpe* 'hut, hovel, manger'; similarly the verb compounds show *-saeḗp-* or *-sēp-*, never *-sēp-*. We might, however, write a base *sē(y)p-*.

Skr. *sāpati*, which might be explained from **sāpeti* with a secondary accent (cf. Wackernagel, ai. Gram. § 5), but not only is *a* from *ś* uncertain in Sanskrit (cf. Hirt, Ablaut § 15), but *sāpati* is doubtless identical with *ῥπει*, and must accordingly be derived from **sēpeti*. The alternatives are, accordingly, (1) to write the root as SEP-/SOP- 'to touch, bind, join', with long grades SEP-/SŌP- and a reduced grade SP-, explaining the *ā* (from *ə*) of *sapit* and *ῥπει* as a secondary gradation to the long-vowel grades and the *ā* of *prō-sāpia* as a tertiary development from *ā* (*ə*); (2) to write the root as SĒP-/SŌP-/SəP-, with secondary grades SEP-/SOP-/SP- (cf. analogous cases in Brugmann's Grundriss¹ § 549, c; and Reichelt in K. Z. 39, 14 sq.). A difficulty in either case is that Greek and Latin *ā* is nowhere matched by Sanskrit *i*, which renders the grade SəP- problematical. Therefore, we may have to explain the *ā* (and *ā*) by some proethnic analogical interference. The root SĒP- 'touches, grasps' has a synonym in the Skr. root *āp-* 'to take', Lat. *apiscitur* 'takes' (cf. also the glosses *apicire* 'ligare' and *apio* 'ligo', which show the sense of *ῥπει* fastens);² and (*pro-*)*sāpia* 'progenies' invites, barring its *s-*, comparison with Skr. *āpi-s* 'friend', Gr. *ῥπιος* 'kind' (cf. the Eng. pair *kind* and *kin* 'genus'), supposing *ῥ* to be Ionic for *ā*.³

The Latin glosses define *sēps*, *sēpis* by *ράφος, βόθος*, a meaning further confirmed by the gloss *sepit* 'munit uel natans (lege uallans) uel penetrans': a *sēps* was then secondarily a 'pit' or 'ditch' as well as a hedge or enclosure. It is perhaps possible in this way, supposing the sense of 'pit' to have been proethnic, to connect *sēps* with *σπηλαιος* 'cave' (from SP-ĒS-, cf. Homeric *σπήεσσι*, dat. plur.), *σπίος* (stem SP-ĒS-ĒS), and Skr. *pas-tyām* 'habitation' (if for **s-pastyam*). It may also be that Skr. *pāsas*, *pas*, sexual organs of the male and female, respectively, Gr. *πίος*, Lat. *penis*,

¹ See Leo Meyer, Griech. Etym. I, p. 153.

² It is impossible to decide whether the *ē* of *coeptis* (Lucretius) is primitive, or merely analogical in Latin (see also Am. Jr. Phil. 26, 387 sq., where Skr. *√āp-* is derived from Ē(V)P-). Here may be mentioned, *ἀρροπος* of the assumption that in the primitive period SĒP- was affected by its synonym ĒP- (? ē), that in Latin **āpio* (inferred from *coeptio*), *cāpio* and *rāpio* all mean, with different degrees of intensity, 'I take'; and so does *sāpio* = 'I take, grasp (mentally)', under the assumption stated above. These words furnish a telling example of what Bréal has named *irradiation* (Sémantique, ch. III). For SEP-/ĒP- note Skr. *āpi-tvdm* 'Bundesgenossenschaft': *sapitvdm* 'Gemeinschaft' (pace Bloomfield in JAOS. 16, 24 sq.: cf. particularly the native commentators there cited, p. 26). Query: should we recognize *s-* movable also before roots with vowel initial?

M. H. G. *visel* also attest a base s)P-ES-, cognate with the base of Skr. *sápas*, Lat. *sōpio*, Gr. *ὄπλον*. I note that in the Septuagint *σπήλαια* is a common designation for the *pudenda* (cf. Lat. *saltus*).

A difficulty remains in the aspirate of ἀφᾶ 'handles, feels' and ἀφάσσει 'takes hold of, handles, touches'. The instinctive feeling that ἀπτεῖ and ἀφᾶ belong together is borne out even further by the fact that ἀφᾶ 'handles, feels' is used with the same class of objects as ἔπει 'fixes, arranges', cf. Z 321-2:

τὸν δ' εὖρ' ἐν θαλάμῳ περικαλλία τεύχε' ἔποντα,
ἀσπίδα καὶ θώρηκα, καὶ ἀγκύλα τόξ' ἀφώωντα.

It will, therefore, be necessary to explain the φ of ἀφᾶ as a special¹ Greek development. In view of the fact that ἀπτεῖ means 'seizes, takes, wins', the forms ἡμμαι (found in compounds in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) and ἥφθην beside εἰλημμαι and ἐλήφθην, (: λαμβάνει 'takes,' wins') might well have resulted in the introduction of the φ of εἰληφα into forms of ἀπτεῖ (cf. 2d aor. ἥφην).² Especial attention may be called to the rhyming pair ἀφύσσει and λαφύσσει; ἀφύσσει 'draws (wine, water,) — trahit' seems a specialisation of ἀφᾶ 'tractat', while λαφύσσει 'draws in, swallows greedily, quaffs' is a specialised sense of εἰληφα (cf. trahit pocula in *Horace*). The meaning 'draws, tears—quaffs' is exhibited in Greek by σπάει (i. e. σπ-ασ-ει, cf. the Homeric aorist σπάσσατο), which belongs ultimately to our root sĒP- 'to touch, take'.³

It remains to call attention to yet another Greek derivative of the root *sep-* 'to touch', viz: ἀπαλός 'soft'. For the signification cf. Gr. μαλακός 'soft': Lat. *mulcet* 'touches gently', *mulcat* 'touches roughly'; cf. also θιβρός, glossed by Hesychius with ἀπαλός, which will thus belong with θιγγάνει 'touches' (from a stem **dhig^w-ro-*, cf. Lat. *figere* | *figere*). Cognate with ἀπαλός, perhaps, is German *sacht* (with -cht for -ft, cf. Kluge's *Woert.*, s. v.) 'soft'. Independent of the breathing, ἀπαλός may be explained from ἔP- (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* l. c.).

2) ἄνθρωπος.

In *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 25, vii fn. I made a suggestion in passing ("peripherisch") as follows: ἄνθρωπος 'human' from ἀνδρῶ

¹ Unless, resorting to determinatives, we write a base sĒ-BH-/sĒ-P-.

² The root-determinatives must have originated, in the main, from such rhyming assimilations.

³ Conversely German *ziehen* 'to draw' (: Latin *dūcere*) seems to have developed, when borrowed for use beyond the Rhine, the sense of 'to touch' (= Fr. *toucher*).

+φ_{os} (: φύω) 'possessing the nature of a man', where transfer of aspiration is to be recognized". This attempt to account for the θ seems to me not to have received the attention it deserved. What I had in mind was the possibility that the parasitic dental appearing as δ in ἀνδρ_ω- was not so definitely a media as to exclude its aspiration: and I even fancied that the transfer of aspiration might have happened when DH rather than θ was spoken by the Greeks. I based -φ_{os} on Skr. *vibhván* 'egregius', *ābhvas* 'unmenschlich', Lat. *superbus* 'uebermenschlich', cf. *ὑπερφιάλος* (Brugmann, Gr. Gram.³ § 24. 4). It might now be suggested that *ἀνδροφός was an animal name in -φός (: BHĀ- 'to shine', cf. Prellwitz, B. B. 22, 76 sq., cited with approbation by Hirt, Gr. Gram. 284, c), and meant 'having the appearance of a man'. Semantically, it would make little difference whether we operate with -φ_{os} or -φός.

But a difficult phonetic question remains: how account for α in *ἀνδρ_ω-φός? A lengthened vowel in the first member of compounds is no stranger to Vedic Sanskrit, and Avestan and Greek parallels are found (cf. Wackernagel. ai. Gram. II, § 56). We might justify ἀνδρ_ω- as we justify Skr. *rathā*-. Apter parallels are *virā-śāh*- "Männer beherrschend", *narā-śāh*- "der Männer Lob" (?). Note the nearly exact proportion Lat. *vir*: Skr. *virā*- = Skr. *nṛ*:- Skr. *narā*-. For ἀνδρ_ω-, in view of Lat. *nerō-n*- 'manly', the question arises whether we have not to do with an *ōn*- stem. Here, in my opinion, lies the solution. In the Veda, also, -*an*- stems exhibit *ā* in compounds, e. g. *vibhūā-sāh*- 'fortes-vincens', *vṛṣā-yūdh*- 'tauros-pugnans'. How are we to interpret this *ā*? Wackernagel (l. c., d.) especially denies to the *ā*- of *an*-stems a proethnic character. In this I believe him to be wrong, and particularly on the score of Lat. *lenō-cinium* 'procurer-wheedling', a compound I have treated at some length in Class. Rev. 18, 349. I there explained as *leno[ni]-cinium*, but when I consider the type of *vibhūā-sāh*-, *vṛṣā-yūdh*- and *vṛṣā-raud-s* 'bull-screaming' (alongside of *vṛṣā-bharā-s* 'Männer-hegend') I can see no reason for denying to *lenō-cinium* (alongside of *vaticinium*) the character of a proethnic type of compound. The long vowel got into the compounds, I take it, from phrase-groups like *lenō canil*; thus *lenō*- is, in fact, a nominative.

That the α in *ἀνδρ_ω-φός is to be connected with the *ō* of Lat. *nerō*—that both exhibit a nasal stem—is to a certain extent attested by ἄλ_α-φός (with α = η, cf. Prellwitz, l. c. 100) and Lat. *colum-ba*.

As to accent, **ἀνδρω-φος* has the recessive accent of the *δάθυ-υγίη* type, and that it falls on the *ἀ-* is no more—and no less—difficult than the accentuation *ἀνίρες*/*ἀνδρες*, *ἀνδράσι*/*ἀνδρεσι*.

This explanation has a phonetic difficulty to acknowledge: how account for *-θ-* *π-* from <*δ*>- *φ-*? A form like Ionic *ἄχαντος* for *ἀκανθος* exhibits shift of aspiration, it is true, but a shift from aspirate (*θ*) to surd (*κ*) is not a warrant for the shift from aspirate (*φ*) to sonant (*δ*). So if we were to admit the derivation of *ἀνθρωπος* from **ανδρω-φος*, the phonetic problem is not attested by any parallel example; and, indeed, the fact that the sound *-δ-* inserted between *-γρ-* is parasitic renders the phonetic conditions unique. We must, therefore, feel a great reserve in regard to the derivation of *ἀνθρωπος* from **ανδρω-φος*.

A hardly less unique phonetic problem is presented in the explanation of *ἀνθρωπος* from **ανδρ-ῥωπος* (or **ανδρ-ῥωπος*) which was advanced by Brugmann in I. F. 12, 25. We cannot infer from *τίθριππον* out of **τετρ-ῥιππον* (?)¹ to *ἀνθρωπος* out of **ανδρ-ῥωπος*. The Attic form *μηθείς* from *μηδ' εἰς* with a probable intermediate stage **μήτ' εἰς* (cf. Brugmann Gr. Gr.² § 139, e) is also not a real parallel to *-θρ-* from *-δρῥ-*.³ Besides, the reconstruction of a Gr. **ώπος*/**όπος* 'face' (from a root *σεκω* 'to see, say'), on the basis of Gothic *siuns* 'face', Lat. *signum*,⁴ O. Bulg. *sokŭ* 'accuser' must be accounted daring. In view of these reasons we must take an attitude of extreme reserve also to the derivation of *ἀνθρωπος* from *ανδρ-* + **ῥωπος* 'face, appearance'. This is particularly advisable in view of the fact that the compound **ανδρ-ῥωπος* is not the continuant of **NR-sōpos*, but must have originated in Greek after *sōpos* became **ῥωπος*.

¹ **τετρα-ῥιππον* seems to me the only correct writing, for *ι-* shows that we have not before us a continuant of *κῳετρ- ῥῥωμ*; *τετρ'* from *τετρα-* by elision?

² I fancied I had found in Homeric *ποτολιθρον*, which I was fain to derive from **ποτολι-ῥεδρο* 'city-site', an analogy for the phonetic change Brugmann finds in *ἀνθρωπος*, but in view of *πέλεθρον* 'acre of land', *ῥέθρον* stream, *ῥεῖθρον* 'Stream-town', *κλῆθρον* 'bolt', the old explanation of *-εθρον* as suffixal seems to be valid.

³ On *signum* see below, No. 6.

⁴ Admitting **ώπος* we might compare **προσ-ῥωπος* 'mask' ('over the eyes') with Lat. *per-sōna* (*-sōna* from *σεκω*-*SN-A*, cf. for the *-sn-* the Skr. stems *ak-ṣh-* 'eye', *adk-ṣh-* 'appearance'). Perhaps *persōna* comes from **pres-sona*, *pres-* being a by-form of *πρός* (cf. Aeolic *πρές*): it is not necessary to derive *προς-* from *πρότι*, but it may well be either *PR-os* or *PRO-s* (cf. Brugmann, *Kurze v. Gr.* § 610).

It is easy in moments of scientific exaltation to speak of the "Sirene des Gleichklanges", but rigid adherents to the doctrine of phonetic uniformity have found it hard to contemplate the disjunction of *ἄνθρ-ωπος* from *ἄνθρ-* (cf. e. g. Brugmann, I. F. I. c.), especially because of the Hesychian gloss *δρώψ · ἄνθρωπος* (cf., e. g. Meillet, *Mém. de la Soc. de Ling.* 7. 166). So brief a gloss, without any usage in which *δρώψ* might betray a special sense, looks like a modern scientific etymology, to be sure; but we cannot make sure that *δρώψ*, if more fully defined, might not be seen to be cognate with *δρώπτης · πλανήτης, πτωχός, δρᾶπίτης · φυγάς*¹ (: Skr. *drāpayati* 'causes to run'). Perhaps also in the gloss *δρώψ · ἄνθρωπος* we are to recognize the debased sense of *ἄνθρωπος*, quasi 'servus': this would give us a reason for suspecting the ultimate cognation of *δρω-π-* with *δρηστήρ* 'servant' (cf. in Homer the forms *δρώοιμι, -δρώωσι* [cited by Leo Meyer, *op. cit.* III, p. 245] and the gloss *δρώωσι · διακονοῦσιν, ὑπηρετοῦσι*).

The positive suggestion I have to offer for *ἄνθρωπος* is a derivation from *ἄντρο-* + **ῶπος* 'cave-dwelling', 'specum pro sepe habens', basing **ῶπος* on Lat. *seps* 'hedge, *praesepe* 'hut, hovel', and comparing Skr. *ṛtaśāpas* which, instead of rendering by "heiliges Werk pflegend", we might explain in terms of *ṛta-sād* "im heiligen Gesetze seinen Sitz habend." The English word 'keep' will render all the compounds fairly well, *ṛta-sāp* 'keeping the *ṛta*', *ṛta-sād* 'keeping in the *ṛta*', **ἄντροῦπος* 'keeping in caverns'.

A point to which I attach some importance as a support of this explanation is the following: in Homer there are next to no examples of the singular of *ἄνθρωπος*, and the plural so markedly preponderates as to admit of our supposing that the *ἄνθρωποι* formed a community of 'cave-dwellers', to-wit.² In the same sense we might derive *δρώψ* from **δρφ-ῥωπ-* 'woods-dweller'.

As regards the definition of *ἄνθρωποι* by 'cave-dwellers', though well enough in line with archaeological facts—I refer to the cave-dwellings of early neolithic men, and note cases of historic survival like the *Τρωγ(λ)οῦται* of Herodotus—it seems to me to have less to commend it than the earlier exposition as **ανθρω-φος*, in

¹ Cf. also (? with a formative *-p-*) *δρύπτην · ἀλήτην*, cognate with Skr. *dru-ids* 'running'; *δρυπολεῖ · ὀρεῖβαται, δρυφογέροντας · τοὺς ἀτόπους πρεσβύτας καὶ οἰονεὶ ἀτίμονας*.

² There is accordingly no inconsequence when Homer describes the dead in the islands of the blest as *ἄνθρωποι*.

spite of the clear phonetic difficulties involved therein. However, something yet may be urged in its favor on the semantic side, viz., the relation of Lat. *homo* 'human': *humus* 'earth', cf. *χθόνιοι* 'unterirdisch', which lets us surmise that *homo* meant not so much 'earthly, mortalis' as 'underground-dwellers': here note from the philosophical summary of Diogenes of Oinoanda (Rhein. Mus. 47, 440) the phrase *οἱ ἀπὸ γῆς φύντες* [*ἄνθρωποι*]. An address like "homines", to a population of "cave-dwellers" would be equivalent to "fellow-citizens".

On the other hand, *ἄντρο-* happens not to occur in the Iliad, and is of far from certain etymology. I can think of nothing so probable as that *ἄντρον* is etymologically cognate with Skr. *antár* (from ENTER), Lat. *inter* (from NTER) 'within', and belongs with Skr. *antrām*, Gr. *ἑντερον* 'entrails' (from ENT(E)RO-). I explain *ἄν-* as a contamination of *ἐν-* (EN-) + *ἀ-* (N-)—unless Osk. *anlar* 'inter' vindicates a proethnic origin for the *a-* (but see Brugmann, Kurze v. Gr. § 594).

Postscript: Nazari, Riv. di Filol. 32, 94 posits **ἄνθρω-φῶς* 'infrā-bus', antonym of 'superbus', noting for the sense *homo*: *humus*.

3) Κύκλωες.

(1) The Hesiodic Κύκλωες are lightning forgers; (2) the Homeric Κύκλωες inhabited caverns on mountain tops; (3) a last variety were wall-builders. The two last may well be one, assuming that the first walled-towns were built (about caves) on hill tops, as fortifications to take refuge in. If we transcribe Κύκλωες by Skr. **cakra-sāpas* and define by 'discus-grasping' (*cakrá-*, the discus of Viṣṇu) we get a most improbable sense for **κυκλο + ἥωπ-ες*, for Viṣṇu's discus and Zeus's thunderbolt do not invite identification (cf. the imperial Roman thunderbolt in Duruy, Histoire des Romains I, cxxiv). But **κυκλο + ἥωπ-ες*, 'wall-joining' yields a correct definition for *κυκλο-*, and accounts for **ἥωπ-ες* as a derivative to SĒP-/SŌP- (see above): in view of the recessive accent, however, Κύκλωες should be rendered by "rotundas-saepes-habentes." Of course, the mythical "round-eyed" is well enough if the myth is older than the name: but if the name is older than its explanation, then "round-sited" (wall-sited) has, by 'disease of language', become 'round-sighted' (? wall-eyed).

4) νῶρος.

This adjective, usually defined by 'shining' or 'noisy', because it is always coupled with *χαλκός*, may perhaps be better defined

by 'man-hedging, man-sheltering'. The definition is certainly apt, as *χαλκός*, with which it is always found, means 'protective armour', and it seems reasonable to derive from *νῆρ*- 'man' (long-grade, corresponding to the grade exhibited by *ἀγ-ήτωρ*, or else from *Νῆρ*) + *ἡσπ*- 'hedging, protecting'.

5) *μέροψ*.

In the Homeric phrase *μέροπες ἄνθρωποι* (*βροτοί*) the epithet *μέροπες* is very hard of definition. As a proper name *Μέροψ* was the name of a famous seer (Λ 329 = Β 831). An examination of the remaining usage yields the following result: (1) the term seemed especially allotted to city-dwellers, as in γ 217, *πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*¹ (cf. ζ 288, 342, 490, ι 402)—cf. Euripides, *Iphig.* T. 1264; in Α 250 it is said that Nestor outlived two generations *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*;² in Ι 340 the Atridae are asked if they alone *μ. ἀ.* love their wives; in Α 28 a rainbow is described as a portent unto *μ. ἀ.*; and in Β 285 Agamemnon is said likely to be rendered the most disgraced *μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσιν*; in ν 49 companies of soldiers are compared to *μ. ἀ.*, while in ι 32 Penelope is said to yield respect rather to the worse of *μ. ἀ.* than to the better. After Homer *μέροψ* occurs in the 31st Homeric hymn (end) with the following context: *ἐκ σίο δ' ἀρξάμενος κλήσθω μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν*³ | *ἡμιθέων, ὃν ἔργα θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ἴδειξαν*, where I am disposed to interpret *μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν* by 'genus hominum optime merentium'. If we render *μέροπες* by 'optime merentes' it will not be inconsistent with the tragic usage of Aeschylus (Suppl. 88, Choeph. 1017) and Euripides (l. c.)

From all the passages one might infer one of two meanings, either (1) righteous or (2) civilized. For the first sense we may derive from *μερ*- (: *μοῖρα* 'destiny, fas'; *μόρος* 'destiny') + *ἡσπ*-, comparing again Skr. *ṛta-sāp*- 'right-keeping'. If the second definition, 'civilized', 'city-dwellers', be correct, we may derive from *μερ*- (: *μείρεται* 'divides') + **δπ*- 'precinct' (cf. Lat. *sēp-s*): hence *μέροπες ἄνθρωποι* would mean 'men who divide their precincts'—those who had advanced from collective to something more like individual ownership (cf. the more individualized

¹ In the hymn to Apollo 42, the same phrase occurs, but *Μερόπων* is taken as a proper name = a tribe of Coans. Homer distinguishes the city of Cos as well-built.

² Cf. Hesiod, *Frag.* 172. 5.

³ Cf. Hesiod, *Εργα*, 109. *χρύσειον μὲν πρῶτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων | ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν.*

propriatorship described by Tacitus, Germ. 26, with the more collective system described by Caesar, B. G. VI. 22). The accent of *μέροψ*, if not secondarily shifted to conform to the rather large group of adjectives in *-ον-* (cf. Leo Meyer, op. cit. i. 486), accords better with the second explanation.

There is a bird (the apiaster) that the Greeks called *μέροψ*. To what did he owe this name? Perhaps to his bright color (? from *μερ-*: Lat. *merus* 'bright' and *-ον-* 'eye-spot'), but the curious notions recorded by Aristotle (H. A. 9. 13. 2; 6. 1. 6) and Pliny (N. H. 10. 98),—to the effect that the *μέροψ* (1) cared for his parents, who kept their nests; (2) that they nested alone in holes (*ὀπαί*),¹ in the ground, or deep in mud-banks beside rivers—make us suspect again that *μέροψ* meant either 'optime merens' or 'dividens-specus'.

II.

6) Lat. *signum*: ἵχνος; *dignus*; *ignis*.

In Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc., vol. 26, p. liii (Special Session, 1894) I propounded two etymologies, in the following words, "*signum* 'statue, sign': *seco* 'cut' (cf. *sica* 'dagger') — *dignus* 'worthy': *δείκνυμαι* 'greet, honor'." I return to them now, *ἀpropos* of the question of the vowel-length before the group *-gn-*, as treated by Buck in the Classical Review, 15, 311 sq. Latin inscriptions attest *signum*,² *dignus* (and *ignis*), but the Romance languages attest vulgar (?) Latin *signo-*, *digno-* (or *signo-*, *digno-*?), nor can we say whether *i* or *ī* was the best Roman pronunciation in these words. The dialectal difference is habitually treated as Italic: it may have been inherited. At any rate, the root to which I have referred *signum* is, in its fullest form, to be written *sĕ(Y)-k-* (cf. Brugmann, Grundr. 2 § 549. c.); and the root of *dignus*: *δείκνυται* 'greet, honors' may also be written *Dĕ(Y)k-* (so Brugmann, Gr. Gram.³ § 340, end); to these the proper *-no-* derivatives would be *sĕik-nó-m*, *Dĕīk-nó-s*, i. e., Lat. *signum*, *dignus*. Lat. *signum*, *dignus* would

¹ If for **ὀπαί*, then cognate with Lat. *sĕp-s* 'βόθρος'.

² No conclusive evidence for an *i* short by nature can be drawn from the diminutive *sigillum*, for what Vendryes (Intensité Initiale § 72) neatly terms the "*loi de māmilla*" need not be limited to consonant simplification: the Latin compound verb *conscribillo*, diminutive to *scribo*, seems a sure case for antepenultimate vowel-shortening before a stressed penultimate (*scribo*: σκρίβω).

proceed normally from SEK-NO-M (SIK-NO-M), DEK̂-NO-S (DIK̂-NO-S), all of which are normal derivations from bases SĒ(Y)K- and DĒ(Y)K̂-. That 'cut, mark, form, sign' constitute a better definition for *signum* than anything to be got by the comparison with Lat. *inseque*, Goth. *saihvān* 'to see' (cf. Brugmann, *Kurze v. Gr.* § 309 d) seems to me to need no demonstration beyond a statement. There is no substantial semantic difference whether we derive *dignus* from the root of *δεικνυμαι* or from the root of *deceit* 'it becomes' (= "it honors"), for both, in my opinion, go back to the base DĒ(Y)K̂-.

With the derivation of *signum* from SĀYK-NÓM I couple the derivation of ἵχνος 'track' from SIK-SNOS-. For the specialisation of the original sense of 'cut, mark', we may note that while Ovid writes out *signa pedum* = 'tracks', Vergil uses a bare *signa* = 'tracks'. The Greek specialisation was as early as Homer, who uses ἵχνιον (which has the form, though not the accent, of a diminutive to ἵχνος), in the *Odyssey* only, in the sense of track (cf. ρ 217, ἵχνισσι), cf. also ε 321. In the other two *Iliad* uses we may find material available for etymology, to wit:

Ψ 764 ἵχνια τύπτε πόδεσσι πάρος κόνιν ἀμφιχυθῆναι,

where the use of τύπτε—even in this context—might justify the definition of ἵχνιον by τὸ *τυπτόν (cf. *signum* 'seal, statue' = τύπος);

N 71, ἵχνια γὰρ μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἤδὲ κνημίων
ῥαὶ ἔγνω ἀπίοντος.

"For easily I knew the tokens of his feet and knees as he turned away" (Lang, Leaf, Myers' Translation). If we wanted to put it into Latin, I know nothing better for *tokens* than *signa*.

It is possible, also, that *ignis* brought a long *i* into Italic, if I am right in the conviction, long ago expressed (see Am. Jr. Phil. 17. 25), that account must be taken of αἰγίς and αἰγλή in settling the etymology of Skr. *agnis* and Lat. *ignis*, whose correlation I now effect by writing a base SĒ(Y)G-, *ib.*, 26, 401.

Postscript: Since the above essay was sent in for publication Walde's *Lateinisches Etymologisches Woerterbuch* has come to hand. It prompts the following note:

For the base SĒ(Y)-P-/SĒ(Y)-BH- (to combine the bases given on p. 307, fn. 2 and p. 309, fn. 1) we may cite Oscan *sīpus* (i) 'sciens' and O. Lat. (*per*-)*sībus* (with *i* in Walde, l. c., p. 463, but with *i*, *ib.* 544) 'callidus siue acutus'.

As to *signum*, it is only fair to note that the cognation with *secāre* was suggested first (I suppose) by Havet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, 6.35, and the explanation has been properly accepted by Stowasser in his *Woerterbuch*. The characteristic meaning of *signum* is statue, and the German word *Bildhauer* 'sculptor' should predispose a German to the correlation *signum* : *secare*. Further, the *ī* of *signum* matches the *ī* of *sīca*, and the root *sēY-K-*, as given above.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

EDWIN W. FAY.

IV.—A NOTE ON MARSTON'S MALCONTENT.

Every commentator learns—not infrequently at his own expense—that one of the most subtle of the many foes by which his path is beset is the traditional but mistaken interpretation. When one of these interpretations has once been introduced by a trustworthy authority it can evade the most experienced of editors; it can impose itself upon the ripest of scholars, sometimes for generations. An interesting illustration is furnished by a passage in Marston's old comedy of the *Malcontent*.

The first edition of this play, "by Iohn Marston. Printed by V. S. for William Aspley," appeared in London in 1604. A second edition, "augmented by Marston. With the Additions played by the *King's Maiesties Servants*. Written by Ihon Webster. Printed by V. S. for William Aspley" was published in the same year. Dyce used both editions for his text of the *Malcontent* in Webster's Works (London, Pickering, 1830; 2nd edit., Routledge, 1857) and gives the textual variants in his notes. No variants for the passage in question are noted. The text of the second edition was reprinted by Halliwell for his edition of Marston in the "Library of Old Authors" (London, John Russell Smith, 1856).

One of the most important characters in the play is the cynic Malevole, the discussion of whose relationship to the melancholy Jaques has recently been revived.¹

At the opening of Act II, Scene 2, Malevole enters at one door, Bianca, Emilia and Maquerelle at the other door. With the exception of one obvious correction of punctuation I give the text of the second edition of 1604:

"*Malevole*" [addressing Bianca and Emilia] "Blesse yee cast a ladies!" [then addressing Maquerelle] "Ha, Dipsas, how doost thou, olde Cole?"

Maq. Olde Cole?

Mal. I, olde Cole! Mee thinkes thou liest like a brand under billets of greene wood. Hee that will inflame a yong

¹ See E. E. Stoll, Shakspeare, Marston, and the *Malcontent* Type, Modern Philology, Vol. III, p. 281, f.

wenches hart let him lay close to her an old cole that hath first bin fired, a pandresse, my half-burnt lint, who though thou canst not flame thy selfe, yet arte able to set a thousand virgins tapers afire," etc.

The portion of this quotation with which we are especially concerned is Malevole's first speech. In the fourth edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays* (London, 1825, Vol. IV, p. 39) it reappears as,

"Bless ye chaste ladies! ha, Dipsas! how dost thou old Cole"?

It will be observed that the good old word "cast", although quite natural and proper in this passage, was emended to "chaste" by Dodsley. On the other hand, "Cole" of the quartos, which, by this time, was in need of some attention, was left undisturbed. It is not often that two of the worst faults of a textual critic jostle elbows in a sentence of only eleven words. But it would be a waste of time and space to specify the shortcomings of the dramatic editors of the eighteenth century. The few who slipped by the acrimonious Gifford did not escape the relentless vigilance of Dyce.

The text of Sir Walter Scott in his *Ancient British Drama*, Vol. II, p. 15, is a mere reprint of Dodsley.

Dyce, whose knowledge of our old drama was enormous, returned to "cast," as might have been expected, and, in his first edition of *Webster* (1830, Vol. IV, p. 52), gives us,

"Bless ye, cast o' ladies!—Ha, Dipsas! how dost thou old Cole"?

The second edition appeared in 1857. Meanwhile Dyce had waked up to the fact that "Cole" was nothing but the sixteenth century spelling of "coal." Hence we have (p. 338),

"Bless ye, cast o' ladies!—Ha, dipsas! how dost thou old coal"?

This is the text adopted by Mr. Bullen in his edition of *Marston*, London, 1887, Vol. I, p. 238.

Marston is not represented in the *Mermaid Series*.

One might believe, indeed, in view of its undeserved misfortunes, one might hope, that this poor little scrap of text was finally clear and correct. It is the primary object of this note, however, to show that one point still remains to be considered. This is the obviously classical allusion in the word "dipsas." What is "dipsas," and why does Malevole apply it to Maquerelle?

Editorial comment begins with a note signed S. in the Dodsley collection, l. c. Presumably, S. stands for George Steevens, the

well-known editor of Shakespeare (so Hazlitt in the 5th edit. of Dodsley, Vol. I, p. xiii).

"The Dipsas," says Steevens, "is the *Fire-Drake*, a serpent of a nature directly opposite to that of the *Hydrus*. The one is supposed to kill by inflammation, the other by cold."

To the present day this note continues to dominate the interpretation of dipsas, not only here, but also in another passage to which I shall refer later. The non-classical reader is likely to be bewildered rather than instructed by it. The classical reader will probably be able to detect the fact that Steevens took "dipsas" to be the well-known classical serpent by that name. To such a reader the note is unnecessary. No doubt Steevens had a source for his remarkable information, but the discovery of it would be of no value in the present inquiry. It may be said, however, that if the dipsas is the fire-drake the Oxford Dictionary needs to revise its account of both words. Further, not even the indefatigable Aldobrandis (*Serpentum et Draconum Libri Duo*, Bologna, 1640, p. 275, f.), seems to have heard of this distinction between death by the hydrus and death by the dipsas, and, in any case, the statement of it has no bearing upon our passage. The wording of the note appears to suggest that Steevens took Malevole's second speech to be an explanation of the allusion in dipsas. But one has only to read the speech to become convinced that the object of it is to explain, not dipsas, but "old Cole."

Steevens' note is copied by Sir Walter Scott without comment.

Dyce says of dipsas:

"A kind of serpent; those whom it bit were said to die tormented with thirst; hence Lucan, '*torrida dipsas*'."

The comment is repeated in the second edition. This is certainly a vast improvement on Steevens. To be sure, Dyce did not inform us where his citation from Lucan [9, 718] was to be found. But the value of exact reference was not yet fully appreciated.

Halliwell says nothing of dipsas in the commentary to his edition, although he not infrequently pauses to discourse upon other matters of much less importance.

Lastly comes Mr. Bullen, to whose untiring industry and enthusiasm every lover of the drama is so deeply indebted. He writes of dipsas as follows:

"A very venomous little serpent. 'A man or beast wounded with this serpent', says Topsel in his *Hist. of Serpents* (ed. 1658,

p. 699), 'is afflicted with intolerable thirst, insomuch as it is easier for him to break his belly than to quench his thirst with drinking : always gaping like a bull, casteth himself down into the water and maketh no spare of the cold liquor, but continually sucketh it in till either the belly break or the poison drive out the life by overcoming the vital spirits '."

This quotation is interesting but, after all, is not Dyce's note more to the point? For example, why cite Topsel for a classical allusion, and that, too, in such a way as to give a non-classical reader no inkling of the fact that it really is a classical allusion? Marston himself was quite able to get his classical learning at first hand. Moreover, Topsel's *History of Serpents* did not appear until 1608, four years after the *Malcontent* was published and at least eight years after it was written.

Even granting, therefore, that the interpretation given to "dipsas" by Mr. Bullen, after Dyce and Steevens, is correct, would it not have been better, merely as a matter of method, to consult, first of all, the classical authorities? The process, in this case, is unusually brief and simple. The allusion, whatever it is, is confined to a single word, and the word is as clearly of Greek origin as any word could well be. If, therefore, we turn, first of all, to any standard Greek lexicon ten minutes with the references under διψάς will be more than enough to show that what the worthy Topsel has said is hardly more than a paraphrase, though doubtless not at first hand, of Nikander's *Theriaka*, 338-342:

δάγματι δ' ἐμφλέγεται κραδίη πρόπαν, ἀμφὶ δὲ καύσφ
χειλε' ὑπ' ἀζαλέης αὐαίνεται ἄβροχα δίψης·
αὐτὰρ ὄγ', ἥντε ταῦρος ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο νενευκώς,
χανθὸν ἀμέτρητον δέχεται ποτόν, εἰσόκε νηδὺς
ὀμφαλὸν ἐκρηξείε, χέοι. δ' ὑπεραχθεία φόρτον.

This famous poem of the Alexandrian Age is the fountain head of a large proportion of what we hear on the subject of serpents in later Antiquity and during the Middle Ages, and few serpents are mentioned more frequently than the dipsas.¹

¹ Irrespective of Lucan, 9, 610; 718; 738, f.; Silius Italicus, 3, 313; Martial, 3, 44, 7; Aelian, *H. A.* 6, 51; Lucian, *De Dipsadibus*, 4, f., and of numerous passages found in such authors as Solinus, Isidorus, Galen, Dioscurides, etc., etc., the Scholiast on Nikander, *Ther.* 343 says that the famous story of the ass and the dipsas, which Nikander himself relates, was also found in the *Κωφοὶ Σάτυροι*, a lost Satyr-drama of Sophokles (339, *N.*) Aelian repeats the

But let us pause a moment to consider an important but, up to this point, a much neglected aspect of this discussion. It will be observed, from what has been said, that we all agree as to what "dipsas" is in this passage of Marston. But when we ask why it is found in this passage of Marston the silence on all sides appears to be unanimous. Presumably, we have all supposed that dipsas was in some way an anticipation of the idea elaborated in "old coal," etc. If this is true Malevole's discussion would have been more effective without the word than with it. Moreover, even after all due allowance has been made for Marston's characteristic oddity, it must be confessed that the explanation is really too far-fetched to be convincing.

Fortunately, however, it can be shown beyond a doubt that we have all been mistaken from the first. If we are not ourselves fortunate enough to remember the passage which is the key to the situation, a few moments, this time, with any standard lexicon of the Latin language, will lead us straight to the proof that Malevole was not thinking of dipsas, a kind of snake, but of Dipsas, a kind of woman.

Her name occurs but once in classical literature, but it occurs in a work so well-known in Marston's time that practically every motif it contains reappears somewhere in the Elizabethan Drama. I refer to the *Amores* of Ovid.

The *lena* or *maquerelle* is a regular character in the erotic poetry of antiquity, more especially in the comedy, the epigram and the elegy. The eighth elegy of Ovid's first book is concerned with one of these women. It opens as follows:

Est quaedam (quicumque volet cognoscere lenam
Audiat!), est quaedam nomine Dipsas anus.

These two lines are all that Malevole was thinking of. His "Ha, Dipsas" is nothing but a translation into Ovidian allusion of the French allusion already contained in *Maquerelle*, a word odiously familiar in the Parisian literature of Marston's time. Obviously,

story in his account of the dipsas and adds Ibykos (25 B.) and two plays, otherwise unknown, one by Dinolochos, the rival of Epicharmos (*Com. Dorica*, 8, p. 150, Kaibel), the other by Apollphanes (9, Kock). The long line of mediaeval authorities is cited and discussed by Marston's elder contemporary, Ulisse Aldobrandi, to whose voluminous work on the subject of serpents I have already alluded. It is also interesting to find that, according to the Oxford Dictionary, the dipsas crept into English literature as early as Wyclif and that, as late as 1894, it was still able to pose as an ornament of verse.

therefore, the "dipsas" of Dyce and Bullen should be corrected to Dipsas.

Ovid's own reason for calling his *Iena* Dipsas has nothing to do with the passage of Marston, but will serve to clear up the question finally for us. In verses 3-4, he says:

Ex re nomen habet: nigri non illa parentem
Memnonis in roseis sobria vidit equis.

In other words, Ovid's Dipsas is like Juvenal's Phiale ("the Flowing Bowl"), or the woman Canthara ("the Tank") who through Hagen's obvious emendation is connected in some way with the Vergilian tradition. She has been given a nickname characterizing the perennial thirst of these Sarah Gamps of Antiquity. References to the weakness are constantly recurring.

We now see why the woman and the serpent have the same name. Ex re nomen habet, says Ovid, describing the woman: *κατηγορεῖ τῆς διψήδος τὸ ἔργον αὐτὸ ἡμῖν τὸ δοῖμα*, says Aelian, describing the serpent. Both deserve their common name of Dipsas, and each derives it regularly from *διψάω*, the serpent, because it created an undying thirst, the woman because she possessed one.

Although my discussion has been primarily concerned with the passage of Marston, it may not be amiss to add that this was not the first time the name of Dipsas had occurred in Elizabethan literature. For example, in the *dramatis personae* of Lyly's *Endimion*, a play which, according to Mr. Bond, was first acted on the 2nd of February, 1586, we find "Dipsas an old Enchantress".

Here, too, Steevens' "fire-drake" has proved to be a will o' the wisp for succeeding commentators.

There have been four editions of the *Endimion* in modern times: the first, by Dilke in his *Old English Plays*, London, 1814, Vol. II; the second, by Fairholt in his edition of the plays, London, 1858, Vol. I; the third, a separate edition by G. P. Baker, N. Y., 1894; the fourth, by R. Warwick Bond, in his fine edition of Lyly's collected works, Oxford, 1902, Vol. III.

Dilke says (l. c. p. 19):

"Dipsas, as Mr. Steevens informs us in a note to the 'Malcontent', is the *fire-drake*, a serpent of a directly opposite nature to the hydrus: the one is supposed to kill by inflammation, the other by cold."

I find no comment on the name in the editions of Fairholt and Mr. Baker, but Mr. Bond (l. c. Vol. III, p. 506) reprints Dilke's note, and adds:

"It [i. e. the dipsas] is found in Aelian VI, 51."

Now, it is well-known that in Antiquity the *lena* was always looked upon as a witch. Her business included, as a matter of course, the brewing of love-potions and the practice of necromancy in all its branches. Ovid himself gives a long list of the feats in magic which his dreadful old woman was supposed to perform. It is evident, therefore, that when Lyly selected a name for his "Old Enchantress", he was not thinking of Steevens' "fire-drake", but of the quaedam nomine Dipsas anus of the poet Ovid.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Johannine Grammar. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1906.

In bulk the gospel according to St. John is not a formidable document. It can easily be read in a couple of hours, and in the same couple of hours a practised syntactician could note, as he reads, all, or at least many of the syntactical deviations from what we are pleased to call the standard language, as if there were any standard in an eternal flux. Of course, it would take more time to sort out the phenomena, but a few mornings would suffice for that. This done, your classical scholar might think that he had absolved his task, and was prepared to pass judgment on the style of St. John, unless he should encounter the *Johannine Grammar* of Dr. Abbott, the author of the famous *Shakespearian Grammar*, to which all English scholars owe so much. The *Johannine Grammar* is the fruit of many years of arduous labor, intense thought, and patient observation, and your malapert syntactician would find that the study of St. John requires an amount of special knowledge that would justify any mere classical scholar in sternly refusing, as I have done for years, to give out any opinion whatsoever as to any point of New Testament interpretation. No wonder, then, that I am happy at being buttressed in this position by a stately bulk of 687 pp.

But it is hard for a syntactician in grain to dismiss so important a contribution to the study of Greek with a mere complimentary phrase. A fresh reading of the gospel suggests so many things. So f. i. one who has ever done any work in the literature of the Greek Renaissance is tempted to ask what a Hellenist of that artificial period would have thought of St. John's style. The emperor Julian must have read him in Cappadocia, but as Julian speaks sneeringly of Luke, stylistically the best of the evangelists, he could hardly have tolerated St. John, and I doubt whether that frivolous creature, Lucian, would have had the patience to read the sacred books of which Peregrinus made such bad use. And yet Lucian's testimony would have been valuable because his Greek was an acquired Greek, and it is a familiar observation that foreigners who have gained a mastery of English with a great sum of toil are always severer critics than natives, who fancy that they are free-born, and can be as slovenly as they please. There are worse subjects for a doctoral dissertation than: '*Quid Lucianus Samosatensis de Sancti Johannis elocutione sensurus fuerit*'. But I will leave that theme to younger

spirits, and indulge in another fancy. Suppose we stretch our imagination so far as to call the first six chapters of St. John an Oxyrhynchus fragment, found by some Hellenist, who knowing nothing of New Testament Greek and nothing of the momentous importance of the document, had nosed at it in a heathen spirit. 'Nosed at it' is the right phrase and was not suggested by Oxyrhynchus. On the contrary, Oxyrhynchus was suggested by the comparison. Your sagacious grammarian is often nothing better than the hound from which he gets his complimentary epithet. Dogs have a very limited range of vision, and are haunted, not as we are, by landscapes and seascapes, but by smells. Indeed, I have known scholars who thought of the classics merely as combinations of grammatical smells. The type is familiar. It is the type of Smelfungus, own brother to Dryasdust. But the sense of smell is not to be despised for all that. It may save the life of a reading. It may detect the forger of an intercalated document, the forger of a book. No idle invocation is that: *ἔξουσιν καὶ μυκῆρες ἀσφραγίστῃσι*. Now I am not going to inflict on the readers of the Journal an exhaustive syntactical commentary on the Gospel according to St. John or even on the first few chapters of the said gospel, but I do not know any easier way of showing the value of Dr. Abbott's book than by comparing his treatment of certain syntactical topics with the way in which I am wont to handle the same subjects, and if I refer to the A. J. P. from time to time it is not because of any startling novelty in my views but simply as a matter of personal convenience (A. J. P. XXVII 234). Without further apology, then, let us take up Chapter I. The very first thing at which our imaginary student would check is the preposition in the famous *καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν*. The trouble lies partly, if not wholly, in the Proteus *λόγος*, as Diels calls it. What is the *λόγος* in St. John? What for that matter is the *λόγος* in Herakleitos? There seems to be a personification. 'And the *Λόγος* had his face turned toward God'. The gaze of the *Λόγος* is fixed on God as the gaze of the Christian on the glory of the Lord (2 Cor. 3, 18), a transforming gaze. One recalls Dante.

Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco
Vidi rivolta e riguardar nel Sole:
Aquila sì non gli s'affisse unquanco.

One remembers that the eagle is the symbol of St. John. On *πρὸς* and its mutuality see A. J. P. XII 386. One brings away a confused notion of a diptych, made up of *λόγος* and *θεός*, *texte avec traduction en regard*, the one the mirror of the other. Here, then, is a point where, if anywhere, one needs the specialist. Of course, Dr. Abbott discusses the passage at great length and comes to the following conclusion, if it can be called a conclusion. 'Probably John combines the spiritual meaning "devoted to" with the more local meaning "in converse with" and in his own mind the former is predominant' (p. 275).

The next thing our imaginary student would notice is the asyndetic character of the opening verses, very childlike or very profound. Asyndeton may be either, may be both.¹ In a language full of hooks and eyes, like the Greek, asyndeton is always noteworthy. The Pindaric student will remember Dissen's long excursus on the subject, and be prepared for a minute discussion on the part of any one who should take the document seriously. For eleven verses there is nothing to connect the sentences. True, in good time we are to have *καί* and *δέ* and *οὐν* and *γάρ*. Nay, there will be a *καίτοιγε* to startle us out of our propriety, but that is a very meagre assortment compared with the wealth of Plato's particles. And we soon begin to miss *μέν*.² We have *δέ*. Where is *μέν*?

Δέκατον μὲν ἦτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμου
Μενέλαος ἀναξ ἦ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων.

Where is the other member of the *ὀχυρὸν ζεύγος* 'Ατρείδαιν? There is antithesis enough in the thought as one reads on, and it is often hard to keep from interpolating *μέν*. 'John,' says Dr. Abbott (p. 70), 'abounds in instances of asyndeton of the most varied and unexpected kinds too numerous to quote', contrasts the usage of the other evangelists, comparing Jno. 1, 26, with Mark 1, 8, Matth. 3, 11, Lk. 3, 16, and gives a classification of asyndeton according to the part of speech with which the conjunction is omitted—a rather mechanical classification, but still a classification.

On v. 5 one stops to ask whether *αὐτό* is *ipsum* or *id*. The question recurs in every phase of Greek and authors seem to vary. In some of them the neuter is seldom used in other than the emphatic sense. Plato, as usual, is capricious but the point has not been clarified yet. But one thing soon makes itself felt and 'crisps the nerves' of the Hellenist, the overdoing of the unemphatic *αὐτοῦ*, on which we find a long and instructive chapter in Dr. Abbott, p. 414 foll.

v. 7 *οὗτος ἦλθεν*. *οὗτος* the dominant demonstrative comes early, *ἐκείνος* is not uncommon, but where is *ὅδε*, to which the grammars give the second place in the familiar group? But *ὅδε* is a very uncertain quantity (A. J. P. XXIII 124). It belongs chiefly to dramatic literature, where it sometimes abounds to the overwhelming of *οὗτος* and *ἐκείνος*, which elsewhere override or efface it. In Eur. I. T., for instance, *ὅδε* outnumbered *οὗτος* four times, and there is a mere trace of *ἐκείνος*. The use, the proportion and the

¹ 'The Evangelist,' says Negri, Julian the Apostate, p. 236 (Engl. tr.), 'introduces certain solemn theses, which sound like trumpet blasts in the mysterious silence'. 'Die Originalität seines Denkens rückt ihn in die erste Klasse der altchristlichen Autoren: aber die berechnete Stilisierung und Erfindung machen doch einen merklichen Unterschied gegen Paulus und die rhetorische Form des Prologes ist ohne das Vorbild der Heraklitsprüche kaum begreiflich', v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Griechische Literatur, p. 188.

² 7, 12.: *οἱ μὲν—ἄλλοι* [δέ] and outside our limits 16, 9: *μὲν . . . δέ—δέ*. *μέντοι* occurs 4, 27. Perhaps *μέν* was felt as *μήν*. Only there is no *μήν* in this sphere, only *ἄμήν*.

distribution of these demonstratives have not received the attention due—as I have found by personal studies in this domain—and the first serious discussion of *ἐκεῖνος* is as recent as the article by Havers, *Das Pronomen der Jener-deixis im Griechischen in the Indogermanische Forschungen* Bd. XIX 1906. *ἐκεῖνος* plays an important rôle in St. John, and the treatment of it is not neglected by Dr. Abbott, pp. 283–285, pp. 567 foll. The effect of the absence of *ὅδε* does not seem to have been considered.

v. 9 τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν is the rhetorical position (A. J. P. XXIII 8), the *ὅγκος* position, but as it shows itself sporadically in the most simple Greek, it does not attract attention until it has recurred a comparatively large number of times. In the days when scholars sniffed Hebraisms everywhere, it might have been observed that this is the normal position in Hebrew, and is to be expected in the Greek of the Septuagint, but we have learned better. Dr. Abbott maintains the *ὅγκος* effect in this sphere of Greek which is revealing itself more and more as popular Greek. In his treatment of the article which takes up pp. 47–68, he says that 'John as a rule reduplicates the article only in utterances of the Lord or in weighty sayings about Him as in the prologue, "This was the light, the true [light]". In the less weighty clauses of the Lord's utterances he does not reduplicate it, as in "the true worshippers" contrasted with "I am the vine, the true vine"' (15, 1). It is curious to find such a vindication of Aristotle's rule in this sphere. Aristophanes has the position not infrequently, and a mock *ὅγκος* would be in keeping with his comic force, but there is danger of overinterpretation in Aristophanes, if not in St. John.

With v. 14 the narrative proper begins, and we are not surprised to find that it opens with an historical present—though not that variety of the historical present, called the annalistic present which occurs in the first words of the Anabasis. The historical present belongs to folkspeech, and did not come into literature until the dramatists brought it in. We look for it at the turning points of the narrative, where the interest is quickened, but no one has yet formulated its behavior satisfactorily (A. J. P. XXIII 245). 'The historic present', says Dr. Abbott, 'which is much more frequent in Mark than in the other synoptists, is also a striking characteristic of John' and then he proceeds to show the difference between Mark and John, which would not interest the student of the Oxyrhynchus fragment. The practical absence of it from the third gospel has been emphasized before as a characteristic of Luke, who has stylistic ambitions (A. J. P. XIV 106, XVI 259, XX 109).

v. 15 πρῶτός μου is comprehensible Greek, and one recalls Od. 11, 482: σείο—μακάρατος, but it is queer Greek for all that. The possessive genitive yields a tolerable explanation, as it does in more instances than one would suppose, but Dr. Abbott, who treats the subject at great length pp. 11–13, finds a special difficulty in the fact that we cannot tell what was the original word employed by the Baptist. Of course, no mere classicist could

be expected to invade that mysterious domain. One is reminded of the problem raised as to the 'Kanzleistil' of the Persian court (A. J. P. XII 518).

v. 17 διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. We had δι' αὐτοῦ before (v. 2), and we shall find διὰ c. gen. many times, and recognize a certain sharpness in its use. In later Greek we have the abomination of διὰ c. gen. of the material, but it is not safe to say that St. John uses διὰ c. gen. for ἐξ. However Justin Martyr has been haled up for heresy on account of his διὰ παρθένου. See my note on J. M. Apol. I c. 22, 15. It is a queer thing, this strictness and this laxness in prepositional use. No Greek, be he ever so humble, would fail to understand δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα. The two uses are never confounded (see my note on J. M. Apol. I c. 23, 11), and Dr. Abbott keeps them apart, as was to be expected. (See pp. 231 foll.) And yet in other prepositions one notices the inevitable trend toward the accusative. According to the rule that obtains in life, dulness prevails in the long run, and the dullest of the cases, the accusative, gets the better of sentimental dative and clinging genitive. No one used to vulgar speech is shocked beyond measure by ὃ ὦν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς (v. 18). There is much more of the same sort. But I must renounce a synopsis of Dr. Abbott's treatment of the prepositions, which are of momentous importance in a doctrinal aspect, with which the present writer has nothing to do.

v. 19 ἵνα ἐρωτήσωσιν αὐτόν. Subjunctive after historical tenses. The sequence has nothing surprising about it. Herodotos is fond of it and we know the influence of Herodotos on later Greek. But where it recurs perpetually, one asks: Where is the optative? Can it be that the mood of fancy, the mood of illusion is dead? But let us not be too hasty. There is very little scope for the wishing optative in ordinary prose, and perhaps we shall have that universal favorite, the optative with ἄν, after a while.

v. 27: ἀξίος ἵνα λύσω = ἀξίος λύσαι shows the degeneracy of the infinitive. But the degeneracy goes almost as far back as original sin. Once admit the final particles into the complementary clause and the mischief is done. But the mischief is as old as Homer, who for the student of historical syntax is the beginning of things; and just see the sweep that *ut* has gained in Latin, so that it is positively bad form to use the infinitive when the infinitive must have reigned by right. However, the businness of the student of language is not to protest but to understand. As ἵνα is destined to kill the infinitive, so it kills the future participle which has a feeble life at best. Of course, this would be considered by Dr. Abbott a very trivial observation, and ἵνα is treated at very great length and with a subtlety that shows how necessary it is for the heathen Greek to take the rough shoes of daily wear from off his feet. In 11, 50 we read συμφέρει ἡμῖν ἵνα εἰς ἀνθρώπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, in 18, 14: συμφέρει ἵνα ἀνθρώπον ἀποθάνειν. To the ordinary Hellenist ἵνα is simply going the way that the infinitive went before. Originally both are

apoteletic, but Dr. Abbott sees a special note of preordnance in the *iva* form (p. 119).

v. 28 *ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων*. Shall we say glibly = *οὗ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν*, as the manner of some is? *μὴ γένοιτο*. The position would show that *ἦν βαπτίζων* is not periphrastic here, however it may be elsewhere. So Dr. Abbott (p. 220): 'In N. T., where *ἦν* is separated from the present participle, it is often better to supply some predicate from the context and to take the participle as in classical Greek, especially in those Gospels where the Hebraic participle is very rare'.

v. 29 *βλέπει . . . ἐρχόμενον*: The participle after verbs of sensuous perception is a native subtlety of the Greek language after which Latin toils in vain. It has not participles enough to vie with the Greek. The participle for sensuous perception, not so often for intellectual perception, *ὅτι* for intellectual perception. The poorest Greek works the rule in an exemplary fashion that may well delight the heart of the schoolmaster. Cf. 5, 6: *τοῦτον ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς κατακείμενον καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἔχει*. This distinction is current now, but it is not formulated in the ordinary grammars, and though I have been familiar with it for half a century, I cannot tell who pointed it out first. Dr. Abbott has not thought it worth while to mention it.

v. 35 *πρὸ τοῦ σε φωνῆσαι*. This use of the articular infinitive instead of the idiomatic *πρίν* with the infinitive seems to have come into the language to satisfy the sense of grammatical propriety. To be sure, we find it first in Thukydides (3, 68, 1) whose sense of grammatical propriety according to some scholars is *nizl*, but in later days the Greek may have felt toward it as some people feel toward 'had rather'. It will not 'parse'. The normal *πρίν* *ἀποθανεῖν* we shall find elsewhere, e. g. 4, 49. St. John has no fancy for the articular infinitive—a decided contrast to the LXX. (See A. J. P. XXVII 106). Dr. Abbott (p. 69) quotes Bruder as giving 15 art. inf. to Mk., 24 to Matth., 70 to Luke, 4 to Jno., 3 of these *πρὸ τοῦ* and one *διὰ τό*, all very common uses.

v. 36: *ἐμβλέψας . . . λέγει*: The first subordinating participle in the fragment. Is it possible? But here they come v. 36: *ἐμβλέψας*, v. 38: *στραφείς καὶ θεασάμενος*, v. 43: *ἐμβλέψας* again. Still *ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν* is a formula that recurs over and over again, and the staccato style makes itself felt. So 2, 8: *ἀντλήσατε καὶ φέρετε*, where one might expect even in this sphere *ἀντλήσαντες φέρετε* (A. J. P. XXIII 11).

CHAPTER II v. 15: *τά τε πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βόας*. Where has *τε—καί* been all this time? *τε καί* is a decided gnomon of literary style. It is seldom used in official inscriptions. The business orators do not favor the construction, as Fuhr remarked long ago, Rh. M. 33, N. F. (1878) 578. Here the coupled *τά τε πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βόας* sounds like an inherited formula. '*τε* occurs only thrice in this Gospel 2, 15; 4, 42 and 6, 18'.

v. 22: *τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἑτεσιν οἰκοδομήθη*: The dative is not easily paralleled except in later Greek. Dr. Abbott (p. 29)

cites Josephus and Eusebius. 'Always in passages where there is no possibility of confusing the dative of duration with the dative of completion'. A classical scholar cannot chase away the notion of a Latinism. The aorist with definite numbers is used with idiomatic exactness (A. J. P. XXVII 234). So 4, 39: *ἔμεινον ἐκεῖ δύο ἡμέρας*.

v. 22: *τῷ λόγῳ ὃν*: The attraction of the relative is uniform, in the inferior MSS, and gives an idiomatic touch to the language. But here and in 4, 50 the attraction is pretermitted—for reasons which one must seek in Dr. Abbott himself (p. 298). It is just these refinements of interpretation that justify the mere layman in declining any judgment on matters of N. T. interpretation.

CHAPTER III, v. 2 *οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται*. *γὰρ* makes its appearance for the first time. *ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ χαράν*. Find me an equal run of Greek with only one *γὰρ*. The Johannine use of *γὰρ* moves on what we may call the school boy 'for' plane but 4, 45: *καὶ αὐτοὶ γὰρ* shows that the phrasing of *γὰρ* is not lost, even if the feeling is. Here again (p. 101), Dr. Abbott goes into great detail as to the Synoptic and Johannine use, p. 101 foll., and the difference as to the employment in strict narrative and in Christ's words. One cannot help noticing the recurrence of *δύναται*. So again, v. 3 *δύναται ἰδεῖν* and v. 4 *δύναται γεννηθῆναι, δύναται εἰσελθεῖν καὶ γεννηθῆναι*. The recurrence reminds one of the 'dynetic' particle, and one misses the optative and *ἄν*. But there is no optative with *ἄν*, except once outside the limits of our Oxyrhynchus papyrus, and then only in a polite formula, 13, 24: *πυθέσθαι τίς ἂν εἴη περὶ οὗ λέγει*, which like the English rendering 'what may (might) the name be' shows at once that there must be a name, and that the questioner would like to know it. But alas! even that polite formula is rejected by Dr. Abbott. It stands in the *textus receptus*, on which I pencilled my marginal notes. Westcott and Hort have it not, but simply *ἔστιν*. Nor is there any optative conditional. It is a fanciful thing, and might not be needed by sober Christians, who have to deal with eternal verities. 'The optative mood is practically non-existent in the Gospels, except in Luke', says Dr. Abbott, without a sigh. To be sure, it is an old story. The logical condition with its standard of fact, the unreal condition, with its stern appeal to reality, the *ἐάν* condition, with its recognition of the course of things—these must suffice, and of these *ἐάν* dominates. It is the conditional of all work in this sphere. It is the legal conditional, the anticipatory conditional. The logical conditional is used occasionally. It is usually a *pro forma* conditional; and no wonder that (5, 12) it takes *οὐ*. There is no example of the minatory and monitory *εἰ* with the future indicative, which runs through the language from Homer down. But the minatory and monitory formula which I set going some thirty years ago does not seem to have crossed the track of Dr. Abbott's studies. At least whilst he has emphasized the fact that there is no *εἰ* with the future conditional in John (p. 372 note), he does not recognize the applicability of the formula to other

passages cited for the N. T. Of course, the disillusioning conditional cannot be spared in this world of unrealities and shams and the legal condition and the unreal are treated at length by Dr. Abbott. On the difference between aorist and present subjunctive he is as exact as if he were interpreting a classical text, a matter on which I have touched A. J. P. XXIII 241. Delightful is his remark (p. 372 note). 'As for such English phrases as "If he shall come" and "If he shall have come", they are not really English at all, but may perhaps be tolerated in a treatise like this, which sometimes aims at expressing for readers the different shades of meaning in Greek conditional sentences. *If*, then, *we shall shake off* our slavish yoke Rich. II 2, 1, 291 means "if we are to, or apt to shake off" and even that is quite exceptional'. In other words, 'shall' is the proper rendering of the minatory and monitory conditions. There is no question about it, that the practice of close translation from Latin and Greek has foisted upon our language a lot of unidiomatic syntax, which is never heard in daily speech, but as in the case of slang, we must submit to the enrichment here and there.

v. 16 οὕτω—ὥστε makes its first appearance. There is an unwonted dignity, an unwonted impressiveness about the balanced period (A. J. P. XXIII 256), and the indicative is less common in this sphere than the infinitive, which by a species of atavism regains something of its primitive preponderance (A. J. P. XIV 241; XV 117). But in this passage (Dr. Abbott, p. 537), the reading is disputed; Blass reads *ὅτι* after Chrysostom, whose testimony Dr. Abbott discredits. On the rôle of *ὅτι* in Johannine Grammar Dr. Abbott has a great deal to say (p. 154 foll.). John, it appears, deals largely with causes and uses *ὅτι* very frequently in the sense of 'because'. The causal particles apparently among the most simple are really among the most difficult, when it comes to a question of the original conception. *ὅτι* is only and always 'that'. 'Because' is only a convenient translation. 'That', like *ὅτι*, is an accusative of the inner object, the accusative of the object created. The finite construction of the verbs of emotion in Latin, Greek and English alike, teaches the lesson so much needed, that the primitive conception of the world was 'will'. Here again the grammarian and the theologian go hopelessly apart.

v. 18 *ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν* is a specimen of the notorious Alabandic solecism, which came up in the first century before Christ. It is one which Lucian would not have noticed; he was addicted to it. Alabanda was in Caria, and the very spite of the saying *ἐν κατὰ κίνδυνος* ought to keep us alive to the importance of Carian influence. At all events, trying *μὴ* on a Carian seems to have been a brilliant success. Dr. Abbott (p. 203) says that in John *μὴ* for *οὐ* is not so frequent as in the synoptists. See on the whole subject A. J. P. I 45 foll.

v. 29 χαρῇ χαίρει: A cognate dative which our imaginary classicist might have set down as a bit of folkspeech like the cognate accusative which haunts the higher and the lower ranges of speech.

v. 32: ἔωρακε καὶ ἤκουσε. The change of tense is not surprising to anyone who appreciates the short-hand perfect use of the aorist. Culmination and consummation are not far apart. The large use of the perfect belongs to the sphere of common speech. We are very far from the Homeric use, in which the present end of the perfect, so to speak, is almost always in evidence, as Jakob Wackernagel has lately been at the pains to show. Dr. Abbott (p. 323) calls attention to the points that John has made on the difference between the two tenses, though, more liberal than the Revisers, he admits the aorist as the short-hand of the perfect, where there is no perfect. In the present passage (3, 32) he labors over the difference between the tenses and says that 'as the perfect of δρᾶν is the only part of the verb used by John, he might conceivably use the perfect of δρᾶν, concerning spiritual vision, parallel to the aorist of another verb'.

CHAPTER IV 14 οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ. οὐ μὴ like the articular infinitive worked itself up into literature, but only into dramatic literature, which is a glorified form of the spoken language. No wonder that in the Johannine sphere in which we have already seen so many traces of vulgar speech, it exults and abounds (A. J. P. XVIII 453 foll.). 'οὐ μὴ occurs in John', says Dr. Abbott (p. 205), 'fourteen times with subjunctive and thrice with future', in which he thinks that 'John had in his mind an emphasis laid rather on futurity than on certainty which would have been indicated by the subjunctive'. Of these three only one seems to be absolutely certain, 10, 5: ἀλλοτρίῳ δὲ οὐ μὴ ἀκολουθήσουσιν ἀλλὰ φεύξονται, a narrow basis for generalization. Your ordinary, coarse-fibred Hellenist would refuse to accept such subtle intimations in such a sphere.

v. 21 Γύναι. We have had Παῖς and κύριε before. The absence of δ, which we shall find to be steady, is another indication of the meeting of the higher language with folk-speech. See Scott in A. J. P. XXVI 43. Under the vocative Dr. Abbott does not notice the absence of δ, but he has naturally something to say (p. 519) about the articular nominative—instead of the vocative—really a bit of apposition. Oddly enough, his parallel is the French 'chose' instead of the French article as in 'la fille'. Familiar Greek is parallel with Hebrew.

v. 23: ὦρα . . . ὅτε προσκυνήσουσι. It is interesting to find in this sphere a correctness of usage not formulated in the ordinary manuals. ὅτε with future indicative is rare. It is used only when there is a definite antecedent and the tendency to ὅταν is strong even then as in the famous ἔσσεται ἡμᾶρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὁλόκληρ' ἴλιος ἰρή. Cf. 5, 25: ἔρχεται ὦρα καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ὅτε οἱ νεκροὶ ἀκούονται τῆς φωνῆς κτέ.

v. 41 πολλῷ: There seems to be no competition on the part of πολύ, which is in some authors the successful rival. (See Helbing, *Der Instrumentalis bei Herodot.* p. 21, much fuller than Joost, *Xenophon*, p. 143).

v. 42: τῇ τε γυναικί. τε here starts the question as to the use of τε in popular speech. See note on 2, 15.

v. 47: ἤμελλε γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν, an exact use naturally retained in familiar language and in familiar phrases. One might say that the view of death is usually postponed until one is at the point of it, but μέλλω τελευτήσκειν, the more polite synonym, is not uncommon. Unfortunately we shall find that John never uses the future infinitive with μέλλω, and we are not to imitate the example of those who see mountains and marvels in these variations. No remark in Dr. Abbott.

v. 52: ὅραν ἐβδόμην. The accusative triumphs here as with the preposition. If σήμερον and σῆτες, why not ὅραν ἐβδόμην? 'It is perhaps vernacular', says Abbott (p. 75), like our '*what time* did it happen'? The accusative spreads like lava. See note on 1, 17.

CHAPTER V. v. 7 ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔχω ἵνα βάλλῃ where we should expect τὸν βαλοῦντα. ἵνα fatal to so much is fatal to the future participle. See note on 1, 27.

vv. 8, 11: ἄρον—ἦρε, περιπάτει—περιπάτει, shows that the feeling for the imperative in this sphere is not deadened, nor in fact in any sphere of Greek, though the aorist comes forward where the distinction is not to be insisted on, possibly in the interest of perspicuity. Here again Dr. Abbott takes up his parable (p. 318 foll.), and insists on a sharp distinction everywhere. 'The first aorist imperative is (1) sometimes more definite, (2) sometimes more authoritative, (3) sometimes more solemn than the present imperative, which may denote continuous action. The second aorist has not this solemn or authoritative meaning. Indeed, in special uses the second aorist may be less authoritative than the present.' Needless to say, the difference between present and aorist imperative in the classical domain is a matter of infinite discussion. The prohibitives have a large literature all to themselves. To discuss Dr. Abbott's conclusion would require more space than I have given to a review, already too long.

v. 13 ἐξένυσεν. Here I am tempted to leave the syntactical sphere for a moment, and to remark on the vocabulary. Needless to say, in St. John we are not plagued with literary reminiscences as we are in literary Greek and in literary French. They are delightful to those who understand them, but there are moods in which one welcomes Pierre Loti. ἐξένυσεν is not an allusion to Pindar O. 13, 114: κούφοισιν ἐκνεῦσαι ποσίν. The next thing I shall be told that the Johannine ἐκνεῦσαι is not from ἐκνέω, as if the Biblical narrative were superior to plays on words.

v. 39 ἐραυνάτε τὰς γραφάς: A famous ἀμφιβολία. Is it 'Ye search' or 'Search ye'. How we welcome the negative! How we

welcome the aorist! There is no balm in the Gilead of grammarians. In the Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. XXXII 64 foll., Professor Harry undertook to show that *ὁρᾶτε* is always present indicative. The thesis would seem to be a *priori* hopeless in view of the large number of *ὄρα*'s about which there can be no ambiguity, but Professor Harry falls back on intellectual vision as opposed to sensuous perception, and Dr. Abbott, on the other hand, maintains (p. 678) that initial *ὁρᾶτε* in the scenic poets probably always means 'See' and cites this same passage of Aeschyl. P. V. 119 that started Professor Harry on his crusade in behalf of the indicative. That *ἐραυνᾶτε* is indicative here Dr. Abbott and Professor Harry are agreed.

CHAPTER VI. v. 19 *εὐθὺς τὸ πλοῖον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*: It may be said that the ship was beached, which would be the normal Attic prose use, but *ἐπὶ* is a ticklish preposition in any sphere of Greek and dissertations have been written on it. Dr. Abbott touches this passage lightly (p. 261), but naturally has a great deal to say about *ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης*.

VI 28 *τί ποιούμεν*; The conative present instead of the subjunctive appears in all spheres that admit of dramatic excitement.

The chapters that follow those which are embraced in the supposed Oxyrhynchus fragment show among other things how dangerous it is to reason from even so considerable a find as to the usage of an author. So *καὶ—δέ* does not occur until 8, 15. The so-called Ionic *δοτις* = *δε* first shows its head in 8, 53. The desiderated optative with *ἄν* turns up 13, 24, but only in the *textus receptus*; see notes on 1, 17; 3, 2. The third attributive position makes its solitary appearance in 14, 27 (Abbott, p. 68). *σύν* does not come to light until 18, 1 (cf. A. J. P. VIII 221).

Still these few examples of a few chapters would suffice to show that the fragment is not a mere jargon. It is real Greek of a kind. The oriental words that we notice are unassimilated bits. Lange suspected *βάλε* in Alkman of being a Lydian reminiscence of Baal parallel with *εἶθε* = *el θεός*, to which he might have added *τί δαι(μων)*, 'what the devil', if he had been capable of a joke. It is not a Greek that wells up from the heart of national life, but it is a Greek that has been picked up from Greek speaking people, and has its lesson for all those who desire to penetrate into the actual life of that wonderful language.

The glimpses I have given of Dr. Abbott's volume may serve, however imperfectly, to show that the 'tiptilted' attitude is not the proper one for the grammatical nose of the lover of Attic literature, when he comes into the neighborhood of Siloa's brook, and all who do must study Dr. Abbott and forget the observations of the stage heathen, who has commented perhaps too frivolously on this valuable book.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Bucolici Graeci: recensuit et emendavit Udalricus de Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano. Die Textgeschichte der Griechischen Bukoliker, von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906.

The Oxford edition of the Greek bucolic poets has as its companion the volume published at the same time in Berlin. The second work is, in a sense, though not in the conventional sense, a commentary on the first. Nearly every important point in which the text shows deviation from previous editions finds its explanation in one way or another in the latter volume. So much of the preface to the text as relates to the fundamental matter of the history of the text is a succinct statement of principles and results as these are set forth in the volume of discussions. In this one word, *Textgeschichte*, is the essence of the matter. The primary merit of the two works now under consideration is the thorough and masterly way in which the historical method of dealing with a text is applied.

The edition of the text comprises three parts. The first part includes those poems whose title as genuine works of Theocritus can be traced back to antiquity. These are the idylls 1-18, 22, 24, 28-30, the epigrams and the single fragment; the poems are, however, given in the text in this order: 1, 7, 3-6, 8-14, 2, 15, 17, 16, 18, 24, 22, 28-30, epigrams, fragment. These are the limits for Theocritus. Within these limits are two poems, 8 and 9, which the editor adjudges spurious. The ancient edition, then, which this present edition seeks to reproduce, contains two poems wrongly attributed to Theocritus. The first or Theocritean part of the Oxford volume is followed by the Appendix, as it is here termed, which is composed of the following poems, arranged in the following groups: 1. The Lament for Bion, or Moschus 3. (We use throughout the familiar system of designation.) This poem is placed first in the Appendix as being the first and the closest of the accretions to the Theocritean collection. 2. Theocritus 25. Moschus 4. These two poems are preserved alike in the two families of manuscripts, Π and Φ . 3. Theocritus 26 and 27. These two are preserved in Π alone. 4. Theocritus 20 and 21. Moschus 1. Theocritus 19. Bion 1. *Εἰς Νεκρὸν Ἀδωνιν*. Theocritus 23. Bion 2. These poems are preserved in Φ alone. 5. Moschus 2, which has been transmitted through channels independent of Π and Φ ; and the fragments of Bion and Moschus, chiefly from Stobaeus. The third part, which follows the Appendix and concludes the text, is made up of the *Technopaegnia* which were once an appendix to the ancient edition of Theocritus.

The current classification of the bucolic poems into three groups, prefaced respectively by the names Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, dates from the edition of Stephanus. Wilamowitz begins his work on the farther side of Stephanus, and the old classification

is once and for all left behind. The starting point of the discussion is the determination of the peculiar textual history of Theocritus 1, 3-13. Of prime importance is Codex Ambrosianus 222, or K. This manuscript is the best representative of an ancient Theocritus carefully edited and furnished with scholia which are an important check upon the text. Together with one other witness, K vouches for the presence of the Thalysia in the second place in the oldest ascertainable edition of Theocritus. Together with a further group of witnesses, K vouches for the presence of the Pharmaceutriae in another than the second place. This is the basis for the order adopted: 1, 7, 3-6, 8-13. Of these, 12 and 13 have *παίδεσσις* as the dominant motive; the ten that precede are genuine pastorals and are the *decem eclogae mere rusticae* mentioned in the introduction to the Servius commentary upon Vergil's Bucolics.

The discussion proceeds to consider the order of the poems 14, 2, 15-18, and their textual basis. That which individualizes this group of poems is the relatively diminishing importance of K, and the growing significance of that body of manuscripts indicated by φ. Besides the differences in character, there is the important distinction that unlike K and its fellows φ has no scholia. Yet by a process of retrogression, a point of convergence is found for these two branches of the text. This appears from an examination of the common corruptions in 14, 23, 39, 60. More instructive still is 16, 44, where the common corruption evidently arose somewhere between the second and fifth centuries. It may be concluded, therefore, that an ancient text carefully made and provided with a commentary, is the basis of the existing text of Theocritus. The order in which this second group of poems is printed in the Oxford volume is the order of K: 14, 2, 15, 17, 16, 18. The evidence that the 18 poems are by Theocritus is not the authority of any printed edition or of the Byzantine scholars, but this fact, in addition to whatever other ancient testimony may exist for the several poems, that these poems formed the principal part of an edition of Theocritus which shows every token of having been carefully prepared. Further, ancient testimony guarantees the genuineness of 24 and 22; the Aeolic pieces, 28-30, show unmistakable traces of association with the ancient edition. Including, then, the epigrams, and the Syrx which is left in the collection of Technopaegnia, this is the earliest attainable Theocritus, so far as external evidence gives basis for a judgment. Of the two poems, 25 and 26, whose authenticity is often inferred, Wilamowitz assigns the former to the Appendix, negatively, for lack of external evidence that it is by Theocritus, and positively, upon internal evidence that it is not by Theocritus. The case for 26 requires delicate balances. Wilamowitz disallows the testimony of Eustathius, and gives decisive weight to internal evidence which pronounces adversely (*Textgeschichte* p. 104).

The second part of the Oxford edition, the Appendix, comprises everything of the bucolic collection that is not demonstrably by

Theocritus. The principle of arrangement is the manuscript evidence. There is no attempt, as in the edition of Ahrens, to set off into distinct groups the works of Bion and Moschus. In this way the fact is exemplified that, so far as trustworthy manuscript evidence goes, the poems of the Appendix are anonymous. The attributions of certain ones to Theocritus are not earlier than the Byzantine period and are therefore without authority. The exceptions to the rule of anonymity are only apparent. The Runaway Love of Moschus gets its author's title in the manuscript's sources from the Anthology, and the Europa of Moschus has an entirely different textual history from that of the preceding poems of the Appendix. Just as in the case of Theocritus an ancient edition with a grammatical commentary is the clue that leads back into antiquity, so here the recognition of the precise way in which each poem has been handed down, together with the recognition of the separate character of the Appendix, gives the true point of departure. The way backward toward antiquity is not so much a way as a region of gloom with occasional points of light. There is evidence enough to justify the following conclusion (Textgeschichte p. 106): that there existed in late antiquity a large comprehensive collection of bucolic poems side by side with the edition of Theocritus. For the larger one, evidence carries us back as far as the time of Nonnus; for the smaller, the scholia, the history of the collection of epigrams and the testimony yielded by Vergil lead back to the first century B. C. In this period there existed an edition of Theocritus, with a learned commentary of the sort that indicates the authorship of the grammarian Theon.

Up to this point the investigation has proceeded from the later toward the earlier point of time. Here it rests, and two epigrams are offered in evidence. The first is found in the scholia and is ascribed to Artemidorus, a grammarian whose time can be determined approximately as 70 B. C.

*Βουκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι
ἐντὶ μᾶς μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μᾶς ἀγέλας.*

The other is the epigram commonly reckoned as the twenty-second of Theocritus, beginning: *ἄλλος ὁ Χίος*. The former is the motto which Artemidorus prefixed to a comprehensive collection of bucolic poems. It is a fair inference that we have in the poems of the Appendix the remains of this collection, although the relationship cannot be traced in detail. The latter epigram was prefixed to the special edition of Theocritus prepared by the son of Artemidorus, the grammarian Theon. This edition was restricted to the poems of Theocritus; Theon drew upon the larger collection for his text of the poems and added a learned commentary which is the nucleus of our scholia. That the poems in the collection of Artemidorus, both those of Theocritus and the others as well, had never before been collected, is to be inferred

from the couplet. The same thing is presupposed by the term *εἰδύλλιον*, a diminutive of *εἶδος*; both terms were used by the grammarians of single poems. The history of the text of Pindar is parallel with that of Theocritus in that the poems of both were collected and arranged not by the authors but by later hands, and in both cases the single pieces passed current for a long period.

I have attempted to formulate in brief compass the theory which underlies the Oxford text of the bucolic poets. In his attitude toward the problems presented, Wilamowitz cordially acknowledges the intellectual leadership of Ahrens. His own acumen and learning are devoted to the important end of correcting and advancing the work which Ahrens began. In the fifty years that have intervened, the vulgate notion of the bucolic poets has not been radically changed for the wider circle of readers. To this extent, at least, Theocritus, Bion and Moschus have remained the Theocritus, Bion and Moschus of Stephanus, that the burden of proof has seemed to rest upon him who questions the authorship of any given poem. It is an important event in criticism that the Oxford edition of the bucolic poets has discarded the old order in the interests of a system of arrangement that displays at once the results attained during the last fifty years for the history of the text and the question of authorship.

The value of Ahrens' work has been somewhat obscured by the license which he used in the rejection of verses. The Oxford volume is a good measure of the progress that fifty years have brought in both theory and practice of textual criticism. The text, as such, is in the best sense conservative. In the *præfatio*, p. VIII seq., is a terse statement of the essential difference between the problem presented to an editor or emendator by Theocritus, and that presented by the poems of the Appendix. On p. IX this principle of procedure is formulated: *a vulgatis ad tradita redire et debui et volui*. There is observable throughout a refreshing independence of judgment in the treatment of time-honored conjectures, and a keen sense of what constitutes evidence. It is a small matter, to be sure, yet characteristic, that the critical note to 7. 8, *ὑφαίων*, does not read: "corr. Heinsius", or "conj. Heinsius", but "Heinsius e Vergil. Ecl. IX. 42"; for the critical fact is Vergil's imitation, not the authority of Heinsius. This is one of a number of instances. Verse 61 of 13 is rejected, but on the best of authority. The only excision that can be called radical is 5. 73; and yet the condemnation of the verse means the restoration of a perfectly certified reading in verse 1. The one other passage which may fall under the suspicion of radical treatment is 22. 170, after which a considerable lacuna is assumed. This thesis is defended at length in the valuable fifth appendix of the *Textgeschichte*. We are here concerned with the fact that the root of the new interpretation is found in the conservation of two readings, in 173 and 175, which former editors have assumed to be valueless. The most notable piece of constructive work is the discussion of 1. 105-113 (*Textgeschichte*, 21. n. 1; 229-235).

Usually from one to four verses are abandoned as interpolations. By the help of a quotation by Plutarch, Wilamowitz emends 106 and 107, then defends 107, which has been very generally condemned, and vs. 110 as well. He reconstructs, by the aid of certain notes in the Servius commentary to the *Aeneid* (2. 35, 687, 649; 1. 617), together with the passage from Plutarch above cited, a version that Theocritus is alleged to have given of the blinding of Anchises. These references of the grammarians to this peculiar version have always been a puzzle, since they have not been found to be applicable to any extant poem of Theocritus. Contrary to the common version that Anchises had been crippled by a thunderbolt of Zeus, Theocritus is asserted to have said that he was blinded by a thunderbolt. Now Wilamowitz maintains that the essential part of the story, so far as it concerns Theocritus, was the blinding; the way in which the blinding was effected, i. e. by a thunderbolt, is attributed to Theocritus by a piece of careless mental association, for he thought of it as brought to pass by the sting of bees. Verse 107 assumes a knowledge of this version and hints at the story of the sorry sequel of the favor of Aphrodite to Anchises; just as 110 hints at the fatal encounter with the boar which Aphrodite's favor had brought upon Adonis. This version of the blinding of Anchises gives point to vs. 107 and explains the otherwise unexplained references in Servius. It is, to be sure, not a tradition, but a reconstruction which is based upon tradition and which satisfies the principal conditions of the problem. Without any attempt at an exhaustive list of interesting passages, the treatment of the text in the following is worthy of notice: 15. 143-4, where the readings of K are brought to honor; 6. 15-16, 21-25, where slight but valuable changes of punctuation are made; 7. 15-16; 15. 15-16; 16. 72, 107.

Among the poems which stood in the ancient edition are two, 8 and 9, whose genuineness Wilamowitz denies. The question has been long debated. The interpretation of 9 is of peculiar interest since it bears decisively upon the two principal views that are held as to the earliest edition of Theocritus. The reasons have already been outlined for the conclusion that Theocritus himself did not publish his poems collectively. The seventh appendix to the *Textgeschichte* deals in detail with 9, maintaining that the poem is a whole, having a beginning, a middle and an end; a poor poem, indeed, yet from one hand; not, however, in any part of it from the hand of Theocritus. The interpretation of the crucial verses, 28-36, will, I believe, stand. If so, the chief support is withdrawn from the theory that Theocritus himself issued an edition of bucolic poems, whose epilogue is embedded in 9.

The ground that we have so far traversed is beset by critical difficulties and controversies which are here, for the most part, left without discussion. The purpose of this review is not so much to estimate as to point out that which is new and relatively important. Two salient features the Oxford edition of the bucolic

poets possesses, a conservative text and an apparently radical arrangement of the poems. Both features are the outcome of one method: the historical method of treating an ancient author, which seeks to remove the accretions of the centuries and to restore the ancient book to its earliest ascertainable form. With regard to the order of the poems it should be said that the application of this method does not mean that the convenience of the average reader, familiar with the old order, has been ignored. On the contrary, every care has been taken to mark the poems so as to facilitate reference. He who seeks "Theocritus 23" or "Moschus 4" need seek neither long nor in vain.

In conclusion a word concerning the new Theocritus from the teacher's point of view. The reading of Theocritus in American Colleges is on the increase and we are even promised an American edition adapted to class-room use. The teacher who cares for fresh interpretation will find something to his advantage in these two books, technical though they seem. The *Argumenta*, given at the end of the text, contain many a valuable hint. The discussion of 8, *Textgeschichte* p. 122 f., the whole of the third appendix which deals in a large way with the chronological order of the poems, and the fourth, fifth, sixth and ninth appendices are especially valuable. I mention last the first thing that caught my attention in opening the new volume of poems, the note to the first words of the epigram: Ἄλλος δ' Χίος. "Homerus, cf. 7. 47; 22. 218." That "the Chian" of this epigram is not some Theocritus who hailed from Chios but Homer himself is so apt and so epigrammatic that it is difficult to think oneself back into the old explanation. It is of interest to know that an ancient grammarian and one modern scholar, Welcker, saw the truth; but as a piece of available knowledge we may fairly ascribe this interpretation to the editor of the Oxford volume.

HAMILTON COLLEGE.

EDWARD FITCH.

REPORTS.

HERMES XL.

Fascicle 1.

Die Blättersetzung im 4. Buche der Briefe ad Atticum (W. Sternkopf). Mommsen's success with the letters ad Quintum fratrem (see A. J. P. XXVI p. 475) was followed (1845), after an examination of Mediceus XLIX 18, by a similar reconstitution of the text of the 4. book ad Atticum (ep. 16 to end), based on the theory that here too the MS leaves of the archetype had become disarranged. But as a section containing about 60 lines (Orelli's text) had changed places with one of 90 lines, which difference in length Mommsen did not attempt to account for, and as a number of difficulties remained, a few scholars have assumed further minor transpositions, especially Holzapsel, whose suggestion has been adopted by C. F. W. Müller and Purser. Sternkopf vigorously defends the text, as determined by Mommsen and accepted by Boot, Baiter, Wesenberg and Tyrrell, by means of interpretation and emendation. He, further, meets the chronological difficulties that have been pointed out, and with the aid of diagrams makes it clear how unequal as well as equal sections could be interchanged. The same disarrangement in the other Atticus MSS and their approximate agreement, in the probable number of page lines, with the Quintus MSS point to a common archetype. A useful summary of the letters in question is given (pp. 42-44) with the assurance that we have in them a safe historical guide.

Atticus als Geschichtschreiber (F. Münzer). Atticus began his historical work with a sketch of Cicero's consulship (60 B. C.), which was but a step to monographs on such families as the Fabii and Aemilii (58 B. C.). His point of departure was the living members, to the neglect, as a rule, of extinct branches; but he included ancestors on the distaff side. Then stimulated by Cicero's *de Republica* (54 B. C.) he wrote his most important work, the *liber annalis* (47-46 B. C.), in time to aid Cicero greatly in the composition of his *Brutus*. Though fragments are absent and specific references to its contents few, we can obtain a fair general idea of it from *Nepos* (Atticus) and *Cicero* (*Brutus*, *Orator*). Moreover, the latter's large use of it encouraged Münzer to attempt a reconstruction. In accord with scholars as to its general character, and proceeding critically from well-known data, especially passages in the *Brutus* and *Cato*, thereby revealing Cicero's methods, Münzer presents the *liber annalis* concretely, step by step, as containing: the dates, reckoned yearly, or at convenient intervals, *ab urbe*

condita; the names of the eponymous magistrates, chiefly consuls, with full name and the addition, if famous, of their filiation; also the names of praetors and plebeian tribunes when connected with important events (Mommsen *röm. Chron.* 145 A 274 to the contrary notwithstanding); further, laws, wars and, in general, *res illustres populi Romani*, including to some extent foreign, especially Athenian history, arranged synchronistically. It was apparently more convenient and serviceable than Nepos' chronica in three books; but less accurate from its dependence on the later annalists. After its publication Atticus wrote by request other genealogical monographs. The article is valuable for interesting details.

Die Castores als Schutzgötter des römischen Equitatus (W. Helbig). Had the Roman equitatus been organized before the period of Hellenic influence, it would have been placed under the tutelage of one of the *di indigites*, viz., Mars or Quirinus; religious conservatism would have opposed a later transference; we must infer, therefore, that the Hellenic divinities accompanied Hellenic influence at the organization of the equitatus [For Attic analogies see Mommsen's *röm. Staatsrecht* III 1. p. 253 n. 2]. The Roman equitatus existed as mounted hoplites as early as the 6. century B. C., according to the evidence of clay reliefs, (the regular cavalry not earlier than the 4. century, in Athens and Sparta than the 5. century B. C.), and was subsequent to the *synoikismos* of the Palatine and Quirinal settlements, as shown by the ancient festival calendar. Intercourse with Greece, however, preceded the *synoikismos*, as proved by the burials in the Forum. The cult of the Dioscuri, as patrons of the *ἱππείς*, was especially common in the Western colonies, and was gradually adopted, along with the organization of the *ἱππείς*, by the Italic patrician governments during the period of the Greek oligarchies, and in Rome through the mediation of Tusculum, where the Dioscuri were the chief divinities. The aid they bore the Locrians at the Sagras river about 650 B. C. was duplicated, in Roman legend, 499 B. C. at lake Regillus (Livy II 19). But the templum *Castorum*, erected in consequence 484 B. C., was, of course, not the beginning of the Roman cult, which must have been already established with altar, grove or *fanum*, in charge of the *tribuni celerum*, who were originally clothed with military as well as priestly functions. These are to be regarded as the sacerdotal representatives of the equites, just as the Salian priests represented the older Roman infantry.

Lesefrüchte (U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff). (See *Hermes* XXXVII 321). Out of an abundance we select the following: A discussion of the dittographies and interpolations of the *Ἀσπίς* *Ἡρακλείους* and *Κατάλογος*. The genuine poems of Hesiod grew like a snowball, in marked contrast with the Iliad. The corrupt verses *περὶ γῶν δ' ὑποκαχέει . . . καταυδεῖν* in Demetrius *π. ἐρμην.* 142, which editors, following Bergk, have inserted in Alcaeus' imita-

tion of Hesiod (Bergk 39), are from Sappho. Just as the Rhesus contains un-Euripidean words and expressions, so the fragments of the Pleisthenes reveal its spuriousness, viz., the strongly contrasting γε μὴν (625) is hardly tragic, certainly not Euripidean. [According to Bäumlein, Gr. Partikeln 158-9, it is both tragic and Euripidean—Aeschyl. Ag. 1378, Prom. 871, S. c. Th. 1062, Soph. El. 973, Eur. Or. 1083, El. 754.] The Aratus mentioned by Theocritus (VII 98, VI 2) was a Coan, not the poet of Soli as Christ and other devotees of holy 'mumpsimus' think. Ps.-Moschus III 97 should read εἰ δὲ Συρακοσίοισι Θεόκριτος; there is no gap here. Herodotus wrote X in II 145 for χίλια; this standing later for ἐξακόσια produced the impossible ἐξακόσια ἴτεα καὶ χίλια of our texts (cf. Stein l. c.). In Thuc. III 12, W. deletes ἐπ' ἐκείνους εἶναι, an old crux. [Anticipated, see Boehme ed^l. 1882.] Hyper-eides' sgmt. 184 Bl. τῆς πυκνῆς τοσοῦτον εὐρισκούσης means 'the use of the Pnyx fetched (earned) so much'; another instance of an Hellenistic word in H. [but cf. Stephanus]. Read ὑπολαμβάνει οἰκῶν at the end of Ps.-Aeschines' letter 9; W. severely criticizes Drerup for publishing a special edition of these letters. Antipraxes of Berga (Plutarch de profectibus in virtute 7) is not to be identified with the comic poet A., though a contemporary. His Münchhausen story of the 'frozen words' (l. c.) was used as an illustration by a pupil of Plato; delete the <ἐπ>. Then follows (l. c.) a criticism of Sophocles, which probably originated with the poet himself.

Miscellen: Wackernagel suggests for ἐγκαύσασα (Bacch. V 142, cf. A. J. P. XXVI p. 480) ἐξαύσασα from the obsolete ἐξαύσαι meaning ἐξελεῖν, for which see Poll. 6, 88; Hesych. s. v.; Alkman fr. 95 (καταύσεις for καθαιρήσεις); Plato com. fr. 38 (II 610 K, II 627 M) and compare ἐξανστήρ (Hesych. s. v.). H. v. Arnim attributed Papyrus Hercul. 1020 to Chrysippus (Hermes XXV. 473 ff.); but appends an interrogation mark in his Stoicorum veterum fragm. (II p. 40). B. Keil now gives certainty to A's conjecture with the aid of Isidorus of Pelusium (Patrol. Gr. LXXVIII 1637 M), who drew his information from the Neoplatonists of Alexandria. (See also Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1904, No. 47, p. 1502.) Leo points out the metre of the inscription from Luqsor (140/141 A. D.), published in Bull. de corr. Hell. XXVIII (1904) p. 201, in which a father sues a son for non-support before the judge Anacharsis,—a new rôle for this familiar character. Similar versified anecdotes occur in Babrius and Phaedrus. Leo cites also Aristoph. Clouds (1321 ff.), Plato's Gorgias (p. 519 C ff.), etc.

Fascicle 2.

Lesefrüchte (continued) (U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff). The fragmentary tractates of Plutarch, p. 498-501 e originally belonged to a dialogue held before the tribunal of a proconsul, possibly at Ephesus. The scazons in the Aesopic fable 500 c ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ δψει are not accidental and show that this measure

was used in fables before Babrius. The two λόγοι π. σαρκοφαγίας are genuine; they also belonged to an original dialogue. The peasant letters of Aelian are valuable so far as they appertain to the fragments of the Comic poets. A few emendations are offered. 'Ἐαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος means 'he who punishes himself'.

A rereading of Kallistratus in the new edition by Schenkl and Reich shows again the worthlessness of the author. A few emendations are proposed. The Eretrian inscription in the *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχ.* 1902, 98 contains the first example of *παρωιδολί*, and so W. gives a sketch of Parodic literature on the basis of Athen. XV 698, and suggests, from an analogy offered by the inscription, that Hegemon's gain of fifty drachmas, instead of the expected hundred (l. c.), meant that he had obtained at Athens the second prize. An emancipation document from Thera (I. G. XII 1302) offers a text for illuminating remarks on the names of slaves. The occurrence of *κλησι-* in names, points to a verb *κλίσσειν* (cf. Smyth Greek Mel. P. p. 185).

Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Sueton (M. Ihm). (Cf. Hermes XXXVI, p. 343 ff., XXXVII, p. 590 ff.). The archetype in Fulda served Einhard as a model for his famous *vita Caroli*, and so became known to his admirer Lupus, abbot at Ferrières (840), who sent for it, and either received the original or a copy. From this exemplar, more or less directly, have descended the French MSS, our only source. These are full of interpolations, excepting M (IX century) and V (XI-XII century), to which G (XI century) is closely related. M is the best; the vulgata agrees with one of the poorest. Ihm gives a classification and discusses some textual points. We note the late occurrence of the Acc. Pl. -is, the Genitive -i (instead of -ii) (M rarely varies in the case of proper nouns in -ius); the Dat. and Abl. -is (instead of -iis), etc. The lack of consistency may be due to Suetonius himself, as he depended on various sources.

Ovids Metamorphosen in doppelter Fassung? (H. Magnus) That the Metam., in their unfinished state (cf. Trist. I 7), contained a number of passages expressed in two ways, between which Ovid had not made a final choice, is believed by a number of scholars (cf. R. Helm Festschrift für J. Vahlen, p. 337 f.). Magnus shows that, of the passages in question, only one set could have been original. The others are interpolations made at different times; three in Metam. VIII, by the same hand, between the XI and XIII centuries; I 544 f. much earlier. Originally these interpolations were separate, probably written on the margin; but now all the MSS are more or less contaminated, making the separation difficult. Only in XII 189 f. is the corrupt reading to be traced to MS O (See A. J. P. XXVI, p. 225). The Daphne myth (Metam. I 544 f.) is treated at length in an interesting manner, showing that Ovid, to serve his purposes, transferred the Arcadian myth to Thessaly.

Festi codicis Neapolitani novae lectiones (W. M. Lindsay). L. presents a selection of the more certain readings of a very careful copy of some of the burnt fragments of the Farnesianus made by Croenert, with brief comments on Müller's text, whose paging is given. Of the results obtained we note that, according to Müller (p. 301, 2, 26), Festus cites v. 408 of the Cistellaria and adds Plautus in Syr., which has been read Syro and Syra and variously explained (cf. Schanz Gesch. d. röm. Lit. I², p. 47). L. gives the corrected reading sym (vel n; non est r) with the suggestion Gymnasio? (s pro g).

Die Schrift *περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων* in der lateinischen Übersetzung des cod. Paris. 7027 (H. Kühlewein). K. publishes here entire the above translation in compliance with Heiberg's request (see A. J. P. XXVI, p. 227), and in a critical account of it justifies, in a measure, his sparing use of the same; but admits that it served Heiberg to make a number of excellent emendations.

Plutarch's Schrift *περὶ εὐθυμίας* (M. Pohlenz). Scholars have marked a Stoic tendency in this essay (cf. A. J. P. I, p. 102; XII, p. 375 (bis), cf. also XXV, p. 472); but all post-Aristotelian schools have in common the aim to render man independent of external circumstances by the exercise of reason. Epicurus said οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως (ἣν ἀνευ τοῦ φρονίμου καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως (Sent. s. 5; cf. Ritter & Preller¹ 383). A careful analysis and detailed examination of the *περὶ εὐθυμίας* reveal that the theme, disposition and a number of essential details are Epicurean. This is due to some Epicurean source, to be dated somewhere between 146 B. C. and the Empire, a source that probably departed from the official Epicurean doctrine (c. 16). Indeed, it is likely that Plutarch used a source that, like himself, had gathered honey from many flowers. While following the original disposition of the matter, Plutarch introduced a number of details that applied to his Roman friend Paccius (not the poet mentioned by Juvenal), and drew on his other writings and notes. Thus the source has been obscured by the inclusion of anecdotes and citations from Cynics, Academicians, and Stoics as well as from Epicureans. That the Platonic Plutarch, author of *πρὸς Κολώτην*, etc., should have used an Epicurean treatise on the *ἡδονὴ καταστηματικὴ* is not so strange, especially as he could modify details at will, and is further made intelligible by comparison with his *παραμυθητικὸς εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ*. Through Plutarch these Epicurean ideas were current among the Christians of the IV century. Basil the Great even recommended the monastic life with words of Epicurus.

Aristotelica (H. Diels). 1. In Metaphy. A 5. 987^a 9 our texts read *μετρίωτερον*, which is, as D. shows, unsuitable to the context as it would compliment Arist. predecessors. So D. develops the meaning of the obscure variant *μορυχώτερον* as equivalent to *σκοτεινότερον*, which fits the passage. Probably **μορυχρός* is related to

μορύσσειν (Od. v 435) as βδελυχρός (Epicharmus 63 Kaib.) is to βδελύσσειν. We see that just as words unknown to the Graeculi disappeared from the better preserved text of Plato (cf. Hermes XXXV. p. 544), so it has happened with the text of Aristotle. D. illustrates this fact also with the Abderite term παλάσσειν (Attic πλέκειν). Perhaps Plato Phaedo 82 D should read σώματι παλάττοντες (spotting [their soul] with σώμα); παλάσσειν was possibly a poetical expression derived from Philolaos. 2. D. shows that the curious notion that sweet water would filter through the walls of a closed waxen bottle sunk in the sea, originated with Democritus, from whom Aristotle, his admirer, and others accepted it. Though a mistaken experiment, it illustrates the inductive method of the Abderite school, from which a large part of Strato's experimental Physics was derived.

Miscellen: Landgraf proposes: 1—*vertitur* for the difficult *perditur* in Horace Sat. II 6. 59 [Anticipated by Halm cf. Krüger¹⁴, p. 208]. The verse imitates Enn. Ann. 6: *vertitur interea caelum* just as Vergil Aen. 2. 250 does (cf. Macrobi. 6. 1. 8). For an additional example of Ennius as a common source of Vergil and Horace, see Sat. II 6, 100, and Aen. VI 535 (cf. Norden, Aen. VI, p. 363 A 2 and p. 263); 2—*ficos* (Charisius, p. 96, 5 K) for *vicos* in Hor. Sat. 1, 9, 13 (cf. Varr. r. r. 1, 2, 10 *sacra via ubi poma veneunt*). Detlefsen offers some corrections to Keil's (Gram. lat. 1, 533–565) extracts from Charisius' Ars. gram., found only in cod. Vindob. 16, dated 700 A. D. at Bobbio. Knaack prints the metamorphosis of the nymph Peristera, as told by Lactantius Placidus (comm. in Stat. Theb. IV 226) and offers a few emendations.

HERMAN L. EBELING.

PHILOLOGUS, LXIV (N. F. XVIII), 1905.

I, pp. 1–26. Th. Zielinski, Marginalien II. Here are collected more than a score of brief observations including: Euripides' Meleager; rudimentary motives in Tragedy; Sophocles' Trachiniae; the marvelous water of the Styx; time of Cic. pro Roscio comoedo; Ovid's Art of Love; the forsaken lady as heroine and wife; Ovid and Shakespeare; Charmion; Petronius' *vinum domesticum, ministratoris gratia est* (cf. Aristoph. Eq. 1205); Genius and Juno; the seven deadly sins (cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 1. 33 ff. and Serv. ad Aen. VI, 714); the alchemistic Oracles of Apollo; the Initiatives of Leontios; an ancient Wallenstein; Plutarch and Shakespeare.

II, pp. 27–65. G. A. Gerhard. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des griechischen Briefes I. The formula *ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος τῷ δέῳ χαίρειν*. 1. The grammatical explanation of the formula. Apollonios Dyskolos explains *χαίρειν* as infinitive instead of imperative, but later gives the choice of supplying *λέγει* (= προστάττει) *χαίρειν* cor-

responding to *χαῖρε*, and *εὐχεται χαίρειν* for *χαίροις*, the former being the preferable. (P. 37) The only historically approved explanation is *λέγει* or *γράφει*. 2. The development of the formula. It came to the Greeks from the Persians in the beginning of the fifth century, from the official correspondence with the great kings. This form was *ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δέεινι* (*τάδε* or *ἰδε*) *λέγει*, (*τάδε*) *γράφει*. This was later superseded by *χαίρειν*.

III, pp. 66-94. E. Drerup, Beiträge zur Topographie von Alt-Athen. 1. The Πελαργικὸν ἐννεαπύλον. Statement on p. 22: There was a confusion between the older wide-encircling and strongly fortified and the later narrower and unfortified Pelargikon, which resulted in the invention of a powerful outwork with nine gates, supposed to have been on the saddle between the Akropolis and the Areopagos. II. The Pnyx. Summary on p. 80 f: The original purpose was for religious assemblies as is shown by the style of construction, which is of the Mykenaeen time. The elevated platform cut from the rock was for the king and his suite. III. The oldest lower city and Thukydides II 15. Summary on p. 92: The passage is an historical reconstruction. Reliable historical tradition did not exist.

IV, pp. 95-115. O. Leutze, Metellus caecatus. Examination of the story that L. Caecilius Metellus, who saved the Palladium in 241 B. C. from the fire in the temple of Vesta, was struck blind, but was rewarded with a statue and admission to the Senate. The conclusion is that he saved some of the relics from the temple and was rewarded by his fellow citizens. The story of the blinding, the identification of the relics with the Palladium, are additions. The account of the blinding arose in the time of the empire under the influence of the schools of rhetoric.

V, pp. 116-136. J. P. Postgate, Ad. siluas Statianas Siluula. Discussion of the readings of the Madrid codex.

VI, pp. 137-141. Fr. Luterbacher, Chronologische Fragen zu Livius XXI. Livy reckons as a biennium the end of the year 218 B. C. and the greater part of 217. According to this method of reckoning we can see how the Mercenary War in Polybius 1. 88. 7 is three years and four months, in Livy 21. 2. 1 five years. Livy includes the end of 241 and the beginning of 237. Hamilcar went to Spain in 237 and died in the beginning of 229. Hasdrubal's death falls probably in the close of 222, not the beginning of 221. Saguntum was destroyed in 219.

VII, pp. 142-146. O. Crusius, Aus antiken Schulbüchern. The ostrakon published in Bull. d. corr. Hellén. 1904, 202, of the year 140 A. D., contains an hitherto apparently unknown Anacharsis-χρεια, in trimeters, written from dictation by some pupil. Its contents resemble those of Ox. pap. II 84, p. 133, also from the hand of a school-boy.

Miscellen.

1. pp. 147-148. O. Schroeder, 'Euripides an die Nacht.' (Ar. ran. 1331 ff.) Text with metrical divisions and comments.

2. pp. 149-150. E. Bickel, Zur Bedeutung des Ammon-Orakels. The ps. Platonic Alcibiades *περι εὐχῆς* XII 148 D-149 C compared with Lucan 9, 515 f. shows that Ammon, a god of poverty, preferred a maimed victim to the gifts of wealth. This may show influence of the cynic philosophy.

3. pp. 150-153. P. Diergart, 'Ορείχαλκος und Ψευδάργυρος in chemischer Beleuchtung. The former, from the first century B. C. on, corresponded to our brass. What it was in the classical period must remain problematical. It may be translated "copper-alloy." Ψευδάργυρος (Strabo 610) is probably not zinc. It may be translated "false-silver," with the addition "of unknown composition."

4. pp. 153-154. T. W. Dougan, Hectora Hectorem, Zu Cicero Tusc. I, 44, 105. Read Hectora in the passage from Accius and in Cicero's words following: Cf. Varro L.L. X 70 (Muell.) Accius Hectorem nolet facere Hectora malet.

5. pp. 154-158. Th. Breiter, Die Planeten bei Manilius. M. said all he wanted to say about the planets, so far as it suited his plan, as he has laid it down. What does not accord with this plan has been added by old interpolators.

6. pp. 158-160. H. Funck, Beiträge zur Erklärung und Uebersetzung der römischen Komiker. Notes on Trin. 510, 599, 723 ff. 820, 1146, Men. 120 f., 136, 156, 252. P. 160 Suppl. to p. 80. A new evidence for the date of the erection of the Pnyx is found in the undoubted relation of the Pnyx-complex with the "Theatre" of the Mykenaeen palace in Phaistos.

VIII, pp. 161-223. W. Otto-Juno, Contributions to the understanding of the oldest and the most important facts of her cult. I. Examination as to the spread of the cult shows (p. 171), that with one exception the goddess is not met with outside of Rome (Latium) in a form which is not already known from Rome, and that accordingly a transfer from or to Rome must have taken place, and secondly, that aside from Etruria, the places which have been shown to be centers of the Juno-cult are all either old colonies or cities which at an early period adopted the Roman life. P. 176. Most probably the origin of the cult is to be sought in Latium. II. "Juno" denotes the female soul as a divine being of the female sex. III. Juno as fruitfulness of nature. IV. Juno as queen. V. As Lady of the Kalends. VI. Was Juno really as closely joined with Juppiter in the cults of antiquity as is generally accepted? Results and conclusions pp. 220-3. J. is a goddess of the underworld. The name is perhaps a fem. of iuvenis— young woman.

IX, pp. 224-247. A. Matthaei, Das Geiselswesen bei den Römern. Hostages are such pledges as in extrajudicial use are delivered over to a party, who can deal with them according to his free judgment (though not arbitrarily), as surety for some obligation.

X, pp. 248-253. M. Mayer, Πέδιλα. Discussion of the use made of certain clay-objects, probably by masons, plasterers, and painters. They are inscribed often with the name of the owner; one has ΠΕΔ which seems to be for πέδιλον, a name suiting the use the object was probably put to.

XI, pp. 254-268. C. Hentze, Die Chorreden in den homerischen Epen. In Iliad there are 10, B 271, Δ 81, X 372, H 178, 201, P 414, 420, Γ 155, 297, 319. In the Odyssey there are 18, B 324, 331, δ 769, θ 328, ι 493, κ 37, 442, ν 167, ρ 482, σ 72, 111, 400, υ 375, φ 362, 396, 401, χ 26, ψ 148. The conclusion of the writer (p. 259) is that for the Iliad these passages are not mere 'frills,' but are either themselves essential parts of the epic action, or of immediate significance for its development. In the Odyssey (p. 263 f.) 12 are from the suitors, while in the Iliad it was not so often necessary to put words into the mouths of the great mass of the Achæan and Trojan armies.

XII, pp. 269-279. C. Wendel, Theocritea. 1. The Commelin edition of 1596 is same text as 1603. The ed. 1604 by Heinsius makes some changes, not on the basis of the MSS, but mixes in reading from older editions. 2. If Σιμυχίδας and Σικελίδας are originally nicknames of members of a guild of bucolic poets, then in the Thalyssia they denote all members of the one and the other guild, and get individual meaning only from the connection. 3. The Adoniazusae. 4. δῆλος ἀθρόος (vs. 72) is emended to δῆλος ἀ[μ]θρόος. Cf. Aristoph. Nub. 1201 ff. and Horace Ep. I. 2, 27. The Oxyrh. fragment of Theokritos strengthens our confidence in the traditional text. 6. Paris Codex, *ancien fonds grec* 2884. 7. The fifth idyll. 8. The fourth idyll. 9. The question of strophe-division in the eighth and other idylls.

XIII, pp. 280-283. A. Ludwich, Nachlese zu den Fragmenten des Astrologen Anubion. Continuation from Philologus LXIII, pp. 116 ff.

XIV, pp. 284-296. O. Altenburg, Niobe bei Ovid. Analysis of the text and a discussion of the sources of the version of the myth used by Ovid. The tale of Arachne was doubtless taken from some Alexandrine manual of mythology. Ovid follows neither Euphron nor Apollodoros nor Sophokles in the myth of Niobe, but seems to be combining materials from a Theban and Lydian source.

XV, pp. 297-307. M. Rostowzew, Die Domänenpolizei in den römischen Kaiserreiche. An attempt to set forth the organization of the police service in the so-called *saltus*, the great imperial and

private landed estates. These police, called *saltuarii*, were for the most part slaves. On page 302 ff. is a discussion of the Greek equivalent for *saltarius*, ὄρεο- or ὀροφύλακες. The imperial estates were mostly patrolled by soldiers, hence the fact that almost no *saltuarii* are met with there.

Miscellen:

7. pp. 308–310. K. Praechter, Zu Xenophanes.

8. pp. 310–314. Th. Stangl, Zu Ammianus Marcellinus, Seneca de providentia und Plinius' Panegyricus. Ammian. 14, 11, 26; Sen. de prov., 3, 4; Plin. Pan., 44, 6; Ammian. 20, 7, 6; 30, 6, 6; 31, 10, 1; 31, 16, 7; 21, 13, 15; 17, 5, 11.

9. pp. 314–320. A. Funck, Beiträge zur Erklärung und Uebersetzung der römischen Komiker, (continued from p. 160). Men., 325, 356, 685, 694 f., 841 f., 979 f.; Andria, 54, 72–3, 93–4, 135–6, 172 f., 215 ff., 253, 274, 298, 307 f., 333, 631 f., 696–7, 911; Adelp., 80, 181, 547, 605 f., 665 ff., 672, 676, 791 f., 850.

XVI, pp. 321–340. P. Thouvenin, Metrische Rücksichten in der Auswahl der Verbalformen bei Homer. Summary on p. 340. Homer did not exhaust the whole list of existing or possible forms. He was led in his choice by the exigencies of metre; he selected what suited his verse and rejected those which were metrically impossible.

XVII, pp. 341–366. W. v. Voigt, Cn. Lentulus und P. Dolabella. A numismatic discussion. A puzzling aureus of Cn. Lentulus on the evidence of its weight must fall in the times of Caesar and the second triumvirate, and is ascribed to the consul of 44 B. C., who figures as both Dolabella and Lentulus. So one of Caesar's champions received participation in the privilege of coining money after Caesar's death. The indirect evidence of ancient writers to a change of name by Dolabella thus receives numismatical corroboration. This is the last example of *transitio ad plebem*. The date of the coin is 42 B. C. Summary p. 361.

XVIII, pp. 367–384. W. Nestle, Heraklit und die Orphiker. After a discussion of the meaning in Heraklitos of the concepts δίκη, νόμος, εἰσαρμήνη, χρεών, ἀνάγκη, αἰών (χρόνος) λόγος (pp. 371–380), there follows (p. 384) a summary of results. Sharp polemic and yet many points of agreement characterize his relation to the Orphici. He found in them tendencies toward a correct view of the universe, but only as an undeveloped germ: and the cult-forms of the religion of the mysteries, and their amalgamation with many sorts of superstition must have offended his pure and lofty spirit and stirred him to polemic. He changed in an independent manner many of the elements he found useful in their works.

XIX, pp. 385–390. K. Praechter, Kritisch-exegetisches zu spätantiken Philosophen. 1. Academ. philosoph. index Hercul. col. 1, 26 f., p. 5, Mekler. 2. Ps.-Aristot. π. θαυμ. ἀκονσμ. 39. 3. Zu Epiktet. 4. Dio Chrysost. or. 12, 59.

XX, pp. 391-413. H. Wegehaupt, Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der Moralia Plutarchs. The conclusions are summarized on pp. 412-413. Planudes compiled his collection from manuscripts, as did also the redactor of Vatic. 1013, and other larger *corpora*. But almost all others are manuscript collections of quite small groups or single treatises. A suitable critical edition would be a stupendous undertaking.

XXI, pp. 414-437. P. Köhler, Eine neue Properzhandschrift, Lusaticus, subscribed, 'padue 1469,' but dating from much earlier in the 15th cent. Its text is from two sources, one closely allied to the Neapolitanus, the other to the Mss group D. V. A. F. Readings differing from the Teubner text of 1885 follow.

XXII, pp. 438-464. W. M. Lindsay, De Citationibus apud Nonium Marcellum.

XXIII, pp. 465-472. Fr. Zucker, Euhemerus und seine *ἱερὰ ἀναγραφὴ* bei den Christlichen Schriftstellern. Summary p. 470. Only a few Christian writers, Eusebius, Minucius Felix, Lactantius, and Augustine, knew of the 'tendency' of Euhemerus. In the excursus at the close three euhemeristic tales in Firm. Mat. err. prof. rel. c. 6 sq. are discussed.

Miscellen.

10. pp. 473-4. O. Schroeder, Ein Satz aus der Phrygerarie (Eurip. Or. 1395-1424) cf. his article in Berl. philol. Woch. 1904, 167.

11. pp. 475-478. A. Deissmann, Verkannte Bibelzitate in syrischen und mesopotamischen Inschriften.

12. pp. 478-480. A. E. Schöne. Zu Iulius Exsuperantius. Emendations.

XXIV, pp. 481-492. L. Deubner, Zur Iosage. The killing of Argos with a stone (Apollod. II, 7, Etymol. Magn. p. 136, 53) suggests restoring Bacchyl. XVIII (XIX) 29 λ(ιθῶ). The common form on vases is Hermes slaying Argos with a sword, but an Ionic amphora in the Munich collection illustrates the version of Apollodorus. The ultimate source is Hesiod's Katalogoi. The common version comes from Aigimios.

XXV, pp. 493-498. O. Schroeder, Asklepiadeen und Dochmien. The Aeolic verse with three arses became the Attic dochmiac.

XXVI, pp. 498-505. A. Zimmermann, Die griechischen Personennamen auf -ov und ihre Entsprechungen im Latein.

XXVII, pp. 506-553. A. Mommsen, Formalien der Dekrete Athens. Chronological treatment of the development of the curial style in Athenian decrees.

XXVIII, pp. 554-566. R. Müller, *De attributo titulorum saeculi V. Atticorum observationes quaedam*. On the position of the attribute, discussed in 2 parts, of 5 and 3 divisions each.

XXIX, pp. 567. M. Manitius, *Zur lateinischen Scholienlitteratur*. 1. On the life and scholia of Persius. 2. Scholia to Horace (*Ars Poetica*), Gleanings from Cod. Monacensis 14498.

XXX, 573-632. A. Müller, *Militaria aus Ammianus Marcellinus*. I, Survey of the bodies of troops named in A. M. A. Legions. B. Auxilia. II, Fleets. III, The military grades. IV, Weapons. A. Defence. B. Offence. C. Manufactories of arms. V, Standards. VI, Service. VII, Order of march and pitching of camps. VIII, Discipline. IX, Punishments and rewards. X, Food and Pay. XI, Manners and customs. XII, Relation of the military to the civil authority.

Miscellen.

12. pp. 633-4. O. Immisch, *Zum Margites*, reads a trimeter.

μηδὲν πονεῦντα μηδ' ἐπαῖοντά τευ.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

BRIEF MENTION.

οὐ γὰρ πείσεις οὐδ' ἦν πείσῃς, and in the teeth of evidence and argumentation I cannot bring myself to believe that we are not to take a certain account of the Attic demes in literature as in life. I sympathize with the scholar, who some years ago made a trip to Paiania, in order the better to understand Demosthenes. When Xenophon magnifies the Return of the Ten Thousand and Isokrates treats the same performance as a military promenade, I cannot help thinking that there may have been some friction between the two demesmen of Erchia; and as I looked down from the Eastern rampart of the Akropolis on the region identified by Wilamowitz with the deme of Aristophanes and Kleon, and gazed into the tiny court-yards of the little houses that clustered about the base of Athena's citadel, I wondered whether there might not have been a back-gate squabble between the redoubtable leather-dealer and 'the baldhead bard, Kudathenaian and Pandionid, son of Philippos, Aristophanes'. At least, I find it hard to agree with M. MAURICE CROISSET, *Aristophane et les partis à Athènes* (Paris, Albert Fointemoing), that Aristophanes was a manner of Dikaiopolis, that he lived in the country and that his deme was nothing but a polling booth. One must not be misled by Aristophanes' lyrics on country life. The basis is much more prosaic than at first appears, and there is a dash of mockery everywhere, not to mention the well-known fact that enthusiasm for rural sights and sounds is more characteristic of your city-bred man than of those whose inspiration is largely 'Düngerbegeisterung', as Mommsen calls it. M. CROISSET's arguments are of the same order as those that have made Shakespeare a member of every guild of craftsmen under the sun. It is of the essence of the poet that he should see more and feel more than the average man; and it is not necessary for him to have been born and bred in the country in order to sing of 'murmuring bees and blooming violets', in order to know the names of 'trees and plants and tools and birds'. 'But Aristophanes,' says M. CROISSET, 'not only knows these things; he loves them. He is penetrated with a lively feeling for nature, which is not the dream of a tired cit (*citadin lassé*), and which seems to be made up of personal souvenirs and impressions'—when it is not made up of persiflage of Euripides who was also 'penetrated with a lively feeling for nature'. M. CROISSET may be right as to the political attitude of Aristophanes, but this part of the evidence is not basic; it is at best cumulative.

M. CROISSET's whole book is frankly a polemic against the position taken by Auguste Couat in his admirable work on Aristophanes, in which he maintains that the comic poets—Aristophanes among them—were mere henchmen of the aristocracy, and did their bidding with the docility of parasites, a theory apparently suggested by the extemporized newspaper organs of Paris, which seldom survive more than a few weeks, just as the political comedies of Athens seldom reached a second representation. One need not take the comic poets so seriously as German scholars are prone to do, and yet one may sympathize with M. CROISSET's effort to establish the personal independence of the greatest of them all, even if one fails to identify him with the 'rural democracy' or to accept the 'rural democracy' itself, to the extent claimed for it by M. CROISSET. This rural democracy, according to M. CROISSET, is not to be confounded, on the one hand, with the urban democracy, which corresponds to Milton's 'fierce democratie', nor on the other, with the oligarchy, as Busolt has done. They were, he says, conservative in a sense and at certain crises made common cause with the oligarchy, but in the main their hearts were true to the cause of the people; and it is on this alliance between the rural democracy and the Old Attic comedy that M. CROISSET insists throughout the book, an alliance that goes back to the origins of comedy in a village festival.

Your Attic countryman, continues M. CROISSET, was much more attached than was his urban brother to the old customs, to the old rites of the cultus, to tradition in all its forms; he retained his respect for the old families, the old hereditary priesthoods. He meddled little with politics, for which he had scant time. His picture is drawn for us by Aristophanes in the *Peace*, by Euripides in the *Orestes*. But if he did not care for politics, if he was a comparative stranger to Pnyx and Agora, he was attracted to the great festivals as our rustics are attracted to the circus. And it was the mass of rural spectators, reinforced by their sympathizers in the city, that imposed on the judges, that maintained Aischylos with his sublimities and sonorities in his dominant position, that favored the sweet religiosity of Sophokles and suppressed the subtleties and sophistries of Euripides so long. Comedy, however, not tragedy, was the dear delight of the rustics, who seem to have had all the *sournoiserie* of the French peasant, and they grew ecstatic over the gibes of the comic poets at the men of the day, the politicians with their ready tongues and itching palms, the subtle philosophers, the fashionable lecturers, the new schools of music, everything, in fact, that constituted the delight of the city folk and seemed 'prodigiously grotesque' to 'ces braves paysans d'Athmonon ou de Chollidae'. But if the rural democracy had so little to do with the life of the city, it is strange that they should have taken so much pleasure in all the

flings of the poet at the fads and fancies of urban society. We are under the impression from the beginning to the end that Aristophanes is speaking a 'coterie language'—about the charm of which Carlyle waxes so emphatic—a language which must have been a puzzle to M. CROISSET'S rural democracy.

M. CROISSET'S *Aristophane* appeals to me very strongly but as I look down the vista of the coming numbers of the Journal, I see no room for the detailed review that it deserves and in *Brief Mention* there is only space to present the general conclusion reached, and give the main drift, not the exact words, of M. CROISSET'S closing chapter. Aristophanes, it seems, was not a partyman. He was swayed by feelings rather than by programmes. He was a man of instinct rather than a man of ratiocination. He was a lover of the country and the country deme, where life was easier and saner. He was a lover of social gatherings, of festivals. 'Nature he loved nor less than nature art'. The art must be joyous but its joy did not exclude the attainment of a lofty standard. He had a pronounced aversion to sterile ambition, to hard and malignant egotism, to all intellectual curiosities, whether legitimate or not. The Athens, where all this was realized, was his Athens and he loved her passionately. Those whom he accused of corrupting her and ruining her, he hated as if they were his personal enemies; and in his advocacy of good understanding, harmony and mutual confidence, there were no bounds to the bitterness, vehemence, injustice, with which he followed up the men, who, according to him, sowed and fomented discord and hatred among the citizens. His battle-cry was 'Peace'. What sacrifices he would have made to secure peace, we do not know. He was not a statesman; he knew the end but not the means; he could not formulate the conditions. But his views were personal views; they were not dictated by party leaders but by circumstances. It is *a priori* unlikely, says M. CROISSET, that a genius, so spontaneous, so vigorous, so original should have lived, so to speak, on suggestions from others. His shoulders must bear the burden of his own injustices and prejudices; but he deserves full credit for those views in which we moderns recognize breadth and generosity as well as insight.—*Conclusum est contra Couatium.*

In the publisher's circular that accompanies M. CROISSET'S volume the book is called a real reconstruction of political and social life at Athens in the times of the great comic poet. That is claiming a great deal. It is enough to grant that it presents views that deserve to be considered carefully. But when it is said that 'this important study of historical criticism and literary

analysis' possesses 'the attraction of a vague spice of actuality', I recall with some interest the fact that being required, some years ago, to characterize, in the ridiculously brief compass of a few lines, the attitude of Aristophanes to his times, I found no handier way of absolving my task than that of using the slogans of our American life with the answering notes of defiance in Aristophanes. Granted the distortion of such a representation, that is, after all, the shortest method to rouse the general public to the appreciation of the truth that antiquity is not dead, simply because humanity is very much alive.

The comparative study of histories of literature may well reconcile the grammarian to his humble and laborious lot. The statistics abide, even if the inferences perish. To be successful, the historian of literature must be an epigrammatist, and the destruction of the epigrammatist is his epigrammaticality, the fatal *goût de la phrase*. To put one's views in a quotable form, that is a great temptation, and he who protests against it most loudly is often the first to yield to it. As might have been expected, WILAMOWITZ'S *Griechische Literatur in Die Kultur der Gegenwart* (Teubner) abounds in telling sentences, which one revolves with delight when they happen to embody one's own cherished convictions. Then they are, indeed, 'Nu hony in a B', to quote John Bunyan's atrocious anagram of his name. Otherwise one feels the sting and fails to enjoy the bag. What the average layman will make of the barbed allusions and the live wires, would be a curious question. Certain it is that the points will not escape the scholar, nor the scholar the points, especially if he encounters the charges of 'naïve Unwissenschaftlichkeit', 'gröbliche Verkennung', 'pedantische Erklärung', 'perverser Schulunterricht', u. s. w., u. s. w., but most of the polemic will be lost on the unprofessional reader, who simply wishes to be borne up to the pinnacle of the culture of the day by some accredited prince of the power of the air. But *Brief Mention* is too circumscribed a field for all the *peccavi's* and *jubilante's* that WILAMOWITZ'S sketch would naturally elicit from an old student, and I must forego the opportunity of comparing the treatment of Aristophanes by WILAMOWITZ and by CROISSET, only noting that while WILAMOWITZ confirms CROISSET'S view, of the simply personal, or so to speak, poetical character of Aristophanes' politics, he does not show the comic poet so much respect as does the French scholar. 'Aristophanes ist am Ende seines Lebens von seinem Gemeindewesen für den Rat präsentiert worden; hoffentlich hat er nicht selbst auf praktisch-politische Einsicht Anspruch erhoben'.

'English syntax is essentially a syntax of short circuits', says Professor C. ALPHONSO SMITH, in his suggestive *Studies in*

English Syntax (Ginn and Co.). At first blush this may seem to be a natural consequence of the paucity of inflexions, but the reason lies deeper, as he shows. In Homer we have to deal with a highly inflected language and yet the short circuit is the rule there. Barring the particles, you can translate long stretches of Homer into comprehensible English without departing from the Greek order, and the process is to be recommended when one is training young students in the indispensable art of reading Greek in the order of the original; and it is this ease of connexion that is the chief justification for the early introduction of Homer into the curriculum. Apart from the vocabulary, the dialogue of the drama, when read aloud, is more readily understood by the beginner, than is oratorical prose; for the dramatic period seldom exceeds the four line limit prescribed by the rhetoricians' rules. Now one element and an important element in the holding of a sentence together is the 'carrying power of the cases', 'the tensile strength of the cases', as it has variously been termed (A. J. P. XXIII 24). All the cases fly off the handle, become 'absolute', if the sentence is stretched too far. The nominative becomes the *nominativus pendens*, as it is called. The accusative becomes exclamatory. The dative proper—the personal dative—does not develop into an absolute case simply because its filamentary structure attaches itself so readily to any part of the sentence or to the sentence as a whole, that the sense of relation is kept up. But the genitive, the pure genitive, has the feeblest carrying power of all, and must perforce set up for itself, when it has nothing to lean on. In English the genitive has no carrying power at all, and the periphrastic form that serves as a possessive, has limitations that remind one of the Greek. Professor SMITH has some interesting remarks on the short reach of the English possessive relation, and as this possessive relation is represented by the familiar *of* as well as by the genitive case-form, we recall the fact that an English *of* at the head of a sentence detaches itself somewhat as does a Greek genitive, when far removed from what is supposed to be its regimen (A. J. P. XXIII 25). The true approach to these matters is, I suppose, through the instruments of precision employed by modern psychology, but these are not at my command, and I have not the time to institute statistics based on the number of words or syllables interposed between the various cases and their regimen, nor have I the heart to impose on others the exhaustive research necessary to establish or refute the formulas suggested. It often happens that the by-products of such a research—even if the main result be negative—will repay the laborious explorer, but a conscientious teacher often has great searchings of heart when he asks himself whether he has a right to send any man on such a quest for his own personal satisfaction. But some years ago, one of my students expressed a willingness to run trial trenches through characteristic regions of Greek literature; and these preliminary surveys yielded results which were in close accord with views

already published. Interesting are some of his statistics as to Latin in which the genitive is not so complicated as it is in Greek, and clings closer to its regimen. 'The First Book of the Aeneid', he says, 'shows no separation beyond eight syllables, and the same thing is true of the pro Milone of Cicero except in that part of § 33 which is not found in the MSS: it is an insertion of the editors'. Of the influence of this matter of tensile strength in the case of the genitive absolute, I have written elsewhere (A. J. P. XXIII 24); nor is it a negligible factor when the rivalry of genitive and dative is involved. *ol* has been called a practical genitive (A. J. P. XXIII 22), and one argument is the apposition of the genitive in Homer. But there is no cogency in participle examples, clearly none in the tradition of the later epic e. g. Theok. 25, 65: *μή τί οἱ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔπος ποτιμυθήσαιο | σπερχομένου*, where the genitive is semi-detached; and Professor SMITH has adduced some very welcome examples of a similar disregard of case conformity in other languages (p. 54). Touching the matter of case rivalry, it is not without interlinguistic significance that whereas in Homer parts of the body regularly take the genitive, in Plautus the dative seems to be overwhelmingly the rule. But special investigations in this field are going forward even now.

'Lehrfreiheit' is a fine motto, but it is interesting to observe how the teacher is circumscribed by the progress of doctrine, by the fading out of fads. Twenty-five years ago there would have been some point in the ridicule of the sun-myth. Much true glory was gained by an article in the Kottabos, which proved on Max Müller's principles that Max Müller himself was a solar myth; and there would have been a certain relish in the application of the method to Eumaios, the divine swineherd with his twelve months of styes and his three hundred and sixty boars of days, but there is nothing more deplorable than the elaborate interpretation of deceased jests; and it is hardly worth while to resuscitate Paley's interpretation of the Odyssey in order to vitalize a joke. Even twenty years ago, it was possible for a lecturer to say that after Odysseus has rounded Maleia, the geography matters as little to the lover of poetry as the topography of Avalon and Camelot to the reader of the Idyls of the King, and that a Voyage in the Track of Ulysses such as Stillman undertook in the latter half of the eighties was more or less of a wild goose chase. *διώκει παῖς ποταμὸν ὄρνιν*. Such an attitude would not be respectable now, and one feels a certain remorse at not having taken Krickenbauer seriously, when he tried to prove from the Odyssey that the much-enduring hero had circumnavigated Africa. Once one would have felt a mild amusement at such a prospectus as lies before me now, *Les navigations d'Ulysse. Croisière homérique vers les sîles de l'Odysée*, something of the same amusement as one feels when one reads the prospectus

of Charon in the Frogs. Only the Aristophanic *ᾠή* becomes a very modern sigh. To breakfast at Alkinoos's on the eighth of September, in the Land of the Lotos-eaters on the sixteenth, and in the realm of Aiolos on the twenty-fifth! *βάλε δὴ βάλε κηρύλος εἶην*. Nothing more tempting has ever crossed the vision of a lover of the *Odyssey*. But by the time these lines see the light, the wonderful trip, conducted by M. VICTOR BÉRARD, the famous author of *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* will be over, and the scholar who is chained to his desk must console himself as scholars have been wont to console themselves since the time of Ecclesiastes, and before, with doubt and disillusionment. There, for instance, is the book of M. CHAMPAULT, *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie, d'après l'Odyssée. Étude géographique, historique et sociale par une méthode nouvelle* (Paris, Ernest Leroux), most of which is given up to the demonstration that the abode of the Phaeacians is to be sought in Ischia and not in Corfu; and Professor DÖRPFELD has recently published a pamphlet with further details of his triumphant identification of the *τρηχεῖ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος* with the Santa Maura of to-day (*Zweiter Brief über Leukas-Ithaka. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen von 1905*). If Scheria is Ischia and Ithaca, Leukas, the tempting programme loses much of its charm, and in any case one comes back to the passage in the Frogs to which I have alluded. Shall we follow the MS reading *ᾠονυ πόκας* or the seductive conjecture *ᾠονου πλοκάς*? The controversy has a significant reach. *ᾠονος* and *ᾠονος* contend for the mastery of the philological guild as Poseidon and Athena for the mastery of Attica.

No one can take up a grammar of one of the outlying languages, if one dare use such an expression, without being astonished at the subtlety of speech that has not been fixed by the desiccating processes of literature. Balzac says somewhere that when it comes to the selection and preparation of vegetables for the table the most refined Parisian gourmet is a coarse creature in comparison with his provincial brother, and we, who pride ourselves on distinctions between volitive and potential, the hawk and the heronshaw of our airy science, need keener optics for the discernment of differences such as the untutored savage makes with the easy mastery of senses that have not been dulled by poring over books. If the untutored savage would only say something that is worth while! But it is distinctly worth while for those of us who make a special study of the conventional languages of great epochs of culture to give ourselves up occasionally to the guidance of those who explore large stretches of linguistic phenomena. One comes back to one's little domain with purged vision and a keener sense of smell. Now it does not lie within my province to determine the scientific value of M. RAOUL DE LA GRASSERIE's *De la Catégorie du genre* (Paris, Ernest Leroux), but

the subject is one that appeals to every student of language, as sex appeals to every student of life, and not least to one who starts from the basis of the English language, which is the admiration of the world for the simple way in which the question of gender has been settled. In English, gender has taken refuge in the pronoun and in a certain narrow range the pronoun serves to sexualize so that in comparative grammars 'he-ass' and 'she-ass' are always trotted out to be admired. Even 'she-horse' occurs in Scotch, and I herewith make my humble apology for my criticism of the German scholar, who cited 'he-horse' and 'she-horse' as typical examples of the formation (A. J. P. XXI 475), a formation which in my judgment ought to be extended greatly in order to meet the enlarged demands of feminine competition in our day. It is a narrow domain, but even in this narrow domain the practical sense of English manifests itself, and M. DE LA GRASSERIE points out what poor ambiguous things the French 'son' and 'sa' are in comparison with English 'his' and 'her.' Why, even in German 'ihr' is deplorably amphibolous. Each language has its characteristic advantage. And when one vaunts the ideal structure of the Greek verb, one has only to take the Hebrew paradigm with its admirable distinction between masculine and feminine in the second and third persons, where the distinction is sorely needed—and the brag dies on the lips. Few languages sexualize the verb, says M. DE LA GRASSERIE (p. 189).

But the fact is, nothing is really epicene; genius has its sex, as George Eliot maintains. In case of need the Greek woman could wear her husband's *himation* as Xanthippe is said to have done, but there were men's *himatia* after all; and it is this pervasiveness of sex that makes a holiday trip through the languages which M. DE LA GRASSERIE commands so interesting. Greek is not one of them, to judge by the misprints. The more primitive the language, the more delightful. Imagine a language in which the designation of an object changes according to the sex of the speaker. With us the word, at least, abides, though the meaning shifts. Much space is given by M. DE LA GRASSERIE to the psychology of artificial gender, a region into which a mere ethnical grammarian dares not follow him. One obvious feminine category indicated by the Hebrew word for 'female', נקבה *perforata*, and preserved in such familiar technical terms as 'female' screw, seems to have escaped him; and the old distinction of masculine from feminine, the masculine standing for 'fermeté, rudesse, précision', the feminine for 'faiblesse, petitesse, douceur, passivité' (p. 63), fails utterly in some spheres. Beginners used to be taught that in Hebrew violent agencies are feminine, and what is one to say of birds of prey and spiders?

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I.—ROOT REDUCIBILITY IN POLYNESIAN.

The value of a careful study of the languages of the Polynesian, or Sawaiori, family has almost entirely avoided the attention of philologists. For the more part the leaders of the science have been content to work the rich Indo-European and Semitic veins, and thereby have they overlooked the possibility of equal wealth of results to be obtained by the prosecution of investigation with the same degree of care into some of the families of human speech not included in the two types so thoroughly studied. So far as concerns the Malayo-Polynesian the attitude of philological science seems to be concisely summed up in Whitney's words, here cited from memory: "Its philologic position has been established by Humboldt's 'Ueber die Kawi-Sprache', and its internal barrenness has been disclosed by Fr. Mueller's Polynesian grammar in the Novara work." Despite the weight of this authority the question is so far from settled and disposed of by those two works that of the mere handful of earnest workers in the Polynesian field the most of us incline to consider it better to divorce the Malay from such intimate association with the Sawaiori as the term Malayo-Polynesian implies. While as to the second member of Whitney's dictum, we look upon Mueller's grammar as a curious misconception of those languages upon a note book acquaintance with which he compiled it.

If the aim of the years of investigation in the field and of the added years of painful research in the study were merely to produce a grammar and a dictionary of even the most highly developed of the Polynesian tongues the most enthusiastic student would have to confess such a result futile in its inutility. Such a dictionary of the Samoan, to cite a concrete instance which

I have now advanced toward completion, would amount to no more than the record of the speech of an obscure and civilly unimportant people at present resting at about the 40,000 mark on census rolls. To the Samoans themselves the work would ever remain closed. To the white men brought into association with them, probably never to exceed a few hundred at any one time, such a work would be useless; their needs can easily be supplied by a jargon of a few hundred vocables easily acquired and loosely used, the refinement of philological apparatus would be wasted under the normal conditions of island life. Yet that such a record of island speech can offer matter of far more than merely curious interest to the student of the growth of human speech it is the purpose of this paper to point out in some broad and general measure, calling attention to the possibilities of a field hitherto neglected, leaving the proof for more detailed consideration.

It is not entirely through accident that I have chosen the Samoan as the vehicle of researches into the philosophy of Polynesian speech. There was an initial hesitation as to which of several tongues equally familiar to pursue, and it was only after mature deliberation that my choice fell upon the Samoan as offering the best medium for the presentation of the most valuable results. This accords equally with facts developed by ethnographers of this island region, facts which should be sketched in a brief preliminary statement.

Omitting reference to the difficult problem of the starting point of the migration which in successive streams peopled the Pacific we are amply justified in regarding it as established that the Polynesians make their appearance in the great ocean at the eastern verge of the Malay seas, that their voyages swept down the chain of islands which parallel the Australian coast and left at intervals some Polynesian inclusions¹ in Melanesian communities, which yet remain as interesting landmarks, and that a definite general settlement of the early wave of migration was made in the islands of the central Pacific between the parallels

¹ "These Polynesian outliers are to be found in Uea, one of the Loyalty Islands; in Futuna, a small island of the New Hebrides; in Fate, Sandwich Island; in some of the islets of the Sheppard group, and notably in the settlement of Mae in Three Hills; in Tikopia, north of the Banks' Islands, and in several of the Swallow group near Santa Cruz; in Rennell and Bellona, south of the Solomon islands, and in Ongtong Java, near Ysabel."—Codrington's "Melanesian Languages, page 7."

of 13° and 11° south of the line and within a few hundred miles either way of the meridian of 180°. Next, and after such interval as to allow the first settlements to become well established,¹ a second wave of migration followed the same course and caused, first, wars in the earlier settlements in central Polynesia, and, later, the historic age of the great voyages. In these voyages the canoe fleets pushed out to the eastward, to Rarotonga, the Cook, the Gambier, the Hervey groups, to Tahiti, to the archipelago of the Paumotu, to remote Te Pito te Henua, ever eastward until land upon the trackless sea failed their daring keels not courage their stout hearts. Then to the north swept the stream, to the Marquesas and to the peopling of Hawaii. To the south steered yet other fleets to colonize New Zealand. Magnificent deeds these were of seacraft, worthy to be studied more closely in Percy Smith's "Hawaiki".² For the present purpose they are mentioned to show that Samoa with its next neighbors was the clearing house, the point of distribution, the palm, as it were, from which stretch these fingers bravely grasping out into the unknown, clutching and keeping and holding the Pacific for a single homogeneous race. This region of first settlement and later hive of swarming we shall find it a convenience to distinguish by a name. Nuclear Polynesia will serve, for it commits us to no theories, it simply sets forth in brief statement the fact that at some time there began to be, as there still remains, a Polynesian population of the islands of Fiji, Rotumā, Uvea, Futuna, Tonga, Niuē and Samoa with the inclusion of a few more immediately adjacent islands. In this Nuclear Polynesia Tonga represents in great likelihood the resting folk of the second wave of migration, Samoa the survivors of the first migration, and the outlying islands the resultant of the two

¹ This conclusion develops naturally out of the evident idea of the Samoans that they were autochthons. Only in such a view can we orient the valuable "Solo o le Va" which is in the author's MSS collection of "Samoa o le Vavau", and may be found in an interesting version in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. vi, page 19. It is a magnificent creation story, rude with the massive inexorability of the Lucretian Epicureanism.

² This interesting account of the Polynesian periplus of this keen student of ethnology first appeared in the Journals of the Polynesian Society and then in a book with the title "Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori", 1898, and later in a second edition with the title "Hawaiki: The original Home of the Maori", 1904. The second edition is greatly enlarged and practically a new book, to such an extent indeed that it by no means retires the earlier edition.

forces, each island offering a pretty problem of its own which it is not within the province of such a paper as this to introduce.

Few indeed are the tongues of uncultured man which have been heard over so wide a dispersion as this of the Polynesians. If we be willing to accede to the old classification of the makers of philological systems and use the term *Malayo-Polynesian* we may point out upon the maps such a dissemination of a single speech as no other language family could show until the fleets of highly advanced culture conquered the orb of the world for Indo-Germanic speech. Picture to yourself the confines of this one speech. Madagascar, almost beached on Africa, marks its western limit; *Te Pito te Henua*, possibly more generally familiar under its map name of Easter Island, stands as its eastern landmark far out over against the South American coast; to the south it reaches down into the winter chill of the southern tip of New Zealand; to the north it has braved in Hawaii the fires of Pele and the Hiiaka, her sisters; it has sought out the loneliness of Guam and has developed into more than one language in the Philippines. Of all tongues the Polynesian proper has undergone the least modification from outside influences; in fact, those of us who incline to cut loose from the Malayan association number but some 150 Malay roots as the sole contamination of the Polynesian. On the other hand no other family of languages has made such slight contributions to the languages of major culture. Our English, greediest of all in absorbing new words from whatever source, owes to the Polynesian no more than the two vocables "tabu" and "tattoo". Even so insignificant a race as the Caribs, who faded before the Europeans like a frost-blighted flower, have given us as much or more.

The languages of this family are of one structure, of a common vocabulary. Yet they have been so widely separated that there has been for centuries no relation of intercourse and each has developed for itself. They are individual languages, not mere dialects. The Maori, the Samoan, the Hawaiian are as far apart as are the English, the Dutch and the High German, as are French, Spanish and Italian. After full consideration of the objects of this research into the Polynesian family it has been determined that the Samoan will best serve to develop the underlying principles of this interesting speech. We must defer the broader questions of the relationship of the Polynesian type of language with the languages spoken by Melanesian people of a clearly distinct ethnic stock; and of a kinship which may

subsist between Polynesian and Melanesian tongues on the one hand (if indeed they are to be grasped within one array of fingers) and those specifically classed as Malayan on the other.

For an appreciation of what linguistic research among the Polynesian tongues is expected to offer for the service of philology we should note the ultimate attainment of that science. The benefit, it should be said, has passed the stage of expectation; in a steadily lengthening chain it has been brought to the proof in my Polynesian studies, to which this paper is in some sort an introduction and a partial syllabus.

From the "Cratylus" to Leibnitz the study of speech, ever a fascinating pursuit, was nothing more than a web of wildly spun fancies, a composition of superficial resemblances, a diversion destitute of all logical method for the good and very sufficient reason that deduction was impossible in the absence of the data from which to deduce. In one and twenty centuries, half the epoch of Napoleon's measure of the Pyramids, not one advance was made. More languages had come into the theatre of wisdom, yet a science of language remained unborn. The races of the earth who spoke outside the narrow range of a handful of the languages of major culture still remained the *βάρβαροι*, the men whose speech to the cultivated ear was but the uncomprehended ba-ba. The puerilities of the great Saxon are the unaltered absurdities of the Attic philosopher. It was not until the European discovery of the Sanskrit that philology became at all possible. The ultimate triumph of philological analysis through comparison has been to reduce language to a collection of roots. Out of such roots develop the parts of speech, the models of declension, the canons of syntax. In all speech growth, to the highest nicety of inflection and synthesis, to the most flexible facility of our tongues in the analytic type, the underlying security is this root, that which through all the ages carries the vital principle with which this rudimentary combination of sounds comes to us out of the darkness of the period of selective differentiation. In all the families of speech which have yet been subjected to scientific method of analysis the root is found the ultimate expression, a thing irreducible, whether it be the frequently vocalized root of Aryan speech or the crystal trigrammaton of the consonantal Semitic.

The work of analysis of Polynesian speech has now progressed to a point where we are warranted in the announcement that the

Samoan, as typical of its family in the highest and last degree, opens to the investigator of speech phenomena a plain and simple path in the direction of the next great advance. This is to consist in the reduction of the hitherto irreducible, the analysis of the root, the discovery of that which, in permissible continuation of a metaphor already accepted, we may not unfitly call the seed. The next step toward the principia of human speech—what a step it is! It brings us to the verge of that stage in evolution where the discriminative modulation of the cry had but just become reason in speech in development of the reflexes of sound formation.

Before proof can be brought to bear on this important point of ultimate analysis it would be advisable to posit more or less familiarity with Polynesian speech.

In the discussion of philological problems it is a permissible assumption that the interested reader is familiar with the methods and results of the linguistic investigation of the Indo-European tongues. Thus, in the matter of principle and illustration, the development of a new idea may proceed smoothly and the writer may not improperly count on leading his readers *pari passu* to the conclusions which are his and their common goal. Since, however, the Polynesian is really new material for philological research, since its tongues are quite unfamiliar to any but a most limited circle of investigators, it will be found not inadvisable to present a cursory conspectus of the Samoan in its broader aspects.

The phonology of the language is of the simplest and is represented on the accepted scheme as follows:

	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ccc} & & a \\ & \text{---} & \text{---} \\ & e & o \\ i & & u \\ y & \text{---} & l & w \end{array} \right\}$			vowels
sonant	ng	n	m	
				semi-vowels
surd	—			nasal
sonant	—			aspiration
surd	—	s		sibilants
sonant	—		v	
surd	—		f	spirants
sonant	—			
surd	—	t	p	mutes
	palatal	lingual	labial	

As the true palatal *g* is entirely missing the character has been adapted to express the nasal *ng* (as in singer). The characters

y and *w* are not employed in the Roman alphabet as adapted to the Samoan, their proper sounds, however, being present. The true *k* had disappeared from Samoan at some period anterior to its discovery by the first missionaries; a wave of repugnance to that sound which to the westward of Nuclear Polynesia seems rarely to be felt, but which becomes more and more marked as we follow the line of migration toward the eastern confines of the region, and particularly characterizes the speech of Tahiti and Hawaii. In Samoan the absent *k* functions in a manner that entails no little difficulty to the student in his first essay at the spoken language. The *k* has vanished, yet there has been no coalescing over the gap; it has left a hole in the word. To express that absence of sound an inverted comma (') has been erected into the position of an alphabetic character. It has no sound in itself, it imports no sound to the word or to the succeeding vowel. If the speech organs are placed in the position to produce the rough breathing, and then, without vocalizing in this position, the voice passes to the next letter the value of the catch, for so this character with some propriety has been named, will be represented just in proportion as the vocalization of the spiritus asper position is absent. For example, this gives us the Samoan *fa'a* in a position midway between the Fijian *vaka*, the Maori *whaka* on the one and purer hand, and on the other and weakened side the *faa* of Tahiti, the *haa* and *hoo* of Hawaii, which has still further degenerated into *ha* and *ho*.¹

¹ A list of the *faka* forms in the insular tract is interesting as showing how uniformly the strength of the word subsists in its vowel elements and that the dialectic variations appear in the flux of the consonants. This accords very well with other evidence that in Polynesian the permanent value lies in the vocalic seed and that from it roots are produced through the modulation of the several consonants, these being a later evolution and therefore less permanently established.

Samoa	<i>fa'a</i>	Tahiti	<i>haa, faa</i>
Hawaii	<i>haa, ha, hoo, ho</i>	Tonga	<i>faka</i>
Rarotonga	<i>aka</i>	Marquesas	<i>kaka, haa</i>
Mangareva	<i>aka</i>	Paumotu	<i>faka, kaka</i>
Futuna	<i>faka</i>	Uvea	<i>faka</i>
Nguna	<i>vaka, paka</i>	Rotumā	<i>a, faka</i>
Fiji	<i>vaka</i>	New Britain	<i>wara</i>
Fate	<i>baka</i>	Sesake	<i>vaka</i>
Espiritu Santo	<i>vaga</i>	Oba	<i>vaga</i>
Maewo	<i>vaga</i>	Mota	<i>vaga</i>
Ulawā	<i>haa</i>	Wawo	<i>haa</i>
Fagani	<i>faga</i>	Sa'a	<i>haa</i>

Within the century which is our sole historical period for these oceanic tongues we have been able to trace the backward surge of the rejected *k*. In regions as remote as Hawaii and Samoa the *k* once discarded has swept back into speech with irresistible momentum, but it has not fallen back into its proper place. Instead it has seized upon the lingual *t* and has dragged it backward to the palatal of the same group of mutes. In Hawaii at the time of its discovery this phonetic change had been but partly accomplished, as one may recognize from such forms as Tere-oboo (Kalaniopuu) and Tahy-terree (Kahekili) found in Captain King's narrative of Cook's death; yet at the time when the missionaries reduced the language to writing the *k* transformation was well-nigh complete. In Samoa the change has come to pass entirely in the period since the introduction of the alphabet. The missionaries fulminate against the kappation, but the change has been as complete as in Hawaii except that the *t* has kept its place in the written word. On the lips of men the lingual *t* is now heard only in the most formal address to chiefs of rank and from the Samoan pulpit. A similar, yet a completely double, change is at the same time in progress between the lingual and the palatal of the nasal group. The *n* is passing into the *ng* and the latter in turn is moving forward in the mouth to become *n*. Thus, such a word as *finagalo* (fi-na-ngá-lo) is more commonly spoken *figanalo* (fi-nga-ná-lo). Measured by the standards set up by the men who first fitted the alphabet to express Samoan speech these things are all corruptions. A broader view denies the authority of the accident of what chanced to be custom at the time of the first reduction to writing and sees in these progressive phonetic changes a flux and reflux which is more than dialectic variation, which represents a great idiosyncratic movement in Polynesian speech as a whole.

To the cumulative strength of a double consonant no Polynesian tongue has yet advanced, the nasalized *ng* and the aspirated semi-vowel of the Maori *wh* being only in form double. In the Fijian area, where we are on the border line of Polynesia, we find strongly nasalized consonants in *b* (*mb*), *d* (*nd*), *g* (*ng*) and *q* (*ngg*), and westward along the Melanesian stem double consonants are not uncommon.

In like manner the Samoan has scarcely crystallized into diphthongs. Under proper incidence of the tonic accent two vowels

may unite into the production of an apparent diphthong. Yet that such an association is purely temporary, existing only so long as that which caused it in the beginning remains active, is to be seen in the prompt dissolution of the seeming diphthong when for any reason the incidence of the tonic accent is shifted. Thus, in the frequent name Tuisamau the normal paroxytone gives us Tuisamáu, from *-máu* it is but a slight and indolent elision to *-mau*, equivalent to the English diphthong *ow*. So long as one is speaking about the man Tuisamau the sound of Tuisamow is good Samoan. Let one address the man, however, using the vocative *e*, which invariably attracts the accent; at once the diphthong dissolves and we say Tuisamaú e.

The syllable in the present stage of Polynesian speech (disregarding here the enticing problems of Rotumā with double consonants and closed syllables) is otherwise invariably open, its scheme comprises no more than an unsupported vowel or a consonant introducing a vowel. The closed syllable survives only as a memory in certain composition forms, which, without this explanation as survivals, introduce a jumble of uncoördinate and inexplicable elements of modulation. Deferring the proof of this point in the present inquiry it suffices to note that in Samoan anterior to the historical period closed syllables were permissible.

The structure of the Samoan period is illustrated in the following:

<i>'ava e! 'ava taumanu! 'ava!</i>	Kava! fragrant kava! kava!
<i>se 'ava 'ea lenā mai fea?</i>	That kava, whence comes it?
<i>'o le 'ava lenā mai le Alofia'ana.</i>	That kava's from the Alofia'ana.
<i>'o le 'ava 'ula lenā</i>	That ruddy kava,
<i>le'i 'e te folasia ma maia,</i>	Shout it not forth nor chew it,
<i>'a e fagufagu ai Tagatea</i>	But with it waken Tangatea
<i>'o loo tofā,</i>	who's sleeping
<i>i te'itē'i a'e ia, 'ua to le pagā.</i>	Start him up, trouble's afoot!

The interesting syntax of the speech is well illustrated in this extract, and when time serves it will abundantly repay close analysis. In the present inquiry we are to concern ourselves with words, not their arrangement to make continuous sense but their form and construction as words.

In the foregoing passage we count 44 words, listed according to their shape in the following table:

e (2)	'ava (6)	taumannu	felaria	Alofia'ana
se	'ea	maifea	fagufagu	
'e (2)	lenā (3)	maia	Tagatea	
le (4)	'ula		te'ite'i	
mai	le'i			
'e	loo			
te	lofā			
ma	a'e			
'a	ia			
ai	pagā			
o				
i				
'ua				
to				
19	17	3	4	1

Here we find 19 monosyllables, including the temporary diphthongs *ai* and *mai* and *'ua* ('*wa*'). The dissyllables number 17, in which are counted 6 repetitions of the word *'ava*. Of the 3 trisyllables we note the word *maifea*, and as its former half lies in the verse thesis there is no way of discrimination as to whether the *ai* is functioning as diphthong or as two vowels, and the same holds in regard of the *au* in *taumannu*. Of words of four syllables we find 4, of which 2 are reduplicated dissyllables. And beyond this we have a word of six syllables, *Alofia'ana*, a compound of two trisyllables. Such is about the normal proportion of the language.

Our investigations into the syntax of the Samoan supply us with a parallel set of figures. The type of speech is far too early to fall into classification under the classical parts of speech. Our Samoan words fall into but three classes. These are, the attributive, the demonstrative and the paradeictic. The attributives are the appellations of specific things, reducible at the outset to expressions of acts and qualities. Out of this class through discriminative selection is to arise the later development of the noun, the verb, the adjective and the adverb, and in this class are certainly included *ab initio* many of the exclamations which endure extra-grammatically to the period of the highest speech development. The demonstratives are the first vague indicia of speech which supplement tone and the pointing finger to designate time, place, number and motion, and to circumscribe the identity of individuals not already made clear by attribution; out of this class are to develop the pronoun and a small but important class of adverbs, according as the demonstrative leans

toward the nominal or toward the verbal signification still associated in the attributive vocable. The third class, the paradeictic, I find it advisable to propose for a small class of the most rudimentary words, which are neither to be classed as attributive nor to be properly grouped as demonstrative; their function is to indicate that a relation exists between two words with which they are placed, and in their fuller use to designate of what sort is that relation; this class is to produce the later preposition, the conjunction and much of the family of the particle. The class is but provisionally proposed, it may in the end find its proper place in the demonstrative.

The next tabulation of our specimen extract is based upon the frequency of these three elementary word-classes, as follows :

Attributive.	Demonstrative.	Paradeictic.
'ava (6)	se	e (2)
laumamu	'ea	mai
Alofia'ana	lenā (3)	ma
'ula	maifea	'a
folasia	'o (2)	o
maia	le (4)	loo
fagu fagu	'e	i
Tagatea	te	le'i
lofā	ai	'ua
te'ite'i	a'e	
to	ia	
pagā		
17	17	10

In our specimen text we find 17 attributives, including the two words *folasia* and *maia*, which in a former paper¹ have been shown to be attributives compounded of an attributive, a paradeictic and a demonstrative. Of these 17 but 1 is a monosyllable, 9 are dissyllables, and 6 of the 7 remaining polysyllables resolve into dissyllables at a glance.

In reckoning the 17 demonstratives in the same passage we find 14 simple and 3 occurrences of the same compound demonstrative *lenā*. Of the 17 instances 5 are dissyllabic, 10 monosyllabic, and 1 (*ai*) may be added to either list as it may be held to be diphthong or two vowels, for convenience we cast it up with the monosyllables. The trisyllabic *maifea* resolves into a paradeictic monosyllable and a demonstrative dissyllable.

¹ "Principles of Samoan Word Composition", Journal of the Polynesian Society, xiv, 36.

A count of the 10 paradeictic words shows 7 undeniably monosyllabic, 2 undoubtedly dissyllabic, 1 (*mai*) in doubt by reason of the diphthong.

This brief excursion into the arithmetic of the passage will be found indicative in the question of where the Samoan falls among the classes of systematic philology. The sum of the arithmetic is this: 38.6% are attributive, 38.6% demonstrative, 22.8% paradeictic; of the attributives 5.9% (2.3% of the whole number of words) are of one syllable, 53% (20%) are dissyllables, and 35% (14%) reduce to dissyllables; of the demonstratives 65% (25%) are monosyllables, 29% (11%) are dissyllables; of the paradeictics 80% (25%) are monosyllables, 20% (4.5%) dissyllables; for the whole passage without discrimination of the class of words 45.4% are words of one syllable, 36.3% of two, 6.8% of three, 8.8% of four, 2.3% more than four.

The slightest familiarity with the Samoan will show that it is many degrees more primitive than the analytic type of language.

It is only indirectly and with an utter absence of detail that I am aware that even one effort has been made to establish any of the Polynesian tongues in the inflected class. The only basis upon which a student of the Maori can rest such a reported claim must be in the so-called passive verb, of which *folasia* and *maia* in the foregoing kava hymn are examples. It is simpler to regard these forms as compounds of the three classes of words, phrases in the act of cohesion.

Between the agglutinative and the monosyllabic types of speech our Samoan must lie. The systematists have commonly assigned the Malayo-Polynesian language to the agglutinative class. With the Malayan we need not here concern ourselves, it has its own students and they may be trusted to look after their own. But in the assignment of the Polynesian to the agglutinative class one of the postulates of the whole system of classification has been not only disregarded but actually traversed. "Monosyllabism and agglutination", says André Lefèvre,¹ "have in common the inalterability of the root or full syllable, and the alteration in the sense of the subordinate or empty syllable; to agglutination alone belongs the change in the form of the subordinate root." Over against this positive statement set these others: Subordinate roots in Samoan have scarcely at all any tendency to become empty; in form and meaning the subordinate roots are yet unal-

¹ "Race and Language", 87.

tered. No, Samoan is far more readily comprehended as a language of monosyllabic or isolating type, showing, however, an expectation of the next more advanced type, the agglutinative, in that it is strongly featured by a sort of cohesion of original monosyllables to produce a type of dissyllabic speech. Against our showing of figures set the following statement of Whitney¹ relative to the Polynesian: "The roots, if we may call them so, the most ultimate elements accessible to our analysis, are prevailingly dissyllabic."

Return once again to the arithmetic of our kava hymn. Its monosyllables 45.4%, its dissyllables 36.3%, its polysyllables will repay investigation. Three of them resolve into cohesions of dissyllable with dissyllable, one to a cohesion of trisyllable with trisyllable (it would be tedious to indicate its further reducibility), two to cohesion of monosyllable with dissyllable, one to a dissyllable with a monosyllable, and yet another to the compaction of three monosyllables. Our polysyllables, then, yield us 7 monosyllables, 9 dissyllables, and 2 trisyllables which may again be reduced to a monosyllable and a dissyllable apiece, giving us 9 monosyllables and 11 dissyllables. Distributing these on the former record (19 monosyllables, 17 dissyllables) we find in the passage 28 monosyllables and 6 dissyllables, or 82.3% and 17.7% respectively. Thus it is seen that more than three-quarters of the language is yet monosyllabic on the face of it, even though the idiosyncratic fondness for the technic of reduplication gives the tongue as dissyllabic a tone as the glug-glug of water from the pierced cocoanut.

In the former paper, in approaching this topic along the lines proper to the consideration of Samoan word composition, it was shown how easy it is to undo this cohesion of the root monosyllables which are found in the dissyllabic word stems. Here let us assume that such has been done in all cases, as has been done with the greatest facility in most of the cases which have passed under review, and that we have before us the monosyllabic roots of Samoan speech and none other than monosyllables. It is to this point that this discussion, necessarily *multis ambagibus*, has been directed.

It is at this point of reduction to roots, and all monosyllables at that, a point to which our Polynesian leads us more simply than the researches in the tangle of Indo-European linguistics,

¹ "Life and Growth of Language", 243.

that I hope to show that which I feel to my own satisfaction I am accomplishing in these prolonged Polynesian studies, namely out of the mass of roots to pick the yet more primitive element, the seed of language.

It has been shown, only tentatively and approximately, of course, in the present stage of our studies, that as we proceed in the clearing away of the polysyllables of Samoan speech we find some 525 dissyllables and 45 monosyllables which are recognizable as raw material out of which the vocabulary is formed. It should be plain at a moment's glance of the thought that just in proportion as we reduce the polyphase character of the words of the vocabulary by so much do we increase the content of each residual formative element, stem or root as the case may be. So much the more must this obtain when we venture on so ultimate a dissection of our simplest roots to such individual life cells as may properly be designated seeds of speech.

Let us observe this feature of the widening of the content from a highly specialized form as we dissect it down to its seed in a meaning well nigh protoplasmic in its simplicity.

In the word *tanumia* we have a form that, in the vain effort to parse Samoan through the grammars of English, French and German together with the truly marvelous assistance of the Hebrew, has been described as passive voice, middle voice or deponent. By a more natural method, that of the true grammar of the monosyllabic speech as deduced from uniformity of usage in this group of forms, it becomes simple and most easy of explanation. Then we find no difficulty in accounting for the fact of observation that *tanumia* may mean "to bury" when used in one way and just as certainly may mean "to be buried" when used in another. Of one thing we may be sure, the confusion as to voice exists only in our minds and arises out of the faultiness of our method of statement. To the Samoan there is no confusion whatever. He knows perfectly well whether the *tanumia* of any given locution means "to be buried" or "to bury". There is no room for error, his intelligence is keen and it cannot have escaped him that between the two usages there is the same degree of distinction as between the here and the hereafter, and that the man who has been interred when his sole intent was to convey the idea of burying his fellow is placed in an impossible situation as regards coming back to explain his error. Survival of the fittest may be relied upon to prevent the permanent establishment of such rhetorical solecisms.

We explain *tanumia* as a word phrase held together by cohesion of the attributive *tanum*, the paradeictic *i* and the demonstrative

a. Its sense is this:

<i>tanum</i>	is a spreading over
<i>i</i>	having reference to
<i>a</i>	that one

In a former paper we have seen that TANUM is visible as the earlier stem of the existing vocable *tanu* which has resulted from the repugnance of the present Polynesian to the closed syllable. This dissyllabic stem breaks apart into two monosyllabic roots, TA and NUM. The latter is found in a line of composite forms from which we may deduce its elemental signification "to spread one thing over another to cover it", and with particular reference to the thing which is covered in contradistinction to the stem UFIT which particularizes the covering agent. The root TA through its long series of known combinations carries a strongly featured sense of action that is peripheral, centrifugal, and there seems to be at least a suspicion of the further connotation that the action is exerted downward. When these two roots are placed in sequence we find that the action of NUM is regarded as following upon and completing that of TA, and the compound signifies "to be the making of a movement away from the agent, and generally downward, as a result of which some object is covered out of sight by some material spread over it."

Looking only at the form of these two roots it will be seen that they differ. So with others which inspection of the language will show but which may not be presented here without too much delay. Suffice it to record the following scheme of root forms as deducible from the materials under examination:

1. Simple vowel	√E (to hoot at)	<i>eina</i>
2. Consonant—vowel	√TO (to plant)	<i>twina</i>
3. Vowel—consonant	√UT (to bite)	<i>utia</i>
4. Consonant—vowel—consonant	√NUM (to cover)	<i>numia</i>

These are the possible combinations of elements which may form roots of monosyllabic speech in a plane anterior to the acquisition of the double consonant. Types 1 and 2 are those which occur in Samoan of the present, but 3 and 4, the two closed types, are just below the surface and may be easily derived as existing in Protosamoan.

Now let us prosecute the investigation of the root TA, manifestly an elemental type of root, only one degree less primitive

than the unmodified vowel as root, yet that single difference characterizing the enormous distance which separates human speech from the animal cry, the modulation of the vowel of the open throat through the consonant which is formed by the agency of some one or more of the buccal organs which lie at the service of the third frontal convolution of the brain to give man that possession of articulate speech to which the highest apes have not attained.

We observe that TA is of the second type of monosyllabic root, a combination of the vowel *a* with the prior placed consonant *t*. It is plain that the same vowel *a* is susceptible of combination in the same way with every other consonant which the Samoans have acquired the art to use. From this we deduce the following diagram of the possibilities of the whole of this second type for the vowel *a*:

<i>ya</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nga</i>
<i>na</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>va</i>
<i>fa</i>	<i>'a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>pa</i>

In the present early stage of the inquiry it is necessary to postpone consideration of one factor that will at once present itself, namely that the character *a* does not so completely as any of the consonantal symbols represent a vocal unit. We have in the Samoan at least three sounds represented by this one character; the long *ā* is the *ā* of the English word *father* and the Samoan *mānu* "to rise above"; the short *ā* is the *ā* of the English *mat*, Samoan *mānu* "animal"; there is yet a more obscure sound, like that of *u* in the English *but*, Samoan *mate* (mucke) "dead". In working over the texts it is impossible in the absence of diacritical punctuation to differentiate these several sounds, that can be done only when one has an ear as well as tongue trained to the speech. In these notes the aim has been to cling to one of the *a* sounds as distinct from the other two.

From the preceding table we may cancel, at least for the present, the *ya* and *wa*, for in current Samoan they appear only in the less simple forms of *kya* ('*ia*) and *kwa* ('*ua*). The ten persisting forms of our diagram remain to us as occurring first in their simplest or root form and secondarily in a large series of cohesions with other roots. Proceed, now, to an inspection of these forms.

In this reduction we are proceeding from the particularized meaning of the composite form to a simple form with which we

are to find associated a less specialized sense, in fact, a nebula of meaning in which it is not going to be easy to select the one feature which to the early Polynesian intelligence seemed the common factor. Yet, difficult though it may be to segregate this root sense, we cannot fail to recognize that each of these simple roots is quivering with a value of signification which is vital even unto the most remote use of the root in all the composite forms into which it enters.

Because the Polynesian has not yet been the subject of general philological study its illustrations would be all unfamiliar. Furthermore, we are dealing with tongues lacking a recorded past, they are practically on a single speech plane and lack the contrast of perspective. Therefore it is necessary, at least to be preferred, to illustrate this factor of the intense and persisting vitality of the root sense by citing an example from the Indo-European family, both as more familiar and as presenting an extended record.

At the ultimate reduction to Sanskrit roots we find the root ÇRU. It means to hear, it speedily develops into the added meaning of to be worth the hearing, thence it comes to stand for a thing famous. From it we have κλύω "to hear", κλύτός "renowned" our own "loud", κλέος, κλείω, κλεινός, κλειτός and others in the Greek that will readily suggest themselves. From it we find in the Latin *clueo*, *cliens* and *inclitus*, *gloria* and its derivatives; *clarus* and its group; *laus* and dependents. So in English we own to the root ÇRU such diverse forms as *loud*, *client*, *glory*, *clear*, *declare* and *laud*. All these highly specialized senses rest upon the broad signification with which ÇRU comes into our speech, the name of the act or condition of hearing and of being heard.

In like manner we may take the Sanskrit root कान and chain it through κανάσσω, κανάζω, καναχή, κόναβος, κύκνος and an even longer line of Latin forms to *chant*, *enchant*, *recant*, *accent*, *cygnet*, *et id genus omne*. Its ultimate sense is the sound of singing, or possibly sound of any sort.

At some early stage, ornithology shows that it may well have been in the Zend or Iranian stage, the note of a bird stood out from the crudities of life in such a way as to command attention enough to make it a topic of human speech; therefore, in the absence of any Adamic appellative, to be described in such manner as to indicate which bird was meant. It was a note crepuscular when all other birds with contented tweets had sought

the nest and silence. In the evening stillness burst upon the soft air when other sounds were none the trills and roulades of this serenade. At once the two roots flew together, ÇRU-KAN, "hark to the song", "song worthy to hear". At the beginning descriptive of this woodnote wild it became fixed to that one bird by frequency of use and aptness of description. It gives us *luscinia*, *lusciniola*, *rossignol*, *ruiseñor*, Queen Titania's "Philomel with melody", the nightingale.

When the descriptive "hark to the singing" has become welded upon *Luscinia philomela* of ornithologic binomialism it would seem that it had reached a degree of specialization from which it could never be dislodged. Yet there was set into ÇRU and into KAN at the beginning a vitality that comes once more into the same name-creative activity after a lapse of unknown centuries and half around the world or more. When French peasants settled upon American lands along the St. Lawrence and in other colonies at the mouths of the Mississippi they found before them the task of naming new forms of life. In Canada they found the song sparrow, a bird of the sweetest note of all the songsters of the northern woods; in Louisiana their ears were caught by the marvelous melody of the mocking bird. Neither of these birds is in any patent way like the nightingale of northern France; its habits are different, there is no resemblance to the eye, the song of the song sparrow is in no sense the song of the mocking bird and neither one is like the note of the nightingale. Yet in each case the French settlers gave to mocking bird and to the Laurentian song sparrow the name of the nightingale, *rossignol*. All at once, when the new conditions accent a new need *rossignol* ceases to be specialized, it goes back to *lusciniola*, to *luscinia*, further back it goes to its roots in ÇRU and KAN "hark to the song" and becomes a proper exercise of the naming power by virtue of the vitality of those two roots.

So in our Samoan shall we find a like vitality of the common factor in words that have undergone many changes. Keep in mind this essence of vitality, for we shall need it.

Now let us proceed to the detailed examination of this one group of Samoan roots. We have already dealt with TA as carrying a strongly featured sense of peripheral, centrifugal action and possibly from above downward. See how that sense persists. We have the word *ta* meaning to strike, to beat the drum, to play a musical instrument, to wash clothes (and the result upon

the apparel shows that the beating is no mere philologic deduction). In *talatalau* we find it shows the stroke of the mallet on the tattooing needle. Here is a selection from the composite forms and specialized senses in which TA appears :

<i>tai'a</i>	(<i>i'a</i> , a fish)	to catch certain fish and palolo
<i>tafue</i>	(<i>fue</i> , a vine)	a skipping rope
<i>ta'eu</i>	(<i>'eu</i> , to pluck out)	to scratch the ground (action of hens)
<i>tafiti</i>	(<i>fiti</i> , to start up)	to turn a somersault
<i>apata</i>	(<i>apa'au</i> , wing)	to flap the wings
<i>ma'ata</i>	(<i>ma'a</i> , a stone)	a sling
<i>talila</i>	(<i>tali</i> , to receive)	to parry a blow
<i>taututa</i>	(<i>tautu</i> , to begin to stand)	to rebound

In all these words the motion sense is plain, it is from a centre outward upon some object, it acts in the end upon the non-ego and the not-here. Likewise the motion in the descending arc is by no means obscure.

Let us now scan a brief conspectus of several forms in which we find the root VA :

<i>va</i>		to have a space between
<i>vae</i>		to divide, to put a space between
<i>vaimin</i>	(<i>i</i> , in, <i>min</i> , nut)	a short cocoanut between tall ones
<i>vagai</i>		to be opposite one another, to be astride
<i>vasa'i</i>		to alternate
<i>muvva</i>	(<i>muvu</i> , to whisper)	to whisper with the next person

In this series of illustrations, greatly as their specific significations may vary, it is not difficult to extract the greatest common divisor. It is the concept of the non-ego and the not-here differentiated by a coefficient which specifies a reference to that which lies outward from the ego and hither from the not-here, it localizes the sense in the area between the periphery and the centre.

Now let us present a few illustrative facts bearing upon the root NGA of our diagram, using in the established Samoan alphabet GA to represent the sound :

<i>gaula</i>	(<i>ula</i> , landward)	inland a little way
<i>gaga'e</i>	(<i>a'e</i> , up, east)	eastward a little way
<i>gagaifo</i>	(<i>ifo</i> , down, west)	westward a little way
<i>gafaa</i>	(<i>faa</i> , broken)	to be chipped or notched

In this diminutive we may discover a signification of the limitation of the extent of the not-here, a reduction of its distance or degree.

Of course the *ng* and the *n* are found in present Samoan in a state of flux, and the same condition may have existed continu-

ously or intermittently through earlier formative periods of the speech. We will, therefore, place our examination of NA in immediate succession to that of GA :

<i>na</i>		this, these, that, those
<i>na</i>		he, she
<i>na</i>		paradeictic specifying past time
<i>lena</i>	(<i>le</i> , article)	that one in particular
<i>ana</i>	(<i>a</i> , when)	when in past time

Here we find the non-ego distinctly specialized, first in a sense approximately that of the demonstrative pronoun of the grammars more familiar to our studies. Even in the sense of "this" it yet remains a remote demonstrative, for the Samoan has *nei*, *lenei*, to express the proximate demonstrative. *Lenā* is a later development of *na* through the addition of a very weak demonstrative *le*, whose functions are about evenly divided between those of a definite article and the indication of a singular number. Likewise we find the not-here (the not-now) sharply particularized to the not-now time that has gone before.

Returning to the substantive series of these roots, whose consideration was interrupted solely because it seemed advisable to put *na* into such close association with *nga* as it has in the phonology, we will next examine the root PA :

<i>pa</i>		to explode, sound of gun or thunder
		to burst, of an abscess
<i>fa'apa</i>	(<i>fa'a</i> , causative)	to fire off
<i>pa'i</i>		to touch, to reach to, to arrive at
<i>pasami</i>	(<i>sami</i> , sea)	to reach to the sea
<i>pavao</i>	(<i>vao</i> , the jungle)	to reach to the bush

Here we find the non-ego and the not-here stated as a limit of motion, not so much the fact that the motion definitely arrives but clearly connoting its outward start from the here in the direction of the not-here, this connotation being so clear as to express the violence of the start in *pa* and its causative *fa'apa*.

Roots of the type FA which our diagram calls for are less obvious. There are several vocables which may be proved to fall into this scheme ; but, as their interrelation and their share in this group are obscure, the consideration of the FA root may be deferred until some later and more particular investigation of the subject now presented only in an introduction.

The type KA is likewise to be postponed, at least so far as concerns anything like a detailed consideration. When the

Samoan was reduced to writing the *k* had left the tongues of men and was indicated by the catch ('). Owing to inappreciation of the fine shade of intonation which marks the difference between the series of simple vowels and those modulated by the catch, *a* and 'a, etc., owing further to careless transcription and the errors of the press in our scant dictionary material we are left in some doubt from merely superficial examination whether any given syllable is *a* or 'a. This subject has received especial attention in the author's Samoan lexicon with such assistance as may be derived from the comparative etymology of the Polynesian tongues. Discussion of the *ka* root should properly, therefore, wait the completion of that necessary preliminary work. One instance, however, there need be no hesitation in citing, namely 'a the adversative, "but". That the 'a is really of the KA root is shown by its occurrence in other languages of the family as *ka*, e. g., the Tongan. The very nature of the adversative is that it should indicate that that to which it is linked is non-ego and not-here but something external. In proportion as all that is non-ego is subject to doubt we need feel no surprise to find more or less of this uncertainty appearing in 'a and leading to its second group of significations as a conditional paradeictic. The externality of *ka* is well presented in Mr. Tregear's definition of the word in his Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary in these terms: "an inceptive particle; it is used to denote one action changing to another or the commencement of another occurrence".

With this KA root we find ourselves involved with a group of demonstratives of such importance that we may well neglect the parallel occurrence of the root in attributive uses. We have seen in KA the adversative, that which asserts that the yonder is not the here, that it is peripheral to the ego, that it is on the rim of the wheel, and in this concept 'a is the spoke that prevents the tire from coming in upon the hub, the "*non est*" ray of the symbol of the Athanasian creed. Let us now look at the root MA. In its paradeictic function we find it serving as a connective, it is the spoke that joins tire and hub into the effective unit of the wheel. It is the conjunction "and", yet its development is in a dual sense incomplete; it is available to connect words of the same grammatical function, it has not yet become sufficiently conjunctive to link clause with clause. At the same time another function, that which we know and employ as prepositional,

exhibits in the sense of "with", "for" (for the sake of), thence differentiating to "from" and "on account of"; these different uses we in analytic speech find it necessary to distinguish by varying words, to the Samoan it is sufficiently clear to use *ma* and trust to inference from existing conditions to elucidate the character of the relation the existence of which is thereby indicated. Stated in terms coordinate with those employed in the preceding particulars of this series of roots we may say of *MA* that it points to the non-ego and the not-here and links it to the central concept of that which is active and present.

With the *MA* root there are attributive words in which it would be no difficult task to trace out the basic signification; so with the next roots in the series, the *SA* and *LA*. Yet in these, as in certain of the foregoing, when the demonstratives have sufficiently established the sense of the root we have regarded it as making for simplicity to omit discussion of attributive values in this conspectus, the methods of the inquiry among words of that class having been abundantly exhibited in the treatment of roots *TA*, *VA* and *PA*.

In root *SA* as presented characteristically in the demonstrative and the paradeictic we find the following:

<i>sa</i>	particle of imperfect and aorist tenses
<i>sa</i>	gentile particle before names of persons, signifying the family of
<i>sai</i>	anybody, everybody

The definitions are those of Pratt's vocabulary. Of course, when we note that the verb has not yet segmented in the indefinite conglobation of the attributive part of speech it will readily be seen that tenses cannot have yet arisen in general and certainly not in any such highly specialized degree as is indicated by the importation of aorist from the Greek grammar. Yet in a loose and highly inaccurate fashion it serves to point out one *SA* sense. As clearly as in the other roots of this group the reference is to the not-here, specializing into the time sense it points out the not-now. In the psychology of the lower intellectuality it is somewhat clear that the intelligence dichotomously distinguishes but two main points of time, the now and the not-now, and savage man picks out of the not-now only the past for clear statement. To discern the future, to add to the now and the before-now the third concept of the after-now argues a degree of confidence in the permanence of existing conditions, a facility in

deduction, a hope in the future that he is not warranted in holding. Thus in our Polynesian the only two well established time concepts are those of the present and of the past. That the future is as yet tied up in the present is shown in the fact that the form of words which expresses action in the present equally expresses action in the somewhat indefinite future. Nor the lower man alone; we may find ourselves retaining a form of this ignoring of time in such verb phrases as "Do you go?" and Shakespeare's "Tomorrow is Saint Crispian", where the present in grammar is in logic a future. It is not difficult of comprehension, then, that we find the clearest statement of the not-now to relate to past time. We have already met with one statement of this past time in the root NA. As between *sa* and *na* we may sense a certain distinction of particularity, the *na* referring to some more or less definite past time, the *sa* to unspecified past time in general. It will be interesting to bring into comparison, so far as applicable, the two feeble demonstratives which serve to express somewhat of our concept of the article, *le* definite, *se* indefinite. In the gentile use of *sa*, as in *sa-Malietoa* "the Malietoa family", we find no difficulty in observing the characteristic sense of the non-ego and the not-here combined with the indefinite signification which is sufficiently broad to cover all those who have the Malietoa name in their keeping, a form of expression which differs from our idea of bearing a name in a manner and to a degree which it requires a knowledge of Samoan social conditions to appreciate. The same indefinite demonstrative idea is found in *sai*, a general term for the peripheral community who are not the person speaking and not the person immediately spoken to.

Penultimate in this inquiry we reach the root LA:

<i>la</i>	there
<i>la</i>	particle of emphasis, "then"
<i>laisā</i> (<i>isā</i> , side)	on the opposite side
<i>lelā</i> (<i>le</i> , article)	that yonder

In this root we find a strong definition of the non-ego and the not-here in person, in place and in order of thought. In *lelā* we have the most particular demonstrative to express remoteness of position; *lenā tagata* is "that man" apart from you and me, *le tagata lelā* is "that man in particular over there" to whom in emphasis the gesture finger may be pointed, the most definite and positive statement of which the speech is capable. The

same definition in senses which we denominate adverbial inheres in *la* "there" and in the emphatic "then" of logical sequence. Its value shows perhaps most conspicuously in the manner in which *laitu* is employed. If you are on the north coast of an island *laitu* means the south side, as far away as you can get and still be on the same land, a whole island between.

Now we shall sum up our notes upon this group of roots:

- ✓TA the non-ego and the not-here reached by action outward, and probably downward
- ✓VA refers to that which intervenes between the ego and the not-here
- ✓GA gives a limit of the extent of the not-here, a reduction of its distance or degree
- ✓PA the beginning in the ego of action in the direction of the not-here
- ✓KA makes plain that the not-here is not the ego, but something external and therefore adversative
- ✓MA joins the ego and the not-here with a link
- ✓SA a general statement of the non-ego and the not-here
- ✓NA a particular statement of the non-ego and the not-here
- ✓LA a highly particularized statement of the non-ego and the not-here

If we could master our problems of philology as we do those of algebra we should see a common factor in each member of this table. On the one side *a* is the greatest common divisor; on the other is that factor which we have uniformly traced to be that which is non-ego, not-here, not-now, three which are in essence one, the distal as contrasted with the proximal, the peripheral in contradistinction to the central. We should further see that as this consistent primary intonation of the voice was modulated by introductory closures of the organs of speech we obtained certain limitations or definitions of the peripheral sense of the primary vowel, and we might be led to regard the initial consonants as in some sort coefficients and to make to each one the provisional assignment of some germ of speech. Further to deal with this series of consonantal meanings as coefficients of this and other vowels, having the value of determinants of space and in such other senses as we may prove them to possess would require us to pass in review the whole of Polynesian speech, the Samoan and its near kin and its more remote congeners in the island world. Within the limits of such an introductory paper as this it must suffice to say that the investigation has been pushed with uniformly confirmatory results for the several phonetic elements of the Samoan, and that close comparative dissection of

many groups of Polynesian roots is yielding wonderful results along the line just indicated.

Having cited the "Cratylus" it will be impossible to avoid the comparison with the childish linguistic guesses which Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates—the ρ of motion, the shaking, agitating, swelling ϕ , ψ , σ , ζ ; the binding, resting δ and τ , the smooth and gliding λ .¹ The results of many years' investigation of Polynesian speech point more and more distinctly all the time to such possibilities as Plato seems dimly to have foreseen.

In this series of roots to which attention has been at such length directed we have accumulated one general sense, the non-ego under certain relations, the nature of such relations varying with the consonantal coefficient.

There yet remains to us to investigate the naked vowel a devoid of all coefficients, the primary and unmodulated sound of lungs and larynx regarded solely as a reed instrument of the type of soft walled resonator. To accord with the scheme which we have seen to develop in the examination of its modulated variants this a , when absolute, should express, so far as is possible for the human mind in any early plane of progress to conceive the abstract, the sense of the non-ego and the not-here and the not-now. We need not fear to assign the capacity of the abstract to a primitive people of so elemental a type as this Protosamoan. In that formative stage the object to which the name is to be applied is most narrowly concrete, none the less is it plain that the name that is applied to that object is a diffuse abstract, the expression of some quality which may serve to assist the identification made primarily by the indicative finger. Thus so general a statement as our *fru-kan* identifies the sweet singing bird and we find it in its *rossignol* shape serving for nightingale, song sparrow and mocking bird. "And he called their name

¹ The passage is sufficiently prophetic to bear quoting: *πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν τὸ ῥῶ ἐμοίγε φαίνεται ὥσπερ ὄργανον εἶναι πάσης τῆς κινήσεως, ἣν οὐδ' εἰπομεν διότι ἔχει τοῦτο τοῦνομα. . . . ὥσπερ γε διὰ τοῦ ϕ καὶ τοῦ ψ καὶ τοῦ σίγμα καὶ τοῦ ζήτα, διτι πνευματώδη τὰ γράμματα, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μεμίμηται αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζων. τῆς δ' αὖ τοῦ δέλτα συμπίσεως καὶ τοῦ ταῦ καὶ ἀπερείσεως τῆς γλώττης τὴν δύναμιν χρήσιμον φαίνεται ἡγήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν μίμῃσιν τοῦ δεσμοῦ καὶ τῆς στάσεως· διτι δ' ὀλισθάνει μάλιστ' ἐν τῷ λάβδῳ ἢ γλώττῃ κατιδὼν, ἀφομοίων ὠνόμασε τὰ τε λεία καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὀλισθάνειν καὶ τὸ λιπαρὸν καὶ τὸ κολλῶδες καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἢ δ' ὀλισθανούσης τῆς γλώττης ἀντιλαμβάνεται ἢ τοῦ γάμμα δύναμις, τὸ γλίσχρον ἀπεμνήσαστο καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ γλοιῶδες. τοῦ δ' αὖ νῦ τὸ εἰσω αἰσθόμενος τῆς φωνῆς, τὸ ἐνδον καὶ τὸ ἐντὸς ὠνόμασεν, ὡς ἀφομοίων τοῖς γράμμασι τὰ ἔργα. Cratylus xxxvii.*

Adam in the day when they were created", nothing could be more concrete than the one man of paradise, the one man of all the world, yet the Talmudic gloss shows the name to be so abstract a quality as redness.

The naked *a* fills a large space in Samoan speech. A glance at a preliminary printing of the merest fragment of the dictionary of the language on which these studies are based shows that the most concise statement of its uses more than fills a column of the average newspaper when set in the smallest type. From that long list these few characteristic specimens are taken :

- a* plural alike of *la* and *sa* (compound article)
- a* a demonstrative member of verb phrases to form the so-called passive
- a* "when," used relatively to the time of some principal statement
- a* a sign of a definite future
- a* the interrogative "what"

These are to be examined one by one for the extraction of such common factor as may be found to underlie their development into specific senses and modes of employment.

(1) The plural *a*, plural alike of the definite *la* and the indefinite *sa*. At the outset we encounter an error of statement due entirely to the present necessity of expressing the syntax of monosyllabic speech in terms of the grammatical categories of inflected tongues. The Samoan has not fairly reached a distinction of singular and plural in formal grammatical statement; it uses a general statement as the name of an object, and it now has the machinery to particularize such general unconditioned statement and in certain instances to shade two degrees of such particulars, one definite, the other less definite, the distinction being accomplished through the coefficient value of the modulating consonant. In this instance we have accordingly:

<i>a latou mea</i>	that (general)	they (that—three)	thing
<i>la latou mea</i>	that-definite—that	they	thing
<i>sa latou mea</i>	that-somewhat-definite—that	they	thing

Reduced by usage and with fusion of elements we find the English expression for *la latou mea* to be "their thing", for *sa latou mea* to be "one of their things"; thus having used up the restricted and the loose use of "one thing belonging to them" the residual general statement retains of its primitive universal application only so much as is not otherwise provided for, namely more than one thing, that which we call the plural. Hence *a latou mea* is "their

things", not because it is *in ipso* a plural but because the two particulars of its general meaning have been taken aside for individual statement. Several distinct lines of approach show that the Protosamoan lacked a distinctive statement of number. One such is the usage in phrases expressive of position, which must have crystallized before the so-called singular sign came into use, *i o'u luma*, *i o'u lua*, *i o'u luga*, before, behind, above me (at my front, back, on top) of which the *o'u* appears in other collocations as a plural to the singular *lo'u* and *so'u*, first personal possessives singular of a definite and a loose character respectively. Another interesting testimony from the Protosamoan before need had arisen to recognize distinction of number has persisted in the traditional naming of Savea as the first of the Malietoas in the parting song of the vanquished Tongan Talaa'ifei'i as his fleet put off from that Samoan shore which his fighting race he pledged never again to visit in anger. This was the beginning of his lay:

'ua malie toa!

Well done, fighter!

'ua malie tau!

Well done, fight!

Though destitute of the article *le* it was so distinctly singular and personal that the grim hero replied "there is my name, I am Malietoa"¹ and from that remote day to this the Malietoa name has been in the keeping of his gens.

This *a of a latou mea* is therefore a general demonstrative, that which is not the speaker nor the person spoken to but something outside of each, the non-ego and the not-here.

(2) The passive sign. In the former paper the explanation has been presented of how this verb phrase breaks apart into attributive and demonstrative. This demonstrative is the same as that immediately preceding, only through having come to occupy a dependent position as a composition member already started on the way toward becoming one of the empty roots of agglutination, one of the declensional terminations of inflected speech, it has lost some of its force of character.

¹ This name assumption is a common thing in Samoan history, and a preponderant portion of Samoan tradition is devoted to explanations of names after this sort. Of course, such myths are setiological, but the Samoan mind is particularly active in this direction. Of the same nature is the philological activity of Meisake in one of Dr. Stuebel's collection of tales in which that respectable old Samoan derives *tagata* (man) from *ta* (to strike) and *gata* (serpent), a derivation that could suggest itself only since the translation of the Bible into the vernacular.

(3) Here we have the working equivalent of our relative "when":

a 'e sopoia atu le vai, 'ou te 'ia te 'oe

when thou passest through the water I *will be* with thee

Here again we encounter the peripheral signification which should have become by now so familiar. The "when" is a nicety of our English and the more highly developed grammar; to the Polynesian it is sufficient to say *a*, that-time, the not-now.

(4) In the future sign we have the same not-now. That it now functions as a distinguishing mark of time yet to come is due to a cause of the same nature as that shown in the first *a* of this list, a process of particularization. We have already seen *na*, the definite, and *sa*, the less definite, expressions of the before-now; that leaves to *a* out of the general not-now sense a residual of the after-now, namely the future.

(5) In the interrogative *a* "what" we need go but little below the surface to discover once more the demonstrative not-this, the "that" of the surrounding circle. Questions were asked for ages before men learned to draw the crooked outline of the interrogation mark, the Samoan has not yet caught the trick of the rising inflection of the voice when he wants to know. Gesture is punctuation enough, provided the thing unknown be exactly indicated. That is what the demonstrative *a* is doing in Samoan, it gives the exact indication of that concerning which information is sought, it says "the thing which is not you nor I nor here but that out yonder", namely the non-ego and the not-here.

Thus have we completed the cycle of the Samoan roots in this *a* and we have shown the greatest common divisor of the series to consist of the essential idea of the naked *a*. Roots of other series have been in this research worked out along parallel lines to a similar result. Even the closed roots, where sufficient have been identified to form a series, show that the same principle is operative. Is it, then, too much to claim for our Polynesian that it offers us something infinitely more primitive than the root in linguistics? Call it seed if it be worth while to preserve the classic imagery of the stem and the root. The name is of no moment; it is momentous that the Polynesian is being made to yield to philology forms of speech so embryonic that by them we can place ourselves at a point where the near vision must yield us the view of a speech in the making, even if not the genesis of speech itself.

Within the due limits of such a paper as this, essentially a sketch and preliminary in its nature, it is impracticable to compass the proof of these matters. In this paper a few illustrations have been presented of one group of significations attaching to one of the primary vocalizations represented by the alphabetic *A* in one series of its possible types of modulation through consonantal coefficients, namely the *BA* type, leaving unreported the *AB* and the *BAB*. The proof must lie in a similar dissection of the Polynesian root in each of its types and for each one of its speech elements, vowel and consonantal. If it can be shown—and the research from which these scanty illustrations have been drawn has reached a point where it can be shown with ever growing confidence—that in this root reduction of Samoan we establish a few broad and fundamental senses for the primary vowels and a few equally broad and equally fundamental values for the consonantal modulants, even yet we shall have advanced but one step toward the proof. If it can be shown—and this research is well advanced in the showing—that these values of vowel element and consonantal modulant hold with great consistency throughout the language group to which we have assigned the designation Nuclear Polynesian, a second step is taken. If it can be shown—and of this the proof is coming into plainer and plainer sight—that these elemental values underlie the varying usages of the Polynesian tongues in their yet broader range and that such changes as are found are properly assignable to normal growth from one and the same impulse yet under varying conditions of environment, then the proof will be well-nigh complete. It is not too much to say that such completeness of proof is within the reach of philological investigation.

In these illustrations no attempt has been made, and the reason is solely the physical constriction of space, to extend the record of the elemental sense of the consonantal modulant. In one view of the material upon which we are working that is a more simple task than that involving the primary vowels, which have to be picked out from a single alphabetic character holding basketwise several and diverse roots. Yet it has been impossible to avoid some statement of the persistency of the coefficient value of the consonant. The varying degree of precision in the definition indicated in the group *la* and *sa* appears in the parallel group *le* and *se* of the *ɛ* root series. The indicated difference in polarity of the consonant modulant in the group *ka* and *ma* is readily

traceable in other root series. Further consideration of these elements will naturally fall into line after the exhaustive analysis of the several vowel series and must await the detailed report on the subject now in hand. In such a prolegomenon as this, little can be done beyond the mere presentation of a selection of a few of the results already established, leaving the remainder of these results and the arguments upon which the proof of all is based to be presented in a less restricted publication.

Likewise no attempt has been made here to call attention to the laws of the progressive change of vowel and consonant which we recognize as existing within the Pacific area of these tongues of our study.

This latter offers very attractive possibilities. We have no difficulty in establishing (1) a law of vowel progress, (2) a law of consonant mutation, and (3) we feel justified in proposing a law of the conditioning of one of these changes upon the other. Thus our Polynesian Grimm's law will not be empiric, we shall have found for this group of tongues a principle underlying the progress in mutation. With this fuller knowledge we shall be in a position to grasp the relation of the Melanesian languages to the Polynesian, possibly of the Micronesian to both; perhaps the Malay group will then fall more concordantly into association with the Polynesian or, just as likely, be definitely disassociated therefrom. Whatever that line of inquiry may result in this much at least is certain, we shall have acquired a familiarity with a new element in human speech more primordial than the root, at which philological study has so long halted.

As speech is the means of the expression of a thought which precedes the physical fact of utterance we shall find the one conditioning the other, philology and psychology interacting in every earliest stage of speech development to comprehension of which we may attain. The delver after philological origins must call upon the psychologist for a better understanding of the diffuse and nebulous word meanings to which he is irresistibly led, and in the same measure these expressions of the most primitive concepts in turn prove instructive to the student of the psychology of the infancy of mankind. These researches into the Polynesian, therefore, may be expected to possess for the psychologist an interest second only to that which they have for the special student of speech.

Nor does this comprehend and limit the sphere of interest of these intimate researches. A small but proportionally enthusias-

tic group of students is diligently prosecuting the investigation of the great problem of the *fons et origo* of this island folk and the ethnic relations of the several superficially distinct groups of the dwellers on the islands of the sea. The problem of the whence of the Maori has already filled volumes in the transactions of the learned societies of New Zealand and of the Commonwealth of Australia, and toward its solution is directed the undivided effort of the Polynesian Society. That problem is the altogether sufficient task of the ethnologist. Such investigators may find in the Polynesian an Aryan people and in speech akin to us, as Fornander has aimed to prove; with Percy Smith they may find their best solution of the problem in assigning the Polynesians to the ancient Gangetic race; with Tregear they trace the trail of migration back through the defiles of the Hindu-Kush to that scene of so much parting of the peoples, the lofty plateau of Asia, the roof of the world. Interesting though these deductions be the philologist must refrain his feet from such paths, his task is large enough as it is. None the less his proper researches disclose to him the backward geography of the mysterious Hawaiki home and he cannot fail to contribute to the material at the disposition of the investigating student of this enormous sweep of migration, even as the results presented by the ethnologist contribute to the assistance of the student of the languages.

As painfully, root by root and seed by seed, the philologist works out his knowledge of the fathers of the Polynesians in their infant estate there flash upon the memory the sayings of the son of Beor:

For from the top of the rocks I see him,
And from the hills I behold him:
Lo, it is a people that dwell alone,
And shall not be reckoned among the nations.

And in a later one of his enthusiastic vaticinations he said:

I see him, but not now:
I behold him, but not nigh.

Aptly does it prefigure the vision of the philologist as he works toward the origin of the speech of this race. It is not now, and he wants the pendulum to measure off the passing of the rearward ages; it is not nigh, and in his hand he finds no reed to mete the chasm of the wandering over seas. But on every root and on every seed he does behold some of the soil of ancestral Hawaiki.

Piece by piece he patches together a motherland from which these far wanderers swarmed. Before we part from the subject let us also stand on the top of the rocks and see what we may see.

It is the old home in Hawaiki that opens to our view in the subliminal recollection of the scattered people, perhaps we have a vision of a yet greater Hawa home. It is a land so high that the air is chill and folk gather about the fire for comfort. It is a surface sloping toward the west and the setting sun. It is scored with gullies, sometimes dry channels of rock, anon booming bank high with the spate of torrential streams. The eastern prospect is bounded by a distant sierra, so remote that its outlines are but faintly shown by the rising sun; between the inhabited Hawa and this limiting sierra is some commonplace natural barrier which prevents the further advance of the people in that direction; the sea it may hardly be, perhaps it is the impassable drought of desert land where is no food or water. Other lines are added to the sketch of primeval Hawa, out of the dust of ancient Vavau collected from the roots and seeds the language preserves. Somewhere upon the map of the world, somewhere in the westward Puluotu direction from the Pacific islands a plateau land, sometimes swept by chill airs, sometimes baked under the glare of the sun—there will be the place to establish the ancient Hawa, a task for the ethnographer with all the assistance that philology can afford.

Philology will have its own great task in working out this dissection of root into seed. New life will be put into the science, and students will gladly follow along the Polynesian path here indicated the way that will lead them past the ultimate point attainable in the Indo-European family, the Sanskrit root that has resisted reduction. Polynesian speech gives us the new point on which to stand in philological studies, and from this new point of view the near prospect is upon the practice of such simple sounds as are unartfully producible by the human vocal apparatus regarded as a wind instrument whose solfeggio is not yet determined, the trial of still simple combinations of such elemental sounds, and the discriminative selection of such sounds as are in concord for the use of human speech.

WILLIAM CHURCHILL.

II.—CORRECTIONS AND CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS OF VEDIC TEXTS.

The following rather formidable list of about eighty corrections of printed Vedic texts, and conjectural emendations on the same, is the result of prolonged occupation with them during the last few years. Since many of the editions are printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Hindu editors the mere correction of these texts requires no comment. The conjectural emendations, on the other hand, imply the criticism of the oral and written tradition of the Veda. It will be recognized more and more that, with all the care that the Hindus have exercised, this tradition can not at any point, beginning with the Rig-Veda, claim infallibility. For some recent emendations of the Rig-Veda I may refer to my two papers: 'Four Vedic Studies', in the *Transactions of International Congress of Orientalists at Algiers*; and 'Seven Emendations of the Text of the Rig-Veda', *JAOS.* XXVII. 72 ff. I am quite convinced that the text of the Rig-Veda has remained unaltered for many centuries, if not millenniums, because of the extraordinary care with which it has been handed down during that time. But I am equally convinced that the text was subject to the ordinary human frailties before it assumed its present canonical and scholastic forms (*Samhita*, *Padapaṭha*, etc.). Therefore the Rig-Veda may be freely and profitably emended, of course, with the usual restrictions imposed by sound philological sense.

The remaining Vedic texts are even more obviously open to the same treatment. The fortunate circumstance that the materials of each Vedic School are paralleled to a considerable extent in the others, places many of these emendations upon a relatively secure and documentary basis. Aside from that, however, the tradition of the Yajus-texts, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Sūtras* is far less sound than that of the Rig-Veda. Especially as regards the hymns, stanzas, and sacred formulas contained in these texts, a very great deal is yet to be done. It is work of painstaking detail to which every genuine student of these texts is certain to make some contributions.

The following is a list of symbols used for the texts mentioned in this article, arranged in the alphabetical order of the English alphabet:

AB.	Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa	LÇ.	Lātyāyana-Çrāutasūtra
AÇ.	Āçvalāyana-Çrāutasūtra	MÇ.	Mānava-Çrāutasūtra
AG.	Āçvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra	MG.	Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra
ApÇ.	Āpastamba-Çrāutasūtra	MS.	Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā
ApM.	Āpastamba-Mantrapāṭha	PB.	Pañcaviṅça-Brāhmaṇa
AV.	Atharva-Veda	RV.	Rig-Veda
ÇB.	Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa	RVKh.	Khilas of the Rig-Veda
ÇÇ.	Çāṅkhāyana-Çrāutasūtra	SMB.	Sāmaveda-Mantrabrāhmaṇa
ÇG.	Çāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra	TA.	Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka
GB.	Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa	TAA.	Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka (Āndhra school)
HG.	Hiraṇyakeçi-Gṛhyasūtra	TS.	Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā
JB.	Jāiminīya-Brāhmaṇa	Vāit.	Vāitāna-Sūtra
Kāuç.	Kāuçika-Sūtra	VS.	Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā
KS.	Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā		

Sāma-Veda.

Benfey's text has the following hemistich in 1. 298: *asmākam aṅḥṣu maghavan puruṣpṛhaṁ vasavye adhi barhaya*. In his glossary he renders *aṅḥṣu* by 'soma-sacrifice', an extreme stretching of a word which means first 'shoot of a plant', and next 'shoot of the soma-plant'. In his translation (p. 227) he takes a different turn: 'Unsern glanz, O schätzerreicher, vielbegehrt! lass auf der schätze fülle blühen'. Here he takes *aṅḥṣu* in the sense of 'ray', 'brightness'. I would change *aṅḥṣu* to *aṅḥam*, and translate: 'Found our share, that is desired by many, upon prosperity, O (Indra) Maghavan! See the close parallel RV. 1. 102. 4, *asmākam aṅḥam id avā bhare-bhare*, 'help out our share at every song (we sing for you)', and cf., more remotely, RV. 7. 56. 21.

Vajasaneyi-Saṁhitā.

In 15. 17 Weber's edition has the succession of words, *sarpā prahetiḥ* for *sarpāḥ prahetiḥ*, as is printed, correctly, in Weber's edition of ÇB. 8. 6. 1. 18. See also MS 2. 8. 10 (p. 115, l. 1); KS. 17. 9, and cf. TS. 4. 4. 3. 2.

Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā.

At 2. 7. 12 (p. 92, l. 4), in the midst of stanzas pronounced while ploughing a field, there is the verse-line, *parjānyo bṛjam trayāno dhinotu*. I suppose the editor intended *trayāṇo*. But even this

does not fit very well: 'May Parjanya raising the seed scatter it'! If *trayāṇo* can really be used in the sense of 'raising', as applied to the growth of seed into plant—this seems to me very doubtful—the order of the natural processes is inverted in this verse. I believe that we should read *irayā no* for *trayāṇo*, to wit: 'May Parjanya (the god of rain) scatter seed for us with plenty'! I have in mind especially RV. 5. 83. 4, *irā viśvasmāi bhūvanāya jāyate yāt parjanyaḥ prthivīm rētasāvati*: 'Plenty for all the world springs up when Parjanya gladdens the earth with his seed'. There is no parallel to the MS. passage.

At 3. 8. 8 (p. 106, l. 2) the published text reads, *idam ahañ some samāno yo 'samāno 'rāṭhyati tasya grīvā apikṛntāmi*. The correct reading appears in the same text, 1. 2. 10 (p. 19, l. 5), namely, *idam ahañ yo me samāno*, etc.: 'Here do I cut off the neck of him that is hostile to me, whether he be my equal or not'! Cf. also MÇ. 1. 8. 2. 3, and the parallel statements, KS. 2. 5, 9, 11, 12; 3. 3.

At 3. 8. 10 (p. 110, l. 8) there is a passage which is printed as follows: *agnīd agnīn vihara, barhiḥ strṇāti*. As the passage stands we miss *iti* between *vihara* and *barhiḥ*. But *strṇāti* is probably misprint for *strṇāhi*=*strṇihi*, to wit: 'Spread thou the sacrificial straw'. Thus in fact the Sūtra, MÇ. 2. 3. 6. 12; 4. 4. 18; 5. 1. 23, and TS. 6. 3. 1. 2. In ApÇ. 12. 17. 19 we have also *barhi strṇāhi*, agreeing with TS. But the remaining passages of ApÇ., namely, 12. 17. 20; 13. 3. 1; 11. 1 have *barhi strṇihi*. So also GB. 2. 2. 16; ÇB. 4. 2. 5. 11; Vait. 17. 12; KÇ. 9. 7. 5.

At 3. 9. 6 (p. 123, l. 18) the manuscripts have a formula written *revātīrāmādhyaṃ iti*. This Professor von Schroeder emends to *rēvatīr āmedhyam iti*. It is rather *revātī rāmādhvam iti*: 'O ye wealth-giving cattle, tarry (here)'! So the formula appears elsewhere in the MS. text: 1. 5. 2 (p. 68, l. 10); 1. 5. 9 (p. 77, l. 18). So also in the related texts: VS. 3. 21; TS. 1. 3. 7. 1; 5. 6. 1; 8. 2; 6. 3. 6. 2; KS. 3. 4; 7. 1, 7; 26. 7; ÇB. 2. 3. 4. 26; ApÇ. 6. 17. 3.

At 3. 15. 9 (p. 150, l. 5) the editor has printed *ṣeṣo vājīnena*. The Padapāṭha has *ṣepaḥ* for *ṣeṣo*. As the corresponding passage VS. 25. 7 has *vājīnaḥ ṣepena* it may be regarded as too conservative to refuse for MS. the reading *ṣeṣo vājīneno*: 'The penis with strength'!

At 3. 16. 3 (p. 187, l. 9) the edition reads, *sām dundubhe sajjur indreṇa devāir āṛād dāvīyo āpa sedha śātrān*. All the parallel

versions, RV. 6. 47. 29; AV. 6. 126. 1; VS. 29. 55; TS. 4. 6. 6. 6; N. 9. 13; read *sā dundubhe*, etc. Since *sām* in the place of *sā* is really untranslatable, we may fairly presume that *sā* is to be restored in MS. also: 'Do thou, O drum, allied with Indra and the (other) gods, drive farther than far our enemies'!

At 4. 2. 5 (p. 27, l. 4) there is the obscure passage, apparently a hemistich, *nāme tād upadambhiṣar dhīṣir brahmā yād dadāu*. In ApÇ. 4. 10. 4 the same mantra is printed as follows: *nama idam udam bhiṣag ṛṣir brahmā yad dade*. The pratika of the latter version occurs ApÇ. 13. 7. 3 in the form *na ma idam upadam-bhiṣak*. One thing is certain regarding this corrupt formula: we must read *nā me* in MS., and *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* in both places of ApÇ. The sense is not unclear: 'May not that do harm to me which the holy sage has given'!

In the same chapter, p. 27, l. 6, the text has what appears to be a hemistich: *vār āgre viprasya tiṣṭhati ṣṛṅgebhir daṣābhīr diṣām*. This again seems to require to be corrected in accordance with ApÇ. 4. 10. 4: *vāg agre viprasya tiṣṭhati ṣṛṅgebhir daṣabhir diṣan*: 'Speech stands in front of the Seer, pointing with its ten horns'.

At 4. 2. 10 (p. 33, l. 17 ff.) there is a stanza addressed to a bull about to be freed (*vṛṣotsarjana*), to wit: *pitā vatsānām pātir aghnyānām . . . retodhātṁ tvā yaṣodhātṁ rāyās pṛṣayotsrjet, ity ṛṣabhasya kārṇa utsrjāmāno vadet*. It seems certain that the third person *utsrjet* in the formula is to be corrected to the first person *utsrja*: "'Father of calves, husband of cows . . . thee the semen-spending, glory-giving, unto abundance of wealth do I release", thus on releasing the bull he speaks into his ear'.

At 4. 3. 4 (p. 43, l. 19) the printed text has *idam ahaṁ rākṣobhiḥ sām āhāmi*. But previously, at 2. 6. 3 (p. 65, l. 10) the passage appears in its correct form, *idam ahaṁ rākṣo 'bhi sām āhāmi*: 'This demon (*rākṣas*) do I sweep over'. See also KS. 15. 2, and cf. TS. 1. 8. 7. 2, *idam ahaṁ rākṣo 'bhi sam dahāmi*: 'This demon do I burn over'.

At 4. 9. 2 (p. 122, l. 10) the edition reads, *dāivīm vācam udyāsam jūṣṭām devēbhyaḥ svadhāvarīm pitṛbhyaḥ 'numatān manuṣyēbhyaḥ*. Considering the parallelism between the gods, manes, and men, expressed in the passage, it would seem safe to follow the Padapāṭha and take into the text *'numatām* for *'numatān*. Translate: 'May I speak divine speech pleasing to the gods, rich in *svadhā* for the manes, and favorable to men'! Cf. TA. 4. 1. 1.

At 4. 9. 5 (p. 125, l. 3 ff.) there is a passage, addressed to the *mahāvīra-pot*, which reads, *dāṣordhvā bhāsi sumanasyāmānaḥ, sá naḥ prajāñ paçtūn pāhṃ araṇīyāmānaḥ*. I suppose that *sá* is misprinted for *sá* which must agree with the participle *araṇīyāmānaḥ*. This latter word is treated by the Padapāṭha as *ahāḥ, āñi, yāmānaḥ*, to which stupendous analysis Professor von Schroeder justly calls attention by (!). In the parallel passage TA. 4. 6. 1 the pāda reads, *sa no rucan̄ dhehy ahṛṇīyamānaḥ*; the same pāda recurs formulaically at TA. 4. 4. 1. I think the editor must have hesitated to emend *araṇīyāmānaḥ* because he regarded it as unaccountable that so difficult a reading should have arisen out of the simple *ahṛṇīyamānaḥ*. I believe that the emendation is secure, and the corruption due to a kind of haplology which has taken place in the combination *pāhyahṛṇīyamānaḥ* where the two successive groups *āhy-ahṛ* were subjected to dissimilation. The pāda is to be restored accordingly, and translated: 'Do thou protect our offspring and cattle without stint'!

At 4. 12. 6 (p. 195, l. 11), in the pāda, *sá dāṣuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmām*, the word *sá* is to be corrected to *sām̄*. The masculine *sá* does not fit because *kuhū*, the female lunar divinity, is the subject of the sentence: 'May she heap up many delights for the pious'. Thus all the parallel versions, TS. 3. 3. 11. 5; AÇ. 1. 10. 8; ÇÇ. 9. 28. 3.

At 4. 13. 5 (p. 206, l. 3) *devayājyāyām* is misprint for *devayājyāyām*, in accord with AÇ. 1. 7. 7; ÇÇ. 1. 12. 1. Cf. also TS. 2. 6. 7. 5; ÇB. 1. 8. 1. 30; TB. 3. 5. 8. 3; 13. 3.

At 4. 14. 11 (p. 234, l. 2) we have the hemistich, *vāiçvānārath bibhrati bhūmir agnim indra ṛṣabhā drāviṇam no dadhātu*. This does not make good sense. The Benares ms. has *ṛṣabhā* without accent, yielding in combination with the preceding word the feminine compound adjective *indraṛṣabhā*, agreeing with *bhūmir*: 'May the Earth who bears Agni Vāiçvānara, whose bull (husband) is Indra, give us property'! See AV. 12. 1. 6.

Kāthaka-Samhita.

At 2. 11, in the passage, *rakṣohā tvā valagahā str̄ṇāmi vāiṣṇavām*, the word *valagahā* contains *valagahā + ā*. It would have been better to have printed *valagahāstr̄ṇāmi*, in accordance with the usual practice of the editor. Cf. ApÇ. 12. 2. 15, *rakṣohā tvā valagahā vāiṣṇavam āstr̄ṇāmi*: 'Slaying the demons and the spooks I spread thee out for Viṣṇu'.

At 3. 9 (p. 28, l. 1) the passage, *yathādhuraṇ dhuro dhūrbhīḥ kalpantām*, is to be corrected to *yathādhuraṇ dhuro dhūrbhīḥ kalpantām*, as reads MÇ. 2. 3. 2. 22: 'May the yokes fit properly with the yokes'! The version of this formula at ApÇ. 12. 6. 3, *yathāyathāṇ dhuro dhurbhīḥ kalpantam*, is the true commentary of the other version.

At 4. 16 (p. 41, l. 8) the edition has, *dikṣāyedaṁ haviṛ āgachataṁ naḥ*. The words *dikṣāyedaṁ* are untranslatable, and I should not wonder if the reading of the Chambers MS, given in the foot-note, meant the true reading, *dikṣāyedaṁ*. Anyhow this is what TB. 2. 4. 3. 3 and AÇ. 4. 2. 3 have. The Kāthaka text doubtless intends the same: 'Come ye two (O Agni and Viṣṇu) with consecration to this our oblation'!

At 7. 12, the fourth pāda of the first stanza in this section is printed by Professor von Schroeder as, *āva devānāṁ yajehtīyāni*. This is to be corrected to *āva devānāṁ yaje htīyāni*: 'I remove through sacrifice the gods' cause for anger'. A general consideration of the verb *ava-yaj* makes this correction obvious. In the text as printed ApÇ. 5. 5. 8, *ava devān yajehedyān* there is precisely the same mistake. Read, *ava devān yaje hedyān*: 'I appease through my sacrifice the gods that are liable to anger'. The same line is printed with the same error in TB. 1. 2. 1. 9, but the commentator sees it in the right light. Cf. also MÇ. 1. 5. 1. 16, and more remotely AV. 19. 3. 4; KS. 35. 1 (*agne devānām ava heḍa ikṣva*); and ApÇ. 14. 17. 1 (*agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva*). Read *heḍo yakṣva* in the last-mentioned two texts.

At 16. 16, in the stanza, *yā śatena pratanōṣi sahasreṇa virohasi, tasmāi te devīṣṭake vidhema haviṣā vayam*, the word *tasmāi* is misprint for *tasyāi*. See MS 2. 7. 15 (p. 96, l. 16), and VS. 13. 21; TS. 4. 2. 9. 2; TA. 10. 1. 8.

At 18. 21, in the fourth line from the beginning of the chapter read *ṣronītaḥ* for *ṣonītaḥ*, on the testimony of VS. 21. 43-45; MS 4. 13. 7 (p. 208, l. 6); TB. 3. 6. 11. 1; N. 4. 3.

Pañcaviṅśa-Brāhmaṇa.

At 1. 3. 2; 6. 7. 2 the Bibliotheca Indica edition has, *sūryo mā divyābhyo nāṣṭrābhyah pātu vāyur antarikṣābhyo 'gnīḥ pārthivābhyah*: 'May Sūrya (Sun) protect me from heavenly dangers, Vāyu (Wind) from atmospheric dangers, and Agni (Fire) from terrestrial dangers'! The sense is clear, but, I presume, *antari-kṣābhyo* must be changed to *antarikṣyābhyo*, or, less likely, to

āntarikṣābhyo. The corresponding passage, JB. 1. 83, has *sūryo mā devo divyebhyo rakṣobhyaḥ pātu vāta āntarikṣebhyo 'gnih pārthivebhyaḥ*.

At 25. 8. 4, the verse-line *uṣā dadṛṇe na punar yaṭva*, is the parallel of RV. 7. 76. 3, *uṣo dadṛkṣe na punar yaṭva*. Unless the *u* of *uṣā* is pluti, as is sometimes the case in texts of the Sama-Veda, the word is to be corrected to *uṣā*: 'Dawn appeared, as though not to depart again'!

Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

At 5. 4. 1. 15, in the pāda printed, *ubhāv indro ud ithaḥ sūryaś ca*, read *indrā* for *indro*, in accordance with the correct form of the text in VS. 10. 16.

Tāittirīya-Brāhmaṇa.

At 2. 4. 7. 4 the pāda, *indra śatrūn puro asmāka yudhya*, is so printed in the text and its reproduction for the second time in the commentary. Read *asmākaṁ* for *asmāka*, and translate: 'O Indra, fight in front of us against our enemies'!

At 2. 4. 7. 11 both text and commentary read, *agnih . . . juṣāṇo ma āhutiṁ mā mahiṣṭa*. For *mā mahiṣṭa* read *māmahiṣṭa*: 'May Agni appreciatively take delight in my offering'!

At 2. 6. 17. 3 both text and commentary read, *hotā yakṣat subarhiṣadāṁ pūṣaṇvantam amartyaṁ śidantam barhiṣi priye*. The parallel version, VS. 28. 27, has *subarhiṣatṁ* for *subarhiṣadāṁ*. That *subarhiṣatṁ* is the correct reading is guaranteed by the metre; *subarhiṣadāṁ* seems to have been infected by *śidantam* in the third pāda: 'May the Hotar-priest sacrifice (to Indra) who has a comfortable seat of *barhis* at the sacrifice, etc.'!

At 2. 7. 15. 4 the pāda printed in the text of the Bibliotheca Indica as, *yathā sā rāṣṭravardhanaḥ*, better in the commentary as *yathāsā rāṣṭravardhanaḥ* is probably to be read, *yathāso*, etc.: 'In order that thou mayest be an increaser of sovereignty'. Cf. AV. 4. 8. 6; KS. 36. 15; 37. 9.

At 2. 8. 6. 1, instead of *sadyā no devaḥ savitā savāya, āsāvīṣad vasuṣatir vasūni*, read *sa ghā no devaḥ*, etc. The commentator curiously enough glosses *sadyā* by *sa eva*, showing that he has the correct reading in mind: 'May this god Savitar, lord of wealth, verily promote our wealth unto our promotion'. Cf. RV. 7. 45. 3; AV. 6. 1. 3; MS. 4. 14. 6; ÇB. 13. 4. 2. 10; AÇ. 8. 1. 18.

At 2. 8. 9. 1 the pāda printed in text and commentary as, *ubhāu antāu pariyāta armyā* exhibits the unknown word *armyā*. This is made suspicious on account of the false saṁdhi between it and the word preceding it. The passage is addressed to Sun and Moon, *sūryācandramasā*, taken as a divinity-dual. The commentator glosses *armyā gatyā*. I would suggest perhaps *armyā* for *armyā*: 'Ye (Sun and Moon) travel about both limits of the heavens on the heaven of the night'. *armyā* is homophonous instrumental of *armyā*.

At 3. 1. 4. 1 both text and commentary read, *nitatnyāi svāhā bhrāyantyāi svāhā*. For *bhrāyantyāi* read *abhrāyantyāi*: 'Hail to the thundercloud'! This is clear because the next formulas continue the four-fold description of a thunderstorm, *meghāyantyāi svāhā varṣāyantyāi svāhā*. Cf. the author in ZDMG. XLVIII. 569 ff.

At 3. 7. 13. 4 occurs the following hemistich: *ādityānām prasitir hetir ugrāṣatāpāṣṭhādyaviṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu*. This is repeated in TA. 4. 20. 3, where the last part is printed as follows: *ugrā ṣatāpāṣṭhā 'dya viṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu*. It is sufficient to say that the commentators of both wretched texts, in addition to other atrocities, comment upon the word *adya* in the usual sense of 'to-day'. The text is to be restored and translated as follows:

*ādityānām prasitir hetir ugrā
ṣatāpāṣṭhāghaviṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu.*

'May the strong hurled missile of the Ādityas, that hath a hundred barbs and evil poison, spare us'! Cf. AV. 4. 6. 5, *apāṣṭhāc chṛṇḡdāt kulmalān nir avocam ahaṁ viṣam*: 'From the barb, the point, the neck (of the arrow) I have exorcised the poison'. Also RV. 10. 85. 34; AV. 14. 1. 29; ApMB. 1. 17. 9, *apāṣṭhavad viṣavat* 'barbed and poisonous'. The graphic confusion of the syllables *dya* and *gha* is the chief culprit in the blundering result of the two Bibliotheca Indica editions. Cf. also the very corrupt version of the same hemistich, MS 4. 5. 12 (p. 133, l. 9) where *ṣarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā* also is nothing but *ṣatāpāṣṭhāghaviṣā*.

At 3. 12. 9. 6 there is the following stanza:

*ahorātre paṣupālyāu muhūrtūḥ preṣyā abhavan,
mṛtyus tad abhavad dhātā ṣamitogro viṣāṁ patiḥ.*

In the second hemistich I surmise *dhotā*, that is *hotā*, for *dhātā*: 'Death then became the Hotar-priest, he the strong butcher, lord of people'.

Āitareya-Āraṇyaka.

At 5. 3. 2. 1 the Bibliotheca Indica edition, both text and commentary, has the passage *indrah karmākṣi tam amṛtaṁ vyoma*. The entire statement, in deification of the *uktha*, or Rig-Vedic song of praise, is obscure. Yet I venture to read *karmākṣitam* for *karmākṣi tam*: 'Indra, imperishable rite, etc'.

Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.

At 1. 8. 5 the Bibliotheca Indica edition has, *tato madhyamam āyanti catumagnīṁ ca samprati*. Here read *caturagnīṁ* for *catumagnīṁ*.

At 3. 9. 2 the Bibliotheca Indica text has, . . . *tvīṣiṣ cāpatitiṣ ca, āpaṣ cāuṣadhayaṣ ca*, etc. Here the meaningless word *apatitiṣ* is for *apacitiṣ* as may be seen from TB. 3. 7. 7. 8; ApÇ. 10. 11. 1.

Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad.

At 19. 1 of Colonel Jacob's edition, and in the same author's Concordance of the Upaniṣads, is twice printed the following hemistich, *ṣraddhā prajā ca medhā ca tilāḥ śāntīm kurvantu*. For *prajā* read *prajñā*, and translate: 'May faith, knowledge, wisdom, and sesame cause atonement (of sin)'! In TAA. 10. 63 (Bibliotheca Indica edition, p. 920) we have *ṣraddhāmedhe prajāḥ saṁdadātu*, but in 10. 64, *ṣraddhāmedhe prajñā hi jātavedaḥ saṁdadātu*. Cf. also the list of virtues, AG. 3. 9. 1, *smṛtaṁ nindā ca vidyā ca ṣraddhā prajñā ca pañcamī*. It seems to me that *prajñā* is to be substituted for *prajā* in all such connections.

Āçvalāyana-Çrāutasūtra.

At 2. 5. 17, *teṣu* (sc. *grheṣu*) *aham sumanāḥ saṁviṣāti*, the last word is to be changed to *saṁviṣāni*: 'May I happily dwell in this house'. Cf. ApÇ. 6. 27. 5; HG. 1. 29. 2; ApM. 1. 8. 2; MG. 1. 14. 6; 2. 11. 17 (with Knauer's note); 2. 11. 17, and more remotely ÇG. 3. 5. 3; AG. 2. 9. 5.

At 6. 9. 3 the Bibliotheca Indica text has, *ukthas te 'nṅāni pātu asāu*. Here *ukthya* (sc. *grahaḥ*) is to be substituted for *ukthas*: 'May the *ukthya*-oblation protect thee, O N.N'! The parallel texts, MS 4. 8. 7 (p. 115, l. 11); ApÇ. 14. 21. 4 read correctly, *aṅgāni ta ukthyaḥ pātu*.

At 6. 13. 14, in the formula printed, *unnetar un non naya*, etc., correct *non* to *no*: 'O Unnetar (Up-leader) lead us up, etc.'!

At 8. 14. 18 the same edition has, *yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ cakṣuṣo hetur ṛehatu*. Correct *hetur* to *hetir*, and translate: 'He that hates us and whom we hate, him may the missile of our eye hit'!

Çāṅkhayana-Çrāutasūtra.

At 6. 12. 27 the formula *annadāsy annapatih* is given in this form both in the text and in the commentary (Vol. II, p. 299) of Professor Hillebrandt's edition. It seems necessary to emend it to *annado 'sy annapatih* according to sense, and because of the *nha* in the plural form, given by the commentator as *annadāḥ sthānnapatayaḥ*. The feminine *annadā* would require *annapatni*.

At 8. 17. 13 the text reads: . . . *abhibhṛyāsma vayaṁ yaṁ dviṣmo 'paçṛṇvate tvā*. Since there is no combination *apa + çṛṇ*, we must either read, with double *saṁdhi*, *dviṣmopaçṛṇvate*, or restore *dviṣma upaçṛṇvate*: 'May we overcome them that hate us! To thee listening (do we say this)'! Cf. AÇ. 5. 15. 23.

At 10. 16. 6, in the formula printed, *vācaspatē 'chidrayā vācā-chidrayā juhvā divi devā vṛdhan hotrāṁ āirayasva*, the words *devā vṛdhan* are to be corrected to *devāvṛdhaṁ*: 'O lord of speech, with unbroken speech, with unbroken sacrificial spoon, do thou promote into heaven the sacrifice which strengthens the gods'! See ÇB. 11. 7. 2. 6; TA. 3. 4. 1; KÇ. 6. 1. 36.

At 16. 18. 11 the following formula is recited during the ceremony of royal consecration while a horse is being sacrificed: *anenāyam aḥvena medhyena rājeṣṭvā vijayatām abrahmany ubjilāyā iti*. The first part makes good sense: 'May the king, having sacrificed with this sacrificially pure horse, conquer'! Then follow the two unintelligible words *abrahmany ubjilāyāḥ*. Divide *ubjilāyāḥ* into *ubjilā yāḥ*, supply either *viçāḥ* or *diçāḥ*, and translate: 'May the king, having sacrificed with this sacrificially pure horse, conquer the clans (or the regions) that are immersed in impiety'! Cf. TB. 3. 8. 5. 1; ApÇ. 20. 5. 1.

At 18. 15. 5, in the pāda printed, *tvam hi rādhasy ata eka iṣiṣe* (cf. the Index, p. 631, where the pratika is given as *tvam hi rādhasi*) the words *rādhasy ata* are to be corrected to *rādhaspata*, bearing in mind the common interchange between *y* and *p* in Devanāgarī MSS: 'Thou, O lord of favor, rulest alone'!

Vaitāna-Sūtra.

At 8. 16 there is the pāda printed as, *yad vā jāyate punaḥ* (so also AÇ. 2. 16. 19; LÇ. 4. 12. 16). Read *vājāyate* = *vā ājāyate*,

as demanded by the metre and suggested by TA. 1. 30. 1, *yan ma ājāyate punaḥ*. In Vait, the first pāda, *yan me relaḥ prasidhyati* (var. lect. *prasimcati*) is to be changed, with the parallel texts, to *yan me relaḥ prasicyate*. Translate: 'With the semen that pours forth from me or passes away from me; or (with the semen) that is born again (in me) with that enter me auspiciously'!

At 14. 1 (p. 20, l. 13 of Professor Garbe's text) we have, *sapatnāḥ pradiṣo me bhavantu*, rendered by 'the same authority: 'May my rivals be subservient to me'! It is difficult to see how this good sense can be extracted from the words of the text. The metre suggests the true reading; emend *sapatnāḥ* to *asapatnāḥ*, and translate: 'May the regions (of space) be free from rivals for me'! In this form the line appears AV. 19. 14. 1. Cf. also ApÇ. 6. 29. 1, *anamtvāḥ pradiṣaḥ santu mahyam*: 'May the regions (of space) be free from disease for me'!

At Vait. 25. 14 Professor Garbe's text has the formula, *indra ṣoḍaṣinn ojaḥ saṁsthaṁ deveṣu asi, ojasvanīṁ mām āyusmantāṁ manuṣyeṣu kuru*. This he renders: 'O Indra, sechzehnteiliger, die unter den Göttern befindliche Kraft bist du; mache mich kräftig und lebensstark unter den Menschen'! I miss the word *tvam* 'thou' in the first part of the formula, to contrast with *mām* 'me' in the second part. Read, *indra ṣoḍaṣinn ojasvāṁ tvam deveṣu asi*, etc.: 'O Indra, to whom belongs the sixteen-fold oblation, strong art thou among the gods, etc.'! The parallel version, AÇ. 6. 3. 22, *indra ṣoḍaṣinn ojasvāṁ tvam deveṣu asi*, seems to call for a change of the vocative *ojasvāṁ* to the nominative *ojasvi* or *ojasvāṁ*. Cf. in general VS. 8. 39; TS. 3. 3. 1. 1; MS 4. 7. 3 (p. 96, l. 11); ÇÇ. 10. 3. 10.

At Vait. 37. 2 there is a stanza in which the Brahman-priest tells the Udgātar-priest that he is no better than himself. Here appears a pāda which Professor Garbe edits as follows, *na tvam paro varo man na pūrvāḥ*. He translates: 'Nicht bist du besser, vorzüglicher, stehst mir nicht voran'! The metre is not good as it stands, and *paro* of itself suggests *avaro* instead of *varo* following it. I would read *na tvam paro 'varo* (read *avaro*) *man na pūrvāḥ*, and translate: 'Thou art not superior, (but) inferior to me, art not the first'. Parallels are wanting.

Latyāyana-Çrāutasutra.

At 2. 2. 11 occurs the pāda, *sarvasmād eva kilbiṣāt*, which makes good sense: '(I free) from all and every sin'. Neverthe-

less, on the testimony of all other texts we must read *sarvasmād devakīlbiṣāṭ*, 'from all the guilt of the gods'. See RV. 10. 97. 16; AV. 6. 96. 2; 7. 112. 2; 8. 7. 28; VS. 12. 90; MS. 3. 11. 10; ApÇ. 7. 21. 6. For the sense of the expression see the writer in this Journal XVII. 430 ff.

At 2. 2. 12, in a dreadful mix-up the Bibliotheca Indica edition, both text and commentary, reads what at first sight seems to be a single mantra *stuto nabhosarhmṛṣṭa* iti. The passage contains three pratikas: *stuto* is corrupt for the first word of *tulho 'si janadhāyāḥ*, PB. 1. 4. 3. Next, *nabho* is the pratika of *nabho 'si pratakū*, and finally, *asarhmṛṣṭaḥ* the pratika of *asarhmṛṣṭo 'si havyasūdanaḥ*, both also in PB. 1. 4. 3.

At 2. 12. 17, the two pādas printed in the Bibliotheca Indica edition as *mā brāhmaṇāyocchiṣṭaṁ dātāmāyāt somam asomapāḥ* are to be corrected as follows: *mābrāhmaṇāyocchiṣṭaṁ dāta mā pāt somam asomapāḥ*. Translate: 'Do ye not give the sacrifice leavings to a non-Brahman; he who is not (by right) a drinker of soma shall not drink the soma'! The parallel, Kauç. 91. 20, is correctly printed and has the same sense.

At 3. 10. 7 there are two mistakes both orthographic in character: *badhniṣvojyam* is to be corrected to *badhniṣvojjiyam*, and *upakalpayasvāyasmāyān* to *upakalpayasvāyasmāyān*.

At 5. 12. 13 in the formula, *devasyāhaṁ savituh prasave satyasavaso bṛhaspater vājilo vājajilo varṣiṣṭham adhi nākaṁ ruheyam*, read *vājino* in place of *vājilo*.

Kātyāyana-Çrāutasūtra.

At 13. 2. 19 there is a hemistich *upa mā yantu majjayas santiḍā upa mā jakṣur upa mā mantiḍā*. Read perhaps *malayaḥ* for *majjayaḥ*, and certainly *cakṣur* for *jakṣur*: 'To me shall come the collective mental activities, to me the eye (sight), to me inspiration'!

Āpastamba-Çrāutasūtra.

At 3. 2. 10 the formula *sadaspataye tvā hutaṁ prāçṇāmi*, is probably to be read *sadasas pataye tvā hutaṁ prāçṇāmi*, in agreement with TS. 2. 6. 8. 1, 2: 'I eat thee that hast been sacrificed to the Lord of the Seat'!

At 4. 5. 5, in the mantra beginning *iḍenyakratūr aham*, the first word is misprinted for *iḍenyakratūr*. Cf. the parallels *vareṇyakratūr aham*, RVKh 10. 9. 1, and *varenyakratur aham*, AV.

6. 23. 1. Translate: 'With choice product of the mind do I address the goddesses, the waters'.

At 4. 7. 2 there is a passage, *ayaṁ sruvo abhijiharti homāṇ chatākṣaraḥ chandasānuṣṭubhena*, etc. A parallel version, Kauç. 3. 10, reads *ayaṁ sruvo vidadhāti homāṇ chatākṣarachandasā jāgalena*. Accordingly we may safely read in ApÇ. *chatākṣara-chandasānuṣṭubhena*. Whether *abhijiharti* is to be retained as a popular form, or to be emended to *abhijigharti*, I do not venture to decide. The word is repeated in the commentary at 7, 9, 5. Anyhow it is identical with *abhijigharti* 'besprinkles', and is not to be regarded with Böhtlingk, in his Lexicon under 1. *har*, as an isolated present stem of the root *har* 'take'. Translate: 'This spoon besprinkles the sacrifice with ghee while a stanza of hundred syllables in anuṣṭubh metre is being recited. All parts of the sacrifice it anoints while Brhaspati is giving his divine protection'. For other Prakritisms in this Sutra see Professor Garbe's Preface to the third volume of his edition, p. vii.

At 4. 10. 4 the mantra printed in the form *nama idam udatṁ bhiṣar*, etc. has been discussed above under MS 4. 2. 5.

At 5. 5. 8, the pāda printed in the form *ava devāṁ yajehedyān* has been corrected above under KS. 7. 12.

At 7. 17. 2, the passage, *yo no dveṣṭy anu taṁ ravasva*, has a parallel in AV. 9. 5. 2, *ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva*, and MÇ 3. 5. 13, *yo no dveṣṭi tanūṁ rabhasva*, where *tanūṁ* is probably corrupt for *taṁ anu*. I presume that *ravasva* in ApÇ., though it makes tolerable sense, is to be changed to *rabhasva*, in agreement with the other texts: 'Take hold of him that hates us'!

At 12. 28. 11 the text is, *mitrāvaruṇābhyāṁ tvā jṣṭhāṁ gr̥hṇāmi devebhyo devā yuvam ukthyebhyo ukthyā yuvam*. Read *devā-yuvam* for *devā yuvam* and *ukthyāyuvam* for *ukthyā yuvam*, and translate: 'I take thee (the *graha*) pleasing to Mitra and Varuṇa, for the gods pleasing to the gods, for the *ukthyā*-vessels pleasing to the *ukthyā* vessels'! See VS. in the Kāṇva version 7. 9. 2.

At 13. 16. 8 the passage, *svo 'si vāraṇo 'si tasya ta iṣasya tveṣasya nṛmṇasya yakvasya vralasya svasya vāraṇasya fādrasya cāryasya ca bhukṣiṣya*, contains to my mind some difficulty. What is *vāraṇo* and *vāraṇasya*? After *svo 'si* we should expect *araṇo 'si* or, in order that the two expressions should balance, *svo 'si vāraṇo 'si vā*. In MS 4. 6. 6 (p. 88, l. 20) we have, *tasya ta iṣasya tveṣasya nṛmṇasya vralasya dakṣasya bhakṣya svasya*

cāraṇasya ca ṣūdrasya cāryasya ca. Accordingly the ApÇ. passage beginning with *tasya* should read, *tasya ta iṣasya tveṣasya nṛmṇasya yāhvasya vralasya svasya cāraṇasya ṣūdrasya cāryasya ca bhukṣiṣiṭya.* And for *svo* 'si vāraṇo 'si we ought to have *svo 'sy araṇo 'si.* If all this is so, whence the corruption?

At 13. 22. 1 the stanza quoted begins with the following pāda: *ud eta prajāṃ āyur vareo dadhānāḥ*: 'Come forth, obtain offspring, life, and distinction'! Then the text continues with a pāda which the editor must have intended to read, *adha syām asur ubhayor gṛheṣu.* But AV. 18. 3. 17 shows that the text intends to say, *adha syāma surabhayo gṛheṣu*: 'May we be of good odor in the house'! Cf. also MS 1. 3. 39 (p. 46, l. 10); KS. 4. 13.

At 14. 16. 1, in the pāda printed, *tā saṃdadhāmi haviṣā gṛhena*, the word *tā*, agreeing with the feminines *vyuṣṭāḥ* and *nimrucāḥ*, is to be changed to *tāḥ*. So the parallel texts, TS. 1. 5. 10. 2; MS 1. 7. 1 (p. 109, l. 10). Cf. AÇ. 2. 5. 14; KÇ. 25. 10. 22.

At 14. 17. 3 there is the corrupt mantra edited as, *pr̥thivi bhūvari sintvāly urandhra ācille manas te bhuvo vivaste.* This appears a second time in KS. 35. 3 with *vibhūvari* for *bhūvari* and *urandha* for *urandhra*. Without being able to translate the mantra satisfactorily, I would point out that *bhūvari* in ApÇ. is certainly the result of haplography in the combination *pr̥thivi(vi)-bhūvari*. We must restore *pr̥thivi vibhūvari*.

At 14. 28. 4 there is the pāda, *samvatsara ṛtubhiḥ cākupānaḥ*. I am engaged here with the explanation, rather than the emendation of the word *cākupānaḥ*. The parallel KS. 13. 15 and 16 reads, *samvatsara ṛtubhiḥ cākḷpānaḥ*: 'The year shaping itself by the seasons'. There can be no doubt that *cākupānaḥ* = *cākḷpānaḥ*, especially as MS 2. 13. 23 (p. 169, l. 5), as it were, translates both by *samvatsara ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ*: 'The year uniting itself with the seasons'. Now *cākupānaḥ* occurs twice more in ApÇ. 16. 26. 6, 12 in the pāda, *satyaṃ pūrvāir ṛṣibhiḥ cākupānaḥ*. Again MS 2. 7. 16 (p. 100, l. 15) has *satyaṃ pūrvāir ṛṣibhiḥ samvidānaḥ*. It seems therefore certain that *cākupānaḥ* is the correct reading in ApÇ., and that it is identical with *cākḷpānaḥ*. Doubtless it is to be regarded as an additional case of Prakritism, such as this text affects considerably: see Garbe in the Preface to volume III of his edition, p. vii. ff.

At 16. 18. 7, in the pāda as printed, *dviṣas taradhyāi ṛṇayā na tyase*, the saṃdhi between *taradhyāi* and *ṛṇayā* is neglected.

The parallel texts, RV. 9. 110. 1; SV. 1. 428; AB. 8. 11. 1, read correctly *taradhyā*: 'Like a debt-collector thou goest forth to conquer the enemy'.

At 16. 19. 1 the text has, *āindrāgnān varma . . . tan nas trāyatān tan no viśvato mahat*. For *tan no* read *tanvo*: 'May this great protection of Indra and Agni guard our persons on all sides'! Cf. the decisive parallel AV. 8. 5. 19 *tan me tanvāt trāyatān sarvato mahat*.

At 16. 30. 1, in the formula, *ṣatruhaṇam amitrahaṇam bhrātṛvyahaṇam asuraṇam tvendraṇ vajraṇ sādāyāmi*, read *tvāindraṇ* for *tvendraṇ*, and translate: 'I seat thee, the foe-slaying, enemy-slaying, rival-slaying, demon-slaying bolt that belongs to Indra'! Cf. KS. 39. 5, *ṣatruhaṇam asi, ṣatruhaṇam bhrātṛvyahaṇam asuraṇam tvāindraṇ vajraṇ sādāyāmi*.

At 16. 34. 4, in the hemistich printed as, *aśvāvad bhūri puṣṭaḥ hiraṇyavad annamadyehi mahyaṇ*, read for *annamadyehi annavad* (or *annamad*) *dhehy*, and translate: 'Great prosperity, abounding in horses, abounding in gold, abounding in food, do thou bestow upon me'!

At 24. 12. 9 there is the formula *āpr̥ṇoṣi saṁpr̥ṇa prajayā mā paṣubhir āpr̥ṇa*, which may be rendered: 'Thou doest fill, O complete filler! Fill me with offspring and cattle'! Aside from the dubious present indicative *āpr̥ṇoṣi*, ÇÇ. 1. 15. 16 has *āpr̥ṇo 'si saṁpr̥ṇaḥ prajayā mā paṣubhir ā pr̥ṇa*, which is more in the line of such punning formulas: 'Thou art a filler (*āpr̥ṇa*), a complete filler (*saṁpr̥ṇa*)! Fill (*āpr̥ṇa*) me with offspring and cattle'! Hence *āpr̥ṇoṣi* in ApÇ. is to be changed to *āpr̥ṇo 'si*. This is made certain by other variants of the same formula, all of which begin with a noun, rather than a verb: *āpura stā* (= *stā + ā*) *mā prajayā paṣubhiḥ pūrayata*, ÇÇ. 8. 8. 11; and *āpuryā sthā* (= *sthā + ā*) *mā pūrayata prajayā dhanena ca*, TS. 3. 2. 5. 5; AÇ. 6. 12. 4 (cf. ApÇ. 13. 17. 8).

Çāṅkhayana-Gr̥hyasūtra.

At 1. 17. 9 Professor Oldenberg's text has *pumān indraṣ cāgniṣ ca pumāṇsān vardhatān mayi*. He translates in *Indische Studien* xv. 34: 'Der mann Indra und Agni auch mögen einen mann in mir erwachsen lassen'. Again, in *Sacred Books of the East*, xxix. 43: 'Let the man Indra and also Agni make a man grow in me'. Both translations treat *vardhatān* as a causative, as though *vardhayatān*. Emend *pumāṇsān vardhatān* to *pumāṇ*

samvardhatān, by merely changing the division of the letters, and translate: 'A man is Agni and Indra too: may a man grow up in me'! Cf. PG. 1. 9. 5, where the parallel pāda reads, *pumān samvarlatān mayi*, in much the same sense.

At 1. 19. 9, in the hemistich, *striṣṭyam anyānt svādadhat pu-māhsam ā dadhād iha*, the words *anyānt svādadhat* are to be corrected to *anyāsv ādadhat*, in accordance with AV. 6. 11. 3. Translate: 'May he put birth of female (children) into other women; a man (child) he shall put here'!

Kauçika-Sūtra.

At 44. 37, the formula printed as *vāyave stokānām* is to be changed in accordance with about half of the MSS to *vāyo ve stokānām*: 'O Vāyu, enjoy the drops'! Cf. the versions of the formula in TS. 1. 3. 9. 2; 6. 3. 9. 5; ApÇ. 7. 20. 1, *vāyo viki stokānām*; in VS. 6. 16; ÇB. 3. 8. 2. 18 (cf. KÇ. 6. 6. 5), *vāyo ve stokānām*; in KS. 3. 6, *vāyo ve ṣṭokānām* (text *veṣṭokānām*); and in VS. in the Kānva version, *vāyo ve stokānān juṣānaḥ*. Now MS 1. 2. 16 (p. 26, l. 17); 3. 10. 1 (p. 129, l. 19); MÇ. 1. 8. 4. 24 read *vāyoḥ stokānām*. The mss. of Kāuç which read *vāyave stokānām* may possibly represent another independent reading of the formula, having the same sense as that of MS. More likely, however, *vāyave* is mere blunder for *vāyo ve*.

At 47. 16 the second stanza addressed to the bolt (*vajra*) begins with the hemistich as printed, *sa na indra purohilo viçvalaḥ pāhi rakṣasaḥ*. I believe now that we must read *indrapurohilo* as a compound, probably a bahuvrīhi: 'Do thou, whose Purohita is Indra, protect us on all sides from demons'!

Hiraṇyakeçi-Grhyasūtra.

At 1. 5. 1, in the pāda printed, *pra sa mṛtyaṁ yuyotana*, change *sa* to *su* in agreement with ApM. 2. 3. 1, and translate: 'Keep, pray, death at a distance'! The reading of SMB., *pra sumartyaṁ yuyotana*, with its impossible (to my sense) *sumartya*, is probably to be corrected so as to yield the same wording. The reading of MG. 1. 22. 2, edited by Knauer as, *prathamam artim yuyotu naḥ*, seems to me very doubtful, but apparently harbors a genuine variant of the pāda.

At 1. 15. 7, the editor, Professor Kirste, prints the stanza as follows:

*hiraṇyabāhuḥ subhagā jītakṣya alāṁkṛtā madhye,
devānām āsinārthaṁ mahyam avocat svāhā.*

I read *ajitākṣy* according to the sense, and arrange the pādas thus :

hiraṇyabāhuḥ subhagā
ajitākṣv alāṅkṛtā
madhye devānām āśnā
arthasā mahyam avocat (svāhā)

Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, XXX. 179, indicates in his translation the same division of the verse; he emends still further to *ajitākṣy*, and translates: 'The golden-armed, blessed (Goddess Assembly-Hall), whose eyes are not faint, who is decked with ornaments, seated in the midst of the gods, has spoken for my good, Svāhā'. Anyhow the negative prefix *a* before *jitākṣy*, and the proposed division into pādas, are secure.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

III.—THE PROSODY OF ILLE. A STUDY OF THE ANOMALIES OF ROMAN QUANTITY.

FIRST PAPER.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The present article aims at offering a solution of the O. Lat. quantitative problem of *illē-ill(e)*, *nēmpē-nēmp(e)*, which has been discussed by several Plautine scholars, but especially by Skutsch in his *Plaut. Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1892. The solution offered will be found to be in part the same as the explanation which is briefly suggested, but not fully developed, by Th. Birt in his article "Ueber Kürzungen trochäischer Wörter", *Rhein. Mus.* LI (1896), 240 ff., and it seems desirable to explain at the outset the relation in which the present study stands to Birt's article. A direct reply to Skutsch is possible only through a detailed treatment of the anomaly *nēmp(e)*; Birt has devoted his discussion, however, almost entirely to a different subject, viz. the shortening of trochaic words,—a question which had already been discussed in part by Corssen (*II*² 481 f., 626 ff.) and Bücheler (*ALL.* III 145). It is proper for me to state that, when I read Birt's article hurriedly some years ago, his treatment of the questions at issue did not then seem to me sufficiently complete, and the brief discussion which he devotes to the anomaly *nēmp(e)* made no definite impression upon my mind.¹ Hence I am not conscious of any special indebtedness to Birt for my own method of treatment which has been worked out independently, although I gladly acknowledge the great learning and the genuine insight of Birt's study. In spite of its real forcefulness, Birt's discussion has remained, however, largely ineffective,² and this result is clearly

¹ After reading Birt's article, I expressed the following view in *A. J. P.* XXV 1904. 147, n. 2: "The general principles laid down by Skutsch must be accepted as final."

² Thus Skutsch seems justified in his assertion (*Ἐπεας*, Göttingen, 1903, p. 121, n. 2) that the larger part of his syncope theory has been generally accepted by Latin philologists, and he professes to regard Birt as an isolated exception: "Dies Beweisverfahren hat man für die andern genannten Worte

due to certain obvious faults of arrangement and method, which appear in important parts of the treatment. Thus two inconsistent solutions of the problem are proposed instead of one (l. l., 254, 255), and, of the two proposed solutions, the correct one is briefly suggested (l. l., 244; 255, § 3) rather than fully explained and clearly grounded. It seems desirable therefore to examine the subject anew, and the present article is designed to supplement Birt's valuable study through a discussion of the prosody of *ille* and of several allied problems of the Plautine language.¹

I. METRICAL THEORY OF THE 'HALF-LONG' SYLLABLE. RESULTING 'ANOMALIES'.

The weakly accented penultimate syllables of such pronouns and conjunctions as *ille*, *inde*, *immo* and their numerous associates are commonly assigned to a special class by Plautine critics, and are termed 'half-longs'. By this form of statement it is evidently meant that these originally long syllables have been greatly weakened by the withdrawal of the accent (as in *ille sérvus*, *inde vénit*, *immo véro*), and in consequence are often treated in many ways like short syllables. Thus the long penultimate syllable is generally recognized as being of dubious or 'half-long' quantity in all the 'proletariate of weakly accented words'. The question may be asked whether this use of the term 'half-long' rests upon a strictly scientific basis, and if so, what is the precise meaning of 'half-long', in other words, what is its *metrical* meaning. As regards the first question, there can be no doubt that the use of the term 'half-long' is thoroughly scientific; for the very respectable ancient theorists who belonged to the school of Aristoxenus and called themselves the *rhythmici*, expressly recognized in actual speech *syllabae brevibus breviores*,

allgemein gutgeheissen und zwingend gefunden . . . mit Ausnahme von Birt . . . Eine Verständigung zwischen Birt und mir in grammatischen Dingen scheint leider unmöglich". Lindsay has even introduced the syncopated forms *ih'*, *nemp'*, *ind'*, etc., into his Oxford edition of Plautus.

¹ The following abbreviations are employed in this article: Müller¹ = L. Müller, R. M.²; Stolz³ = Stolz, Müller's Handbuch II³, 2.

² Cf. Corssen, II² 892: "Dieses aufgehäufte Proletariat von tiefstomigen Wörtern war nun haltlos gegen jede Verderbniss des Vokalismus." Upon the whole, Corssen has a thoroughly good and sound discussion of the atonics *ille* and *iste* (II² 626 ff.). On the general atonic character of the Latin pronouns and particles, see especially Audax, Keil, VII, 360, 5; cf. also Schöll, De acc. 169 ff.

syllables shorter than the short, and *syllabae longis longiores*, syllables longer than the long (Quint. ix, 4, 84; Marius Victorinus, i, 8; for other reference, cf. Christ, *Metr.*¹ 77 f.).¹ If there are syllables in speech, however, which are longer than the normal long, it seems naturally to follow—especially in an accentual language like the Roman—that there are also syllables which are shorter than the normal long,—in other words, ‘half-long’ syllables. For, although this fact is not expressly stated, it is clearly implied in the rhythmical doctrine. We may then conveniently define a ‘half-long’ syllable, such as we find in *ille*, in *sed illō* or in *domi*, as a syllable which is normally long, but which the ear, under certain conditions, may measure as a short. The actual conditions under which this short measurement takes place may be stated as follows in the case of *ille*: Even the most sensitive and cultivated ear, on hearing the word *ille* in continuous speech, is incapable of determining accurately just what time is occupied by the syllable *il*, and what is occupied by the syllable *le*. Hence the ear ordinarily measures the two syllables of such a word together, and assigns so much time to the resulting complex; it is precisely to this process that Christ refers, in his discussion of the principles of O. Lat. metric, when he says that, in a rapidly uttered complex like *viden hoc*, the early dramatists measured the *phrase* rather than the syllables (Rhein. Mus. XXIII (1868), 580).² In our examination of the ‘half-long’, we shall need to

¹ See also my brief discussion of the problem of *ille* and *nempe*, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXVI (1905), 159 ff., which, however, I wish to be entirely superseded by the present more careful and more complete study. I only call attention here to the ‘mathematical demonstration’, which Skutsch (*Pl. Forsch.* 40) offers of the syncope of *nempe*:

Nempe before consonants has the value of . . . 2 morae.

The first syllable has the value of 2 morae.

The second syllable has the value of 0 mora.

It is shown (l. l., 160) that this proffered demonstration is wholly unconvincing to one who accepts the principles of the *rhythmici*; even if we had no other explanation in view, this doctrine would warn us of the fallacy contained in the words ‘has the value of’. It is only correct to say, in such cases, ‘has the approximate value of’, ‘is allowed in metre the value of’. The exact value which belongs in actual speech to *nempe* or to the first syllable of *nempe*, we neither know nor have any means of ever knowing.

² “Jene älteren Dichter . . . hörten noch deutlich heraus, dass die lebhafte Frage *viden hoc*? keinen grösseren Zeitumfang als die ruhige Antwort *video* einnehme, . . . da sie im Versbau noch mehr mit dem Ohr den Rhythmus

consider two distinct classes of phenomena, viz.: first, those cases in which the 'half-long' is followed by another long (without being preceded by a coalescing short monosyllable), and secondly, those cases in which the 'half-long' is either followed or preceded by a short syllable belonging to the same word or the same word-complex.¹ I shall begin my discussion with the first class of cases.

(1) It follows from the principles of measurement already stated that, even if a long syllable is considerably weakened by the withdrawal of the accent, and even if it is thus reduced to a 'half-long', the ear will invariably measure it as long, provided it be both followed and preceded by long syllables;² for in such a case the total diminution of time will not seem very great, and consequently both syllables of the word will appear to be long. For this reason we find that the weakly accented pronouns and conjunctions of spondaic value are never measured as iambi (except in conjunction with a short preceding monosyllable), although their first syllable is in all cases only a 'half long' (cf. p. 423), but we have the invariable scansion *illūm, illō, illinc, ōlīm, istūm, ipsi, hōrūm, vērō, autēm, quāndō, pōrrō, intrō, ergō, ēlſi, quāmqūam, quāmvīs, pōstquāam, ūmqūam, quīsqūam, nēmō, sānē, vērūm*, etc.

(2) If the 'half-long' syllable be followed (or preceded), however, by an undoubted short,³ the diminution in time will be much more perceptible to the ear, and if the latter measures the complex either as 2½ or as 2¾ or as 2 morae, the 'half-long' will be naturally heard as a short. It is to this measurement of the complex that

auffassten als nach dem metrischen Schema die Sylben zählten". The article referred to contains some views of Plautine metric, which are now universally abandoned, but Christ's discussion of rhythmical principles is naturally one of permanent value.

¹ A short monosyllable unites with the following word in O. Lat. to form a single complex, e. g. *in-exercitum, sed-illō*.

² There are a few isolated exceptions to this general rule, but they are of little importance as compared with the regular usage; thus we find apparently *ēxinde*, where the syllable *ind* is counted as short in determining the accent; it is followed, however, immediately by a short; cf. below, p. 426. Cf. also *immō, endō, frustrū*, which are discussed below, p. 434 ff. On the other hand, a single text like Mo. 362 (*sūmne Ill(e) Infelix*) is so excessively improbable as not to belong to scientific discussion at all, cf. Skutsch, Forsch. 106.

³ Thus in *immō vēro*, the final of *immo* is always short in O. Lat. (cf. Bentley on Phor. v, 8, 43), while in other collocations we find the obscure final of *immo* almost invariably measured long.

Havet appears to refer, when, in discussing the supposed license which allows — ∪ for ∪ ∪ in anapaestic verse in the case of words like *perditissimus*, he observes that Roman pronunciation probably 'cheated' and reduced the time upon the whole trochee rather than upon the long syllable alone (Metr.⁴ 90, § 185).¹ It is better, however, in my judgment to say in all such cases that 'the ear was cheated', and was consequently unable to measure the two syllables separately. Whatever differences of opinion may exist, however, respecting the most convenient terminology, it will scarcely be denied that the metrical theory which has been just stated is substantially that of the ancient *rhythmici*, and is generally accepted also by the best modern authorities.² Legitimate deductions from this theory are as follows: The trochaic words *illē, istē, ecquīs, hocin, omnis* are freely heard in pronunciation as two shorts, but the first syllable of the spondaic words *illōs, illō, istī, ecquēm, hōcīn, ōmni* is always heard as a long, provided a long precedes. Hence a casual observer might easily conclude that the first syllable of these spondaic pronouns³ was really a full long, except for the fact that as soon as a

¹ "Il est probable que la prononciation *trichait* sur l'ensemble du trochée, et non pas seulement sur la longue."

² Certain details, which are of much importance in practice, may be omitted here and their consideration reserved for a later point in our discussion. Thus I merely mention here the large question: If the ear is distinctly to hear the shortening, *how close must the association be between the weakened long and the following (or preceding) short?* What must be the special character of this association? For it must be obvious that association between a long and a short syllable in the sentence is not always of the same kind, but exists in very varying degrees; thus we have association produced by the same word-form or by the coalescence of a short monosyllable (e. g. *illz, tibi, quid-est, tib(i)-argentum*), association through elision between two separate word-forms (e. g. *ill(e) āmabat, eripe ex, pessūme ornatu(s)*), and association through immediate sequence in the sentence (e. g. *Altnā mōns nōn*, Mi. 1065—anap. verse). Important as are these questions of the character of the connection, I shall waive them for the present and consider only the simplest applications of the rhythmical theory. The rare cases of shortening which occur in the dialogue metres in association with a Brevis Brevis which is not initial (e. g. Cur. 351 *abeāmūs āc dēcumbāmus*) are collected by Maurenbrecher, *Hiat.* 28; they are to be regarded as a wholly exceptional and abnormal usage.

³ I have little hesitation in joining *omnis* with the weakly accented pronouns, since in many I.-Eur. languages the adjectives meaning 'all', 'every', 'whole' are closely associated with the pronouns and inflected prevailingly according to the pronominal declension; so *totus* in Latin, *sarva* and *visva* in Skt. (cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gramm.* § 522 ff.). For numerous cases of *sed ōmnis* in O. Lat., cf. Ahlberg, *Corrept. iamb.* 70.

short coalescing monosyllable is placed before them, the syllables *ill*, *isl*, *ecq*, *omn* are once more freely heard as shorts, and the very weak accent of the resulting complex is quite as naturally *séd-illum*, *séd-ecquem* as *sed-illum*, *sed-ecquem*.¹ Similarly the first syllables of conjunctions and particles of spondaic and trochaic measurement, and of the atonic substantive verb are freely heard as short, whenever a short coalescing monosyllable precedes, and although, in the case of substantives and verbs (e. g. *hóstis*, *úxor*, *aédes*, *ásper*, *aúdí*), shortening of the accented syllable is very rarely admitted, we find frequent shortening of weakly accented *ergo*, *autem*, *etsi*, *umquam*, *intus*, *intro*, *inter*, *hercle*, *eccum*, *esse*, *estis*, e. g. Per. 185 qui'd érgo díxi; Ci. 67 si 'aútem nón est; Am. 977 támeñsi praesens; Poe. 489 nec úmquám litém; Tri. 1101 séd intus nárrabó; St. 619 ve¹ inter cúneos; Poe. 1330 séd éccum lénonem; Ba. 724 u^t esse;²—for additional examples, cf. Ahlberg's collection, Corrept., pp. 67–75. Those particles of spondaic value which begin with a consonant, e. g. *numquam*, *véro*, *porro*, *séro*, *quamquam*, *quando*, *postquam*, etc., can obviously not be preceded by a short monosyllable, but it cannot be doubted that the initial syllables of all these words are also only 'half-longs',³ and that they will tend to shorten, if a favorable opportunity presents itself; whether the Roman language, however, can allow them this opportunity and still preserve its quantitative character, is a different question, and one that we shall need to consider carefully in the sequel. Yet in the brief examination which we have sought to make of a very simple principle of ancient metric, we have already begun to find certain manifest 'anomalies', and also, as I hope, have begun to find explanations for them, since they are precisely such natural

¹ Thus Commodian, who observes the accent in the close of his hexameters, very possibly still accents *dé illo* in the third century A. D., e. g. C. A. 52 qui dé illo clámant (so Dombart with MP¹).

² It is somewhat illogical to retain in the text very numerous cases like *ut-esse*, and at the same time to correct all cases of the simple *esse* (cf. Müller, Pl. Pros. 298 ff.). It cannot be too strongly insisted that the syllables *ill*, *es* are measured as short in *ille* and in *sed illos*, in *esse* and in *ut(i) esse (estis)* for precisely the same reason, viz. because they are 'half-long' syllables pronounced in immediate conjunction with a short, and because such a pronunciation is not found in practice to be incapable of restriction within moderate limits.

³ Hence we find, at least occasionally, the oxytonesis of these particles in the critical feet, e. g. Phor. 985 énim *veró* vocát opús, which should be added to the similar examples collected in TAPA. XXXV 35.

irregularities as always accompany the spontaneous development of speech. Thus we have noted that the syllable *ill* of the trochaic pronominal forms *illē*, *illā*, *illūd* might easily become short, while the same syllable in the spondaic forms *illi*, *illam*, *illō*, *illōs* must always remain long, unless a short precedes; further, we have seen that if the trochaic form *ille* be elided before a long syllable, as in *ill(e) abs tē*, the syllable *ill* (no short syllable preceding) must always be heard as a long and can never become short, except through one of those slow and gradual processes of quantitative assimilation and attrition, which commonly extend over several centuries (cf. p. 425, n.).¹ More than this, just as the atomic particles *seine* (*mē*), *neisi* (*fēceris*), *quansei* (*dicas*), (*mē*) *quōque* have become weakened to *sine*, *nisi*, *quāsi*, *quōque*,² so the trite asseverative particle *nempe*, weakened from **nam-pe*, and sometimes still further reduced to *nimpe* (Birt, l. l., 250),³ which is very similar in meaning (Langen, Beiträge, 125 ff.) to the almost invariably weakened *enim* (*vēro*), has finally come, in its dissyllabic form, always to be heard as a pyrrhic, e. g. *nēmpē tū* (Mi. 922).⁴ Yet

¹ This explanation shows clearly how a 'half-long' syllable differs from a common syllable. The latter may be treated as short under all conditions, but the former is itself heard as short only when it is uttered in immediate conjunction with a short syllable.

² Corssen II³ 481 f.; Bücheler, ALL. III 145 f.; Birt, l. l., 244 ff.; Brock, Quaest. Gramm. 170 ff.

³ Birt cites *nimpe* from Corp. Gloss. Lat. IV 261, 56; Aethicus ed. Wuttke, p. 76, 34. For a similar weakening in proclitic words, cf. *miki*, *tibi* for **meki*, **tebi* (Brugmann, Grundr. II 816; Skutsch, Forsch. 136, n. 1; Stolz,³ 26), probably also *indus* for *endo*, and *simul* for O. Lat. *semol* (CIL. I 1175) and *semul* (Ba. 576, 591; Ru. 760, etc.). The last example is deserving of especial notice. It is usual here to explain the passage of the *ε* into *i* by a comparison of the pre-literary change which produced *simplex* from **semplax* and which is seen also in *similis*, *simplum*, etc. (cf. Stolz,³ 64), but this interpretation, if taken alone, scarcely seems sufficient in the case of a form which, like O. Lat. *semul*, remained in frequent use until a comparatively late period, and needs to be re-enforced by other causes. The thorough-going proclitic character of this particle is further shown by its excessively frequent shortening in O. Lat. (i. e. *semul*, cf. Müller, Pl. Pros. 143). The same change of *ε* to *i* before a nasal has occurred in the preposition *in* (O. Lat. *en*), but here also the proclitic character of the word has been an important factor in the process, as Victor Henry notes (Comp. Gramm.², Engl. transl., § 32, p. 35).

⁴ The later Roman poets who addressed themselves to a reading public and wrote for the eye as well as the ear, were compelled to reject shortenings in all cases involving two consonants; this is the well-known principle first introduced into Roman poetry by Ennius and later observed even by Com-

we have already seen even in this brief preliminary examination that, if *nempe* be elided before a long syllable, in that case the

modian, cf. Klotz, *Grundz.* 42 f.; L. Müller, *Summarium Pros.* 34; Meyer, *Ursprung d. rhythm. Dicht.* 33. In accordance with this principle, O. Lat. *nēmpē* was finally assimilated to *nēmp(e)*, and the quantitative anomaly was thus successfully removed. If, instead of containing, however, two consonants which strike the eye of the reader, *nempe* had contained a naturally long vowel,—in other words, if it had existed in the form *nēpe*, we should probably have had, in the course of several centuries, the gradual assimilation of *nēp(e)* to *nēpe*. This species of assimilation has perhaps actually taken place in the case of *neis(i)* and *nīsī*, as the usage of Plautus seems to show, and has been well treated by Brock in a somewhat neglected chapter of his *Quæst. Gramm.* (Dorpat, 1897, p. 170 ff.). Since the checkered history of Latin quantity is nowhere better illustrated than in the variations of this particle, I will recapitulate here Brock's main conclusions and add also some observations of my own. Dissyllabic *neisi* or *nēsi* (probably not *nēsi*, as Stolz and Lindsay assume) was originally a spondee, but in the time of Pl. it had become an almost invariable pyrrhic; hence *nīsī* is frequent even in iambic verse-closes, e. g. *Cap.* 724; *Cur.* 51. The iambic measurement, *nīsī*, is found, however, in eight cases (*Ci.* 61; *Cas.* 699; *Poe.* 325, 243; *Ru.* 1092; *Cæcil.* 144 R²; *Acc.* 138 f.; *Trag. inc. inc.* 90). As regards the original spondaic and trochaic measurements of the dissyllable, Brock believes that they are preserved in six passages (*Mo.* 1006; *Per.* 234; *Au.* 445; *Ep.* 279; *Men.* 822; *Frag. dub.* v. 10 Götzt), but this conclusion must be regarded as somewhat doubtful. Brock's most valuable results relate, however, to the prosody of monosyllabic *nīs(i)*; the monosyllable is often long in Pl., and its length is attested by ten passages (*Am.* 280; *Ba.* 1172; *Cap.* 749; *Mer.* 712; *Mo.* 80; *Poe.* 888; *Ru.* 581; *Tru.* 465, 620; *Pacuv. fr.* 7 R²;—cf. Brock's own explanation, l. 1., 180: "Quod non casu factum esse existimo, altera enim syllaba elisa priori aliquantulum ponderis additur", but see below). Add also *Poe.* 839 *nīs(i)* *e*^{tr}*us* hunc (not *nīs(i)* *érus*, cf. A. J. P. XXV 268, § 3). A further question remains, which Brock has not considered: Is *nīs(i)* the sole form in Pl., or does the assimilated form *nīs(i)* also begin to make its appearance? A partial examination convinces me that this latter scansion is not very strongly attested for Pl.; thus, in the first volume of the ed. min., it is necessary in only two passages, viz. *Ba.* 30 *nīs(i)* *āb* *sēse*; *Ci.* 41 *nīs(i)* *ūt* *ne* *ē*^{tr}*ur**frem* (perhaps also in *Cap.* 593). Hence it would be possible, through the substitution of *nī* in some half-a-dozen passages, entirely to remove *nīs(i)* from the text of Pl., but it seems more probable that the assimilation of the quantity to *nīsī*, which becomes regular in Ter., had already begun in Pl., although it is still distinctly the less usual scansion. The foregoing conclusions must not, however, be represented as more than probable. For the cases of apparent *nīs(i)* may also be explained as cases of *nīsī* in hiatus, and taken to illustrate the free treatment of iambic words in this particular. The question can be finally decided only by a complete examination of the scansion *nīs(i)* and of the extent to which it is really attested in Pl. With the development which we actually find in *nēmpē*, *nēmp(e)*, compare also dissyllabic *sine* from *seine*, monosyllabic *sine* from *sine*; in the latter case, as in *nēmp(e)*, the monosyllabic form precluded shortening.

syllable *nēmp*, which has become absolutely short in dissyllabic *nēmpē*, is once more necessarily heard as an absolute long, e. g. Mo. 653 *nēmp(e) abs té petám*. Hence the anomaly by which *ill(e)* and *nēmp(e)* always appear as longs in elision before a *long* syllable is already explained; we have, however, also to explain the still more striking and more perplexing anomaly, by which *ill(e)* and *nēmp(e)* appear only as longs in elision before a *short* syllable, e. g. *ill(e) amabam*, *nēmp(e) ūl*, and if we wish to understand clearly the reasons which exist for the last pronunciation, we shall need to examine more closely the Roman system of quantity, the Roman quantitative organism, and to estimate the means which it possesses for self-protection and self-preservation.

Before proceeding, however, to this examination, I wish to give some further illustrations of the fact that the penultimate syllable of a Latin pronoun or particle is not in any case a full or absolute long, but only a 'half-long'. The clearest proof of this principle is afforded by the usual accentuations *périnde*, *súbinde*, *próinde*, *déinde*, even *éxinde*, which are fully attested by the ancient grammarians (cf. Schöll, De acc. 192 f.; Weil and Benlów, 48; Seelmann, Aussp. d. Lat. 41). These accentuations may well be, in a certain sense, inelegant and incorrect, but they are far from being, as Schöll is disposed to think (l. l., 69 f.) the mere inventions of the grammarians; for we find at least one ancient grammarian, viz. Servius (Keil, IV, 444, 26; Schöll, l. l., 192),¹ condemning *déinde* as an actual barbarism and warning his readers against its continued use. Since then we find the syllable *ind* counted as short to the latest period in determining the accent both of *éxinde* and of *súbinde*, the needlessness of seeking any other explanation of dimoric *inde* than the weakening of the first syllable is apparent; cf. also *ellum* from *ém-illum*, *em-'lum*.² We know also from Gellius (vi, 7) that so careful and intelligent an observer as the poet Annianus was unable to determine correctly the place of the accent in the adverb *exadversum*, but, following the metrical accent of a verse of Terence (Phor. 88),

¹(Barbarismus fit per detractiōem) accentus, quando dicimus déinde; mediam enim habere debuit acutam, quia positione longa est.—Sommer's explanation of this accent as derived from the shortened form *dein* (Lat. Lautlehre, p. 103) is a surprising one; if it were true, we ought to have *amduissem* from *amdssem*, *déorum* from *détum*.

²Cf. Skutsch, Forsch. 158, n. 1, and Philol. LIX, 496; not from *én-illum*, which Birt also thinks of (l. l., 260).

he wished to pronounce *exadversum*. Similarly Priscian (XV, 31 H.) seems to prescribe *Italiāversus*, *Siciliāversus*.¹ It is probable that both Annianus and Priscian were mistaken in these examples,² but the very fact that they could thus fall into error shows that the penultimate long of a particle was very faintly accented; they could not so easily, for example, have mistaken the place of the accent in the substantives *uxor*, *filius*, *servorum*. Perhaps we may similarly explain the accentuation of *nihilum* (from *nihilum*) and the regular measurement of the particle *profecto* as *profecto* in Pl. (e. g. Mi. 290 *profecto vidi*; cf. Müller, Pl. Pros. 249; Ahlberg, Corrupt. 32 ff.); the accents *siquando*, *nequando* are also well attested, but probably admit of a different explanation, cf. TAPA. XXXV, 34.

At least one other subordinate word-form is shown by its vocalism to be fully as weak in utterance as *nempe* and *nesi* (*neisi*). This is O. Lat. *olle*, *ollus*, in which the original *o* was early reduced to *i* in consequence of the prevailing unaccented use of the pronoun, as Lindsay correctly explains (L. L. 430, 192). Hence if Stolz,³ 139, speaks of this change as still unexplained, his statement seems needlessly cautious. We need not even conjecture that the reduction of *o* to *i* took place originally in word-groups like *sēd-olle*, *quōd-olle*, *cūm-ollā* (cf. *itico* for *in sloco*), but we may safely assume, in view of its highly atonic character, that the weakening affected the simple pronoun from the first.⁴ If then trochaic *ille* does not appear to be invariably shortened in O. Lat. like trochaic *nempe*, this partial preservation of the old quantity is not due to the retention of any accentual force, but rather to the influence of spondaic *illi*, *illō*. We find further that the pronouns *ille*, *iste*, *ipse* were never treated as clearly accented words in any period of the Latin language. Thus, as is well known, the poets of the classical age do not elide either iambic or spondaic words before an acute syllable, but as a rule admit such elisions only before atonic monosyllables like *et*, *ac*, *at*, *ut*, *in*, *ex*. An exception is most freely made, however, in the

¹ Schöll, De acc. 191, seeks however, both to change the general verbiage of the passage and to correct the example given to *Italiāversus*.

² Annianus was mistaken in *exadversum* as a regular accent; in the particular verse which he cited, however, the particle suffers elision, and the accent may probably recede, i. e. *exadversum*; see below (second paper).

³ Assimilation or adaptation to other pronominal forms, such as the case-forms of *iste* and *ipse*, may have facilitated this change, but are not likely to have actually caused it, as is sometimes assumed (Bennett, Appendix, p. 136).

case of these atonic pronouns, e. g. Hor. Ep. ii, 2, 163 *modò isto*; Sen. Thy. 1064 f. *manu meâ ipse*; Luc. iii, 14 *vidi ipsa tenentes*; v, 584 *caeli iste fretique* (v. Trampe, *De Luc. arte metr.*, Berlin, 1884, p. 16); Ov. Met. xv, 814 *legi ipse*; cf. the remarks of L. Müller,¹ 366, 340 f., 346 f., who notes also the admission of similar elisions before *omnis*, *atque*, *ergo*, *inquit*, *hercle*, *esse* (l. l., 340, 462, 547 ff.). Finally, Apuleius is the most scrupulous of all the Latin prose authors in restricting the use of elision, and most nearly observes the rules of artistic poetry in this respect;¹ yet in all his works no trace is to be found of the avoidance of any form of elision (except that of iambic words perhaps) before atonic *ille*, *iste*, *ipse*.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE EXPIRATORY ACCENT ESSENTIALLY COMPLETE IN THE THIRD CENTURY B. C. PROOFS OF THIS FACT.

The problem of *ille* is, in one sense, a complex one, and its correct solution cannot fail to throw some additional light upon the relations which existed between the Latin quantitative and accentual systems in the republican period. It is highly probable, as Weil and Benlôw (*Accent. Lat.* 9) were inclined to recognize as long ago as 1856, that the expiratory character of the Latin accent is described by Quintilian (xii, 10, 33) under the term *rigor* (cf. also Sommer, *Lat. Lautlehre*, 106, § 73), but it is quite unnecessary in this connection to appeal to the first century of the empire. The character of the Latin accent was, in fact, clearly determined in the early republic, and we shall be justified in inferring that almost all the accentual causes which operated in the third century A. D., the century of Commodian, were present already in the third century B. C., the century of Plautus. The two periods are separated of course by the classical age,

¹ I do not know whether this fact has been pointed out before or not. In reading Apuleius some years ago, I was much struck by the restrictions which he clearly places upon the use of elision, and by van Vliet's frequent introduction of unnecessary hiatus into the text, e. g. Met. v, 20 *ſm. praestolatae advolabimus*, instead of the MS reading: *praestolabimus advolabimus*. This avoidance of elision is probably an unconscious tendency both with Apuleius and with Martianus Capella; it is consequently carried out most thoroughly in passages of the more exquisite and ornate kind, as may be seen from Met. vi, 24 (description of the marriage-feast of Cupid and Psyche). On Apuleius as a prose poet, cf. further Ribbeck, *Röm. Dichtung*, III 327 ff.; Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, 600 ff.

which breaks the line of a uniform progression, and, arresting the accentual movement at many points, carries the development forward only in an irregular and partial manner. Allowing for these irregularities, we may still say that the development of the accent was essentially complete in the O. Lat. period, and the accent itself was fully capable of producing all the effects which are commonly produced by an expiratory accent of moderate strength; consequently, from the purely physiological point of view, quantitative pronunciation was already difficult for the Romans of the third century B. C., and accentual pronunciation was already easy. This fact is almost universally recognized, it is true, at the present day, but the necessary conclusions are not always drawn. Thus there can be no doubt that essentially all the quantitative errors and all the accentual innovations, which characterize the versification of Comedian and of the second and third century inscriptions, were already heard—at least occasionally—in the purely vulgar language of the earlier period. But at this point the resemblance between the two epochs abruptly ends. These vulgar pronunciations, which were often almost completely at variance with quantitative principles, were not received as a rule into the literary language of Plautus and his contemporaries,—at least they were not received into that part of their language which is represented by the dialogue metres.¹ It is not difficult to understand the reasons for this literary usage. Whatever may have been its origin, the Roman quantitative system of pronunciation was a fully accepted and established system in the time of Plautus, and the Romans of this period were resolved, on grounds of usage and association, to retain the quantitative pronunciation essentially unchanged. Hence we may fairly say that it was the national choice to hold the accent in check (so far as possible), and to preserve at least the essential parts of the quantitative system. *Senatus populusque Romanus decrevit.* The quantitative pronunciation was already physiologically difficult, but the national character, as it existed in the third century B. C. in unimpaired sturdiness and vigor, was little daunted by these physiological difficulties, probably was little conscious of their existence. The decline in intellectual force and

¹ Although it has not a few points of contact with the speech of the multitude, the language of Plautus is undeniably a literary idiom. Skutsch is quite right in saying (*Forsch.* 47, n. 1) that it does not represent vulgar Latin, but the better conversational tone.

elasticity, which marked the later empire, brought the quantitative system to sudden collapse, since the maintenance of both accent and quantity was a task too great for an outworn and enfeebled epoch, but the Romans of the early Republic were conscious of larger powers, and they deliberately chose, under the influence of psychological causes, the more difficult pronunciations. That the vulgar speech, however, already admitted the easier accentual forms, is clear from the following considerations:

(1) The principles which underlie the verse of Commodian and of the popular inscriptions in the third century A. D. are not, as is often supposed, new or sudden discoveries in Latin versification, but have, at least in large part, characterized the popular forms of the *γένος ἱσθον* from the beginning. Thus it is not improbable that certain resemblances exist between the hexameters of Commodian and the anapaests of Plautus, and at some future time I may attempt to examine more fully into these points of similarity. Since I have no wish, however, in discussing the problem of *ille*, to use more or less doubtful illustrations from the anapaestic cantica, it will be sufficient to point out here that hexameters of the characteristic Commodianic type are found among the well-known Praenestine *Sortes*, which date from the first century B. C. in their present form, but are in reality much older, e. g. CIL. I 1447 *Iúbeo [o]et[í] sei sí[c] fícerit gaudébit sémper* (so Mommsen; Bücheler, 331, 9, reads: *Iúbeo et ís ei sí fícerit*, etc.)¹ Not to mention other characteristics, those who are familiar with the laws which govern the structure of the third and fourth feet in Commodian—laws which are scarcely stated with sufficient clearness either by Hanssen or by W. Meyer²—will

¹ Maurenbrecher, *Hiat.* 102, does not seem to understand the structure of this verse. He scans: *Iúbeo ét ís ef sí fécerit gaúdébit sémper*, but neither the *Sortes* nor Commodian disregard the word-accent in the fifth foot of the hexameter.

² Hanssen (*De arte metr. Comm.*, Dissert. Philol. Argentorat. V, 31 ff.) first stated in part the law, which governs, in the passage from the second to the third foot, the hexameters of Commodian and of the inscriptions. *This law bears a striking resemblance to the dipodic law of Draheim and Meyer, and undoubtedly makes for the essential unity of Latin metric; hence we may say that the one law states the irreducible minimum of Latin quantity for the γένος διπλόδιον, the other for the γένος ἱσθον.* According to Hanssen, the quantity is regularly preserved in the thesis of the second foot, immediately preceding the regular caesura, e. g. C. A. 38 *ídcirco fútūrā*; ib. 75 *clámamus ín vácúūm*. The exceptions which occur to this rule were later correctly explained by W. Meyer (*Ursprung d. rhythm. Dichtung*, München, 1885, p. 28 ff.), who pointed out

recognize in this example the distinctive marks of the Commo-
dianic versification.

that it was strictly necessary to observe the quantity only in the *latter* of two shorts which precede the caesura, e. g. C. A. 224 *ét patitur quômodô*; ib. 94 *qui pater ét filius*. But Hanssen and Meyer have discovered only a part of the law which governs the popular dactylic versification. *There is precisely the same observance of the quantity in the passage from the third to the fourth foot, wherever the semiseptenaria is employed, i. e. in all cases in which the ictus falls upon a word-end*, e. g. C. A. 38 *Idcirco fúturâ dôcûr*; ib. 75 *clamamus in vâctûm sûrdis*; ib. 94 *qui pater ét filius dicitur*. It follows then, if we omit the licenses of the first foot, that the thesis of dissyllabic feet cannot be formed with the first syllable of words like *dôds*, nor the thesis of trisyllabic feet with the first two syllables of words like *prudêntis* and *beâtis*. I may add that Hanssen never really investigated the observance of quantity in the third foot, but he states somewhat vaguely (l. l., § 10) that the word-accent is observed not only in the fifth and sixth feet, but frequently also in the fourth foot. This last observation is perfectly correct; for the law which has just been stated means that word-accent is disregarded in the fourth foot only in the case of the word-forms $\cup \cup \cup$, $\cup \cup \cup$, $\cup \cup \cup$, $\cup \cup \cup$, while the accent of all trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic words that end either in a spondee, a trochee, a dactyl, or a cretic (e. g. *dôctôres*, *kônôres*, *côllecta*, *tempêstiva*, *quod imminet*, *recôlligit*) is invariably respected, e. g. C. A. 16 *mûlti quidém brût et ignôti, côrde sopiti*. On the other hand, in spite of a most elaborate and careful statistic, Meyer (l. l., 34 f.) allows himself to drift into a mere polemic against Hanssen's observations, and, although he sees clearly that 'remarkable laws' ('merkwürdige Gesetze') governs the third and fourth feet, his discussion is singularly confused and wholly barren of results (cf. Hanssen, Philol. Suppl. V (1889) 228). In conclusion, the structure of the interior parts of the vulgar Latin hexameter appears to show that, in those cases where the metrical accent falls upon a word-end, the ear of the average Roman could hear the quantity with full distinctness only in the penultimate syllable, i. e. the syllable upon which the word-accent depends. In view of this fact, it seems probable that C. F. W. Müller (Pl. Pr. 404, 416, 423), Christ (Métr.² 330 f.) and Havet (Métr.⁴ § 185 ff.) are right in scanning *cômmôdûs*, *pêrditissimûs* (we should add also *stiquimûs*!) even in the Graeco-Roman anapaests and iambic verse-beginnings of Pl. An absolutely certain conclusion cannot probably be reached here, but although the accents *cômmôdûs*, *pêctôre* are frequent in the cantica, there is no evidence whatever to show that the pronunciations *cômmôdûs* and *pêctôri* with shortening were ever known to Roman metric (cf. below); the scanty indications which the verse affords agree at least as well with the opposite conclusion. Thus Pl. regularly allows a dactyl in the second place of the anapaestic dipody only in two cases: (1) when, in accordance with Greek usage, it is preceded by a dactyl in the first place; (2) when the dactyl (or proceleusmaticus) in the second place shows agreement of word- and verse-accent, e. g. Ba. 1161 *verum aûdire itam*; cf. Klotz, Grundz. 281 ff.; Seyffert, Bursian's Jahresb. 1894, 275; Audouin, De Pl. Anap. 79; Exon, Hermathena XII 496, n. 1. In the case of the very few apparent

(2) Since Latin final syllables rarely receive the accent, they are usually obscurely uttered (Quint. i, 11, 8;¹ xi, 3, 33²), and, with the exception of syllables ending in a diphthong or in *s* preceded by a long vowel (which are very rarely shortened by the old dramatists), they are scarcely more than half-longs. As is well known, these syllables were often shortened in the second and third centuries A. D. (Hanssen, l. l., 48 ff.; Schlicher, Origin of Latin Rhythmical Verse, 49 ff.). This shortening appears in the popular versification of the inscriptions at least as early as the middle of the second century A. D.; thus we find in hexameters of the year 156 A. D. of otherwise good composition (CLE. 250) the shortened ablatives *melled*, *undā*, *causā*, *med*, *ard*, e. g. v. 5 *labitur undā levi per roscida prata Tirinus*. Similarly *salv* occurs in very fair hendecasyllabics of the second century (CLE. 1504, 38), e. g. *ergo, salvē, Priape, salvē, sancte*. We are naturally led to inquire then whether final syllables were ever fully shortened in the vulgar language of the O. Lat. period. A somewhat similar question is often asked by those critics who reject the early development of the expiratory accent (e. g. Klotz, Grundz. 67; Havet, 'Métr., pp. 142, 143', according to Klotz), viz., why, if such an accent was already in existence in the third century B. C., it did not produce *pulchrē* (*fāctum*) and *belli* (*glōria*) as well as *benē* (*fāctum*) and *domi* (*rēstat*).³ A partial

exceptions which occur in our text, we should therefore probably scan Poe. 1187 *per quē m vivimūs*; Per. 781 *ita mē Tōxilūs*, and this scansion is also a possibility in the very rare examples like Ba. 1198 *censēs sūmerē* (ed. min.: *sūmere censēs*). Leo (Forsch. 291 f.) formerly wished to scan *cōmmodūs* in the case of length by position, but *dīctū* in the case of length by nature. Skutsch (Épœs, 114 ff.) shows at length that this dichotomy is untenable, but scarcely makes good his assumption of *cōmmodūs*. When he asks (l. l., 129) why *cōmmodūs* and *astredūs* do not occur in verse-closes, the obvious answer is that Pl.—no less than Comodian—strove to keep his verse-closes absolutely pure in their quantity. In general, Comodian's usage represents the same kind of perception of quantity that we find in the Latin grammarians; thus the later Romans could very well accept '*imptus fecit*' as an example of an anapaest followed by a trochee (Diomedes, Keil, I, 469, 14), but they could not accept '*minūrem fecit*', in the same value; similarly they could regard '*porrigi legibus*' (ib. 469, 33) as an anapaest and a dactyl, and '*dignitas*' (ib. 470, 9) as an anapaest, but they could not so treat '*porrēctum legibus*' or '*dignūrum*'; for additional examples of this kind, cf. Corssen II² 938.

¹ (Doctor) curabit etiam, ne extremae syllabae intercidant.

² Verba . . . quorum pars devorari, pars destitui solet, plerisque extremas syllabas non perferentibus, dum priorum sono indulgent.

³ Cf. also Ahlberg's reference to this problem, De acc. 23.

answer to this objection has already been given in the discussion of the real character of the 'half-long' syllable (p. 421). After a *long* initial syllable the ear naturally hears the obscure finals of *pulchre* and *belli* as longs. But what shall we say of the possibility that these finals were at times pronounced in the purely vulgar language as full shorts?¹ It does not seem improbable that such a neglect of quantity actually occurred. Not to mention the earlier shortening of final *a* in the Nom. Sing. of the First Decl., a sufficient proof is afforded by the complete shortening of many final syllables which took place during the literary period, especially final syllables in *t*, *r*, *l*, *es* (e. g. *attinēt*, *implet*, *audit*, *narrat*, *narrābat ducat*, *vidit*, *nārror*, *amātor*, *ūxor*, *exemplar*, *animal*, *vectigal*, *miles*, *pulvis*, etc.), and by the still later shortening of final syllables in *o* (e. g. *moneo*, *nārrō*, *virgo*, *vērō*). It is clearly not correct to say that the post-Plautine quantities *implēt*, *narrāt*, *tristior*, *mīlēs*, etc., are due simply to the analogy of *vidēt*, *amat*, *honor*, *eques*, etc. There was a constant tendency in Latin to pronounce all final syllables weakly, and among uncultured and careless speakers the pronunciation *bēllī*, *pūlchrē*, *urbī*, *vidī*, must have been sometimes heard as well as *vidēt*, *implēt*, *nārrāt*, *nārrō*, *ūxor*. All, however, who had the least ambition for correct and dignified speech rejected the first series of pronunciations as wholly destructive of quantity, while they accepted in the end the second series, because they found a plausible justification for their use in the analogy of the generally received *vidēt*, *agat*, *volo*, *homo*, etc. Thus the existence of the analogy is not the real reason for these innovations; it is only the pretext for their acceptance, since it enabled the Romans to legitimize the easier and more natural pronunciations without consciously rejecting the principle of quantity. Cf. Corssen's well-known discussion of the influence of the accent in the shortening of Latin final syllables, II² 482 ff.; 488 ff. Similarly, Lindsay (L. L. 119, 215 f.) points out that the early weakening in Latin prosody of the final syllables of **miless*, **prodess*, etc., is to be explained through the unaccented nature of the finals, and that a long vowel before final *-r* and *-l* is shortened only in unaccented syllables, e. g. in *candōr*, *calcār*, *tribundl*, but not in the accented monosyllables *fūr*, *sōl*, *pār*, etc.

¹ On the observance of quantity by the Roman masses, cf. some just observations by Professor F. F. Abbott in his review of Bücheler's *Carmina Lat. Epigr.*, A. J. P. XIX 89.

(3) At one point, however, the difficulty of the strict quantitative pronunciation was especially acute, and makes itself keenly felt even in O. Lat. Unaccented conjunctions or particles like *enim*, *nempe* or *quando* are usually spoken rapidly, and do not occupy nearly so much time in pronunciation as iambic, trochaic or spondaic substantives such as *domō*, *bella*, *bello*.¹ Under these circumstances the particles cannot retain their full value in popular speech; consequently iambic particles like *quia*, *ita*, *enim*, *apud*, *tamen* were usually measured as pyrrhics in O. Lat., and we have already noted (p. 424) that a limited number of spondaic and trochaic particles also, such as *quansei*, *seine*, **quōque* and *nēsi*, underwent an extended process of development and gave place in the end to absolute pyrrhics.² In the case of spondaic particles, however, the development is not always a complex one, but the ear may recognize the accomplished fact of changed value by simply measuring the final syllable of the particle as short. This weakening of spondaic particles must have been extremely frequent in the purely vulgar speech; we find only half-a-dozen such cases, however, definitely admitted into the O. Lat. literary language, viz. *frustrā* (*conclutus est*), *contrā* (*tuēri*),³ *immō* (*vēro*),

¹ So in the case of many particles which are closely connected with a following word, reduction has taken place by syncope, cf. **apud* and *ab*, **et* and *et*, *ut* and *ut*, *atque* and *ac*; v. also Lindsay, L. L. 203 f. Similarly, in English, Mr. Dooley, writing for our comic papers, regularly suppresses the vowel in *the*, *from*, *for*, etc., e. g. "Whin th' mourners rayturned cheerin' an' gay fr'm th' fun'ral, they found him sittin' on th' durestep waitin' fr' thim with a gun." In the case of well-worn proper names, cf. also Lat. *Cornetis* with Barrie's 'Sam'l' in Auld Licht Idylls, though the former is much more probably an ancient by-form. In Latin pronunciation, however, syncope is only one among many forms of weakened utterance; a good summary of the character of Latin syncope is given by Victor Henry, *Comp. Gramm.*², Engl. transl., § 79, p. 90.

² Add also **id-dem*, which appears to have given *idem* by a similar weakening, cf. Stolz³, 138, n. 3. In *quā(n)si* the nasal appears to have first become silent, just as in *cō(n)trā* (Quint. i, 7, 29); for the permanent shortening which then ensued, compare the remarks above on the development of a hypothetical **nēpe* (p. 425, n.). Lindsay, L. L. 607, contends, however, for the existence of two independent forms, viz. *quam si* and *quā si*.

³ Add also *heīd* (*machaētras*), which seems to have been regularly shortened on this principle (L. Müller³, 419 f.), although the original *heīd* is probably seen in Mer. 998 (so Götz in ed. mai; MSS: *hia* and *huc*). All the passages bearing upon the quantity of *frustra* and *contra* in O. Latin, are collected by Wedding, *De vocalibus productis Lat. voces terminantibus*, Halle, 1901, p. 29 ff. The short quantity of *contra* is not altogether certain, since it is fully attested only for Ps. 156.

endō (*férto*),¹ *sollō* (*dupūndi*, Lucil. lib. inc. 73 M.)², *noenū* (*décet*, Enn. A. 479 M.). In his discussion of the last-named form—the only form of the whole republican poetry that has definitely lost the final *m*³—Maurenbrecher (Hiat. 78) aptly adds: “Diese Form kann Ennius aus der Vulgärsprache entlehnt haben.” The shortening of *quando* itself was not admitted into the literary language until the first century of the empire, but in *quandoquidem*, the compound of *quando* with the ‘enclitic’ *quidem*, the language accepted with avidity this shortening from the first (Scherer, Studem. Stud. II 137 ff.; Baker, Class. Rev. 1903, 313 ff.). The change in *quandoquidem* is not, however, due simply to composition with *quidem*, as Baker (l. l., 316) seems to think; such a view would be a superficial one, since *quidem* does not usually shorten the final syllable of polysyllabic words. It would be nearer the truth to say that *quidem* furnishes only the pretext for accepting the vulgar *quandō*, which is already in use, and which the language is already disposed to accept, if it can find some plausible analogy in justification of its use. Similarly the Romans would doubtless have gladly adopted a somewhat shortened pronunciation of atonic monosyllables like *sī*, *tū*, *mē* (cf. below; also Birt, l. l., 244), if their inherited quantitative sense had allowed the reduction of such words at all. *Quidem* is not then the real cause even of the shortening which is seen in the compounds *siquidem*, *tūquidem*, *mēquidem*, but only the pretext which the language eagerly avails itself of (cf. below, Part II). Nor is there any real ‘accession of tone’ (‘Tonanschluss’) in weakly uttered and weakly accented *siquidem*, *mēquidem*, unless this well-worn and much-abused phrase be

¹ That is, the final *o* of *endō* is treated unlike all other cases of final *o* in Latin, e. g. unlike *prō* (I.-Eur. **prō*), and even if the short quantity be original, we are under the necessity of explaining its retention.

² Cf. L. Müller², 414. For a different, and, as it seems to me, a much less probable explanation, which, in disregard of Festus’s invariable usage in such quotations, makes *sollō* an Oscan N. Pl. (= *sollō*), cf. Lindsay, L. L. 16.

³ *Oppido*, *perendie*, *eccere*, *postmodo*, *propemodo*, which were formerly often regarded as showing the loss of final *m* (Ritschl, Op. II 623; Ribbeck, Lat. Partikeln, 44) are now better explained as adverbial ablatives.

⁴ Somewhat similarly in a later period, when final *m* was often weakened in other words, it seems to have been almost entirely lost in the particles *numqua(m)*, *nusqua(m)*, *pride(m)*, *oli(m)*, etc. (Probi Appendix, Keil, IV, 199, 15); cf. CLE. 856, 4 *umqua* Lyaeus, also Bücheler’s note on *ib.* 215, 3 and Lindsay, L. L. 68.

intended to mean 'Tonanschluss an die Satzumgebung',¹—the meaning which Birt seems to consistently assign to the term (l. l., 271, 244, 249, etc.). Finally, I do not forget that other explanations of shortened *frustrā*,² *contrā*, *immō*, etc., are eagerly sought by many scholars (cf. Skutsch, Forsch. 8; Lindsay, L. L. 557, 393, 211), but they are explanations which have little value or probability, and which do not assist, but rather hinder a correct understanding of the development of Latin word-forms. Similar prejudices, it will be remembered, formerly led to the almost universal rejection of the popular prosody *palūs* in Hor. A. P. 65, *rogās* in Pers. v, 134, Vettō in Cicero's epigram quoted by Quint. viii, 6, 73 (cf. Müller³, 414).³ There is little reason for doubting then that the shortened ablatives *frustrā*, *immō*, cf. *sollō*, were used by Pl. and Lucilius as well as by Ausonius and Paulinus (L. Müller², 421), and that even in the period when the final *d* of these forms was still retained, *exstrād*, *suprād* and similar forms were heard at times in the vulgar speech.⁴ In general, those

¹ Hence we should perhaps emend the trite formula 'Quantitätsentziehung durch Tonanschluss' to read 'durch Tonanschluss an die Satzumgebung.' Through this change the phrase might become less popular and catchy, but it would at least be more significant. I am not sure that I know just what the phrase 'Tonanschluss' means in German; Birt, in the article cited, constantly uses it as synonymous with 'Tonentziehung', and it is clear that this is what it *ought* to mean in the several cases under discussion. The best explanation of shortened *siquidem* is the simplest; cf. Birt, l. l., 244: "Das Motiv aber für die Kürzung war die flüchtige Betonung im Satz." On the other hand, Wackernagel (Beiträge zur Lehre v. griech. Accent, 22 f.) seems to me to compare Greek and Latin changes of accentuation far too closely, although Greek examples like *ἐννυε* and *ἡ τοι* are interesting and, in a measure, suggestive. Usener (Götternamen, 311 f.), though essentially correct, makes the subject needlessly difficult and obscure, so far as Latin is concerned, while Ahlberg's discussion, Procel. I 53 f., yields no trustworthy results. See further below, Part II.

² Since *frustrā* is attested for Pl. only in the phrase *frustrā-sis*, one might possibly think here of such shortening with an 'enclitic' as we find in *nescidquis*, *siquidem*, etc. Such an explanation seems, however, very improbable in the present case. If any analogy has been strongly felt here, it is that of the frequent *istā sit*, *istā sint* (cf. Wölfflin, ALL. II 1). It is noteworthy that Stolz³, 132, expresses himself much more cautiously with reference to the proper explanation of the shortened form than in his former edition.

³ Also *mēquidem* in Per. i, 110.

⁴ Attempts to derive the shortened adverbs *citō*, *modō* and the like from the Instrumentals **cito-ā* or **citō*, **modo-ā* or **modō* (cf. Stolz³, 132) rather than from the Ablatives **citōd*, **modōd* seem also unnecessary. If the expiratory accent

scholars who accept the expiratory character of the O. Lat. accent and yet confidently reject the shortening of weakly accented particles, occupy on anomalous position; strict consistency requires a modification of the one or the other of these views.¹ Finally, it is quite possible that the discussion which I have attempted in the present section of the existence of pronunciations like *pulchrē* or *belli* in the third century B. C. will seem to some rash and ill-considered. It should be remembered, however, that in every age a certain number of pronunciations which originate among the lowest social classes gradually emerge from obscurity and come into general acceptance even among the educated, and it therefore seems proper, in a study like the present, not to leave entirely out of account even the speech of the *infima plebecula*.

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is able to shorten *id(d)quidem, bonū, quippe, verēdatur, dabo insīdias*, it would seem fully capable of shortening *citū(d)* and *modū(d)*; cf. also Lindsay, L. L. 393 f.

¹On the other hand, the classical adverbs *superne*, *inferne* are usually explained as showing the suffix *-ne*, which is seen in Lat. *pōne* (**pos-ne*), Umbr. *post-ne, per-ne*. It can scarcely be doubted that a part of this explanation is correct, but it seems easier to account for *superne* in this way than *inferne*, since an adverb *infer* does not appear to be attested. One is almost tempted to think of **inferne* as shortened through the analogy of *superne* (adv. and prep.), and to compare the *internē, valdē, maturē* of later centuries (L. Müller², 419).

IV.—NOTES ON THE PSEUDO-VERGILIAN CIRIS.

V. 5.

Etsi me vario iactatum laudis amore
 irritaque expertum fallacis praemia volgi
 Cecropius suavis expirans hortulus auras
 florentis viridi sophiae complectitur umbra,
 iamque mea ratione indignumst quaerere carmen, 5
 longe aliud studium atque alios quae accincta labores
 altius ad magni subtendit sidera mundi
 et placitum paucis ausa est ascendere collem :
 non tamen abistam coeptum detexere munus,
 in quo iure meas utinam requiescere musas 10
 et leviter blandum liceat deponere morem.¹

5 *Tum mea queret eo dignum sibi* Ha *Tum ea queret eo dignum sibi* R
Tu mea queret eo dignum sibi Le 6 *alque om. Le quae om. HRa q: L que e*
 7 *subtendit* Scaliger *suspendit* HRa *suspensi* Le *suspexit* Schrader.

Vv. 5f. seem hopelessly corrupt, and no conjecture, however heroic, has yet remedied the evil. Many attempts have been made to improve the lines, but they are all open to more or less serious objection. Ribbeck's reading is, on the whole, the most satisfactory, as far as the meaning of the passage is concerned; but it is not very close to the manuscripts, and necessitates the insertion of *quae* in v. 6 with the unpleasant elision.

Now if we read vv. 1-11, omitting v. 5 for the moment, we see that vv. 1-8 are devoted to a description of the author's present pursuits: v. 5, therefore, should not disturb, but rather assist, this description. *Aliud* in v. 6 suggests that something has just been mentioned with which the present plan of life is contrasted. *Accincta* and *suspexit* show that a subject is wanting in the nominative feminine singular. With these thoughts in mind, I propose the following reading:

et mea quae ratio dignata est quaerere carmen,
 longe aliud studium atque alios accincta labores,
 altius ad magni suspexit sidera mundi.

If this is assumed as the true reading, the corruption is explained as follows. Some reader in ancient times, feeling that the contrast between the author's old habits and the new was not evident, wrote *tum* in the margin as being understood in v. 5.

¹Quotations are made from Ribbeck's text and apparatus unless otherwise specified.

Later this *tum* easily usurped the first place in the line. Then the *quaerat* which lay concealed in *quae ratio* was brought forward as the principal verb of the line, and was changed to the future because the subjunctive had no meaning. With one verb in the line already there was no further need of *dignata est*, indeed it was incomprehensible with *ratio* lost, and soon became *dignum sibi*. Thus the present manuscript reading was reached. The first impulse to this course of corruption is to be found in the gloss *tum*, and in the unusual arrangement of the words *mea quae ratio* (for *mea ratio quae*). That this arrangement is awkward is readily confessed, but it is not surprising in the work of so slender a genius as the poet of the Ciris. The reading suggested has this further advantage: the words *dignata est quaerere carmen* refer to the beginning of the composition of this very poem, the Ciris, and thus prepare the way for the otherwise unexpected *coeptum munus* in v. 9.

For *dignari* in this sense, compare Catullus 64, 407 *quare nec talis dignantur visere coetus | nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro*; Lucr. V 51 *nonne decebit | hunc hominem numero divum dignarier esse*; better still Hor. Epist. II 2, 86 *hic ego rerum | fluctibus in mediis et tempestatibus urbis | verba lyrae motura sonum conectere digner*; and Virg. Ecl. VI 1 *Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu | nostra neque erubuit silvas habitare Thalia*. For *quaerere* thus used with *carmen*, no parallel is found; but the word is not out of place here, if we consider the nature of the mythological investigations which were involved in the composition of a poem like the Ciris. And, furthermore, it may be said that the author is rather given to the arbitrary use of words in unusual meanings. *Ratio* in this passage means 'intellectual power,'—a substitute for genius either in the Alexandrian mythological poet or in the philosopher who sets forth his system in verse. *Carmen* must be understood to refer, not to 'poetry' in general (which would require *carmina*), but to this particular poem, the Ciris.

V. 58.

complures illam et magni, Messalla, poetae (nam verum fateamur: amat Polyhymnia verum)	55
longe alia perhibent mutatam membra figura Scyllaeum monstro saxum infestare voraci; illam esse aerumnis quam saepe legamus Ulixi candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstri Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto	60
depressos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis.	

Mr. Robinson Ellis (A. J. P. VIII, p. 401) says that "no explanation which can be thought adequate has yet been given of the construction of *aerumnis*." Forbiger takes *aerumnis* in the sense of *narrationes de aerumnis Ulyssis*, on the analogy of the Greek use of *νόστοι*, and makes *Ulixi* a genitive. This explanation, it must be admitted, is inadequate, and too fanciful for acceptance without further support. But, as one reads through these lines for the first time, *aerumnis* can hardly fail to range itself as an ablative with *vexasse* in v. 60, and on second thought there appears to be no reason for rejecting this natural arrangement. The distance between the two words will be urged as an argument against this construction. But it must be remembered that vv. 59 and 60 are taken bodily from Virgil (Ecl. VI 75f.), and therefore if the poet was to use *aerumnis* at all, it must be introduced at some distance from its verb. Many instances of worse patching than this might be quoted from the *Ciris*.

vv. 62 ff.

After this passage come the following puzzling lines :

sed neque Maeoniae patiuntur credere chartae
nec malus istorum dubiis erroribus auctor.
namque alias alii volgo finxere puellas,
quae Colophoniaci Scyllae dicantur Homero.

65

Sillig paraphrased v. 63 thus: "nec hoc credere patitur, qui *dubiis erroribus* (per mare) *istorum* (Ulixis eiusque sociorum) *malus* (i. e. perniciosus, noxius) *auctor* fuit, i. e. Neptunus, qui ipse huius Scyllae pater fuit, quam propterea pro illa Nisi filia habere non possumus." Forbiger follows Pütz,¹ paraphrasing thus: "nec tamen Homerus malus auctor est illarum narrationum de erroribus Ulyssis eiusque sociorum."

Sillig's theory will certainly not hold, and Pütz's interpretation is far from clear. Does he mean that Homer is not the author of the wanderings of Ulysses, or that he is a *good* author, not a *bad* one? Neither supposition seems reasonable.

The lines are best taken as a direct attack on the authority of Homer; and by Homer the author means not only the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but also the writer of all the epic poetry which went under his name in antiquity. The passage

¹ Pütz, Wilh., *Adnotationes ad Virgili Cirim*, Coloniae 1846. Unfortunately this paper was not accessible to the writer of the present article.

should be construed as follows. The phrase *Maeoniae chartae* refers to Homeric poetry, as usual. *Credere* is used practically as a noun in the accusative case, the object of *patiuntur*. *Malus auctor* is Homer. *Istorum*, modifying *auctor*, refers to *complures poetae* of v. 54. *Dubiis erroribus*, ablative of specification with *malus*, refers to the mythological mistakes and contradictions in Homeric poetry. As predicate of *auctor*, *patitur credere* is to be supplied. 'As for these tales, however, we cannot put any confidence in Homeric poetry in general, nor in Homer himself, the unreliable authority for the poets mentioned above, with all his error and uncertainty. For there are many mythological characters, drawn from one source or another, which have been put forth by Homer under the name of Scylla.'

The vulnerable point in this interpretation is in the words *istorum dubiis erroribus*. But two circumstances may be mentioned which will lend some weight to the theory, and possibly anticipate some objection. First, *istorum* is to be referred to *poetae* (v. 54) rather than to Ulysses and his comrades, because of the argumentative use of this pronoun; *illorum* would be the word naturally used to refer to Ulysses and his comrades. Second, *erroribus* is better taken in the figurative sense of 'mistakes,' rather than in the literal sense of 'wanderings,' because the whole passage is devoted to the refutation of mistaken myths, and because the interest is not in the wanderings of Ulysses, but in his one adventure with Scylla.

v. 279.

nam nisi te nobis malus, o malus, optima Carme,
ante hunc conspectum casusve deusve tulisset,
aut ferro hoc' (aperit ferrum quod veste latebat)
'purpureum patris dempissesem vertice crinem
aut mihi praesenti peperissem vulnere letum.'

280

279 *hunc* | *hunc* H.

The phrase *ante hunc conspectum* has been variously explained. Heyne thought it might mean 'before my eyes' (*hunc* = *meum*); Sillig took *conspectum* as a participle and *hunc* as referring to Nisus, 'before he [with a gesture] was seen.' Scaliger suggested a change to *ante expectatum*; Drakenborch (on Silius Italicus II 31), *ante in conspectum*; Baehrens (Jahrb. 105, p. 845), *hunc in conspectum* (but in his text he prints *ante in*). None of these interpretations or emendations are satisfactory: Heyne's is bad, because, even if we admit that the Latin may bear the meaning which he finds in it, still it was not the *sight* of Carme that

stopped Scylla,—recall v. 223 *corripit extemplo fessam languore puellam*; Sillig's is bad, because, again, it was not the *sight* of her *father* which was the decisive point of the affair in hand; Scaliger's is bad, because it presupposes that Carme was expected to appear at *some* time, but not till later; Drakenborch's is open to the same objection as Heyne's, though the Latinity is better. The trouble seems to lie in *conspectum*: the idea that Scylla sees Carme, or that Scylla sees her father, or that Carme sees Scylla, has nothing to do with the story. Arguing, then, that the word *conspectum* introduces an idea foreign to the passage, and with the hope of procuring an addition to the thought which is far more appropriate to the passage, I should suggest that *ante hoc confectum* be read in place of *ante hunc conspectum*, 'before the completion of the matter in hand.' The corruption of this phrase would not have been impossible: if *confectum* were once mistaken for *conspectum*, the scribe would naturally change *hoc* to *hunc* in order to make it agree with the noun *conspectum*.

V. 344-

paulatim tremebunda genis obducere vestem
 virginis et placidam tenebris captare quietem
 inverso bibulum restinguens lumen olivo
 incipit ad crebrosque insani pectoris ictus
 ferre manum, assiduis mulcens praecordia palmis.

345

345 que Bothius, om. HLRea.

The whole of v. 344 is almost certainly to be regarded as an interpolation, which was originally written as a gloss on *tenebris*, and which later crept into the text. Some reader may have failed to understand that Carme shaded Scylla's eyes by drawing the fold of her garment over them, and therefore have felt the need of something to explain *tenebris*. The objections to the line are: (1) that no mention has been made of any lamp, and it is unreasonable to suppose that either of the women should have a lamp, for Scylla would certainly trust to her familiarity with the rooms and passages when she was engaged in so secret an enterprise, and Carme had sprung from her bed in too much excitement to stop for a light; (2) that the line is an awkward obstacle between the infinitives *obducere*, *captare* and the verb on which they depend, *incipit* in v. 345; (3) that the participle *inverso*, which, as Heyne remarked, must be from *invergere* and not from *invertere*, is not found elsewhere, and is therefore more likely to have been written by a scribe of the Middle Ages than by the author of the poem.

VV. 359 ff.

Lines 358 ff. read as follows (the exact reading of H is given for 360, 361):

nunc tremere instantis belli certamina dicit
communemque timere deum, nunc regis amicis,
namq. ipsi veritas est orbum fit maesta parente; 360
cum Iove communes qui habuere nepotes

The other MSS show the following variations: *i*po L_a verita est L_{ea} orbari L_a flet R_{ea} paretē R parentem a parente L_a quin R q quōdā L qui quondam *ea*.

This manuscript tangle has never been satisfactorily straightened out. The old vulgate before Heyne ran thus:

namque ipso verita est orbari maesta parente
cum Iove communes qui quondam habuere nepotes.

Heyne considered the two lines an interpolation.

Sillig wrote:

nunc ipsi verita est, orbum flet maesta parentem

and bracketed the next line. "Primum enim de patris amicis," he says, "tum de ipso, deinde de se adeo est sollicita," sc. Scylla. This dodges the difficulty by bracketing 361; and the latter part of 360 is only with difficulty made to mean, "she mourns for her father's possible bereavement in case she herself should be killed."

Haupt (Opusc. III, p. 86 f.) brands Heyne's decision as "nicht Kritik, sondern Rathlosigkeit," and suggests the following reading:

iamque ipsi verita est, orbum flet maesta parentem
cum Iove communes quem par sit habere nepotes.

He believes that the words have a touch of tragic irony in them: to her listeners her words would mean only that her father deserved to be placed on an equality with Jupiter; in her own mind she was thinking of Minos, who, it will be remembered, was the son of Jupiter. In objection to this reading should be noted the asyndeton in 360, and the violence of the change in *quem par sit* from anything offered by the manuscripts.

Ribbeck (Rh. M. 118, p. 120) has:

iamque ipsi verita a! se orbam flet maesta parente
cum Iove communes qui nolit habere nepotes.

In this reading *verita a!* is very feeble, and *no*lit implies that

Scylla had told her father of her wish to marry Minos. There seems to be no justification for this presumption, and it is most unlikely that Scylla should broach the subject before the restoration of peace between the two armies.

Baehrens (Jahrb. 105, pp. 847 ff.) follows Ribbeck closely, but he makes some changes:

iamque ipsi verita a ! torvom flet maesta parentem
cum Iove communes qui mittat habere nepotes.

He compares Catullus 64, 379 f. *anxia nec mater discordis maesta puellae | secubitu caros mittet sperare nepotes*. This reading he changes in his edition (PLM. II) to:

iamque ipsi verita heu ! torvum flet maesta parentem,
cum Iove communes qui mittat avere nepotes.

Both of these readings are open to the same objections as Ribbeck's conjecture; and *torvum*, besides, is rather arbitrary.

R. Ellis (AJP VIII, p. 10 f.) conjectures:

iamque ipsi veritast orbum flet maesta parentem
cum Iove communes qui non dat habere nepotes.

This he translates: "She laments the childless estate of her father, Nisus, forbidding the possession of grandchildren common to himself and Jupiter." Both reading and rendering are unsatisfactory.

For 361 Unger (J. of P. 16, p. 317) suggests:

cum Iove communes cui non datum habere nepotes.

This statement, however, is not true: if Scylla mentioned the matter to her father at all, he had the chance of an alliance with Jupiter, at any rate, but refused it.

For these two lines I propose a reading which follows the manuscript tradition throughout, except in the meaningless part of 361:

nunc regis amicis
(namque ipsi veritast) orbum flet maesta parentem,
cum Iove communes qui debet habere nepotes.

"Now before the king's friends (for she feared to do it before the king himself) she sorrowfully bewails the fact that her father is without an heir, whereas he ought to have grandchildren in common with Jupiter himself." It should be remembered that Nisus had no children but Scylla, and therefore no male heir; this fact Scylla would naturally wish to call to his mind in order to prepare him for the union with Minos which she intended to

propose later. Such a subject as this she would not care to open in direct conversation with her father, nor would she be likely to indulge in such fulsome flattery as that contained in 361 before his very face. It is most natural, however, that she should plan to reach the king's ear through his intimate associates.

For the dative *amicis* with *flet* compare Prop. I 12, 15 *felix qui potuit praesenti flere puellae*: in the present passage, however, *flet* is used rather in the sense of 'complain,' and the dative is used as with *dicere*.

V. 427.

When Scylla has been bound to the prow of Minos' ship, she breaks forth into piteous lamentations and cries out loudly upon the hard-hearted king. "This treatment would have been just," she wails (vv. 425 ff.), "at the hands of my own countrymen whose city I betrayed; but I would sooner believe that the stars of heaven could forsake their courses than that you could use me so. *Iam iam scelus omnia vincit*" (v. 427).

It is strange that these last words, *iam iam scelus omnia vincit*, should have raised any doubts as to their genuineness or their proper interpretation. Yet the early editors tried to emend them; and Sillig gives this strange paraphrase, "*iamiam scelus a te commissum omnia licet scelestissima egreditur*." This interpretation is also accepted by Forbiger, the latest commentator on the poem. To me it seems very certain that the poet puts into Scylla's mouth a bitter restatement of the well-known line (Virg. Ecl. X 69), *omnia vincit amor: et nos cedamus amori*. Scylla no longer believes in the unchanging laws of nature, because her confidence has been shattered by Minos' monstrous conduct; and among the laws in which Scylla has lost her faith is the hitherto undoubted *omnia vincit amor*: this must be rewritten to read *scelus omnia vincit*, 'tis the powers of evil that rule the world.' We know that the poet had Vergil's line running in his head at the time he wrote this part of the poem, because he himself imitates it very closely just below, v. 437, *omnia vicit amor: quid enim non vinceret ille?*

V. 490.

hic velut in niveo, tenera est cum primitus, ovo	490
effigies animantis et internodia membris	
imperfecta novo fluitant concreta calore.	
sic liquido Scyllae circumfusus aequore corpus	
semiferi incertis etiam nunc partibus artus	
undique mutabant atque undique mutabantur.	495

490 *tenera est* Hauptius *tener est* R *teneres* H *tenerae* Ba *tenere* Le.

In the reading of H the final *s* is erased by a later hand, according to Haupt (Opusc. III. p. 88) and Baehrens' apparatus.

The early vulgate read *tenerae*; Sillig restored *tener est* from R; Haupt (l. c.) changed the latter to *tenera est* (*animans*, referring to an animal as opposed to a human being, is ordinarily feminine).

These changes from the almost universal testimony of the MSS. (*tenerae* is really the reading of BHL^{ea}) is based, apparently, only on the theory that *velut cum* cannot be used in the sense of *velut* alone. The emenders have sought to find some principal verb on which the *cum* clause might depend. But there is nothing inherently impossible in *velut cum* in the sense of *velut* alone, and the following passage, Ov. Met. X 230 ff., seems to make it certain:

proximus, audito sonitu per inane pharetrae,
frena dabat Sipylus, veluti cum praescius imbris
nube fugit visa, pendentiaque undique rector
carbasa deducit, ne qua levis effluat aura.

So I should prefer to read,

hic velut in niveo tenerae cum primitus ovo . . .

The same principle is involved in v. 479:

fertur et incertis iactatur ad aëra ventis,
cumba velut, magnas sequitur cum parvola classes,
Afer et hiberno bacchatur in aequore turbo,
donec etc . . .

The commas after *velut* and *classes* should be omitted, and *velut* should be joined closely with *cum*. With the customary punctuation *cumba* and *parvola* are separated in the most awkward manner.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA.

IVAN MORTIMER LINFORTH.

V.—NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM SINOPE.

In the *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 294–333, were published several new inscriptions which I found at or near Sinope, and the inscriptions from Sinope already known were reedited with corrections. To this small *Corpus* of Inscriptions from Sinope I added two more in the last number of the *A. J. P.* (p. 273, note 1; p. 277, note 1), and I am now able to edit three more. Nos. 1 and 2 are published from copies sent me by my friend, Mr. Myrodes; No. 3 from a squeeze. Nos. 1 and 2 came to light last August on the narrow isthmus which connects the promontory Boz-tepé with the mainland (cf. Polybius IV 56; Strabo XII 545; *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 126 f.). The exact spot of their excavation (Κούμ Κασι) was just to the south-west of the walls of the modern town, Sinob, where *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 319, no. 55 was dug up. Though a Byzantine church was excavated there, the site is not that of the temple of Serapis, as is stated in Parnassos VI 869 (cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 266, note 3). These inscriptions come rather from an ancient cemetery which was probably situated just outside the walls.

1. A broken slab 0.39 m. by 0.39 m. Letters irregular, varying in height from 0.02 m. to 0.03 m.

MANHΞ	Μάνης
MI TP Ξ I T'	M[?]τρ[?]ο[?]

Manes was a Phrygian and Paphlagonian name as Strabo (VII 304; XII 553) tells us. Manes was the name of the slave of the famous Cynic from Sinope, Diogenes, of whom the story is told that he accompanied Diogenes, when he left his fatherland, but that he could not endure his company and so ran away. When Diogenes was advised to look for him, he replied: "Is it not shameful that Manes can live without Diogenes but Diogenes cannot live without Manes" (cf. Aelian, V. H. XIII 28; Diog. Laert. VI 55; Teles in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* XCVII 31; Seneca, *De Tranq. Animi* VIII 5). Μάνης is familiar to every student of Aristophanes as a slave's name. The name in l. 2 was possibly Μήτρης, a name already known at Sinope (cf. the *Prosopographia Sinopensis*, published in *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 276 and *Am. J. Arch.*

l. c. p. 330). But having seen neither the stone itself nor a squeeze I am unable to say definitely what the reading of l. 2 should be.

2. Slab of marble, well preserved, length 1.27 m., width 0.60 m., thickness 0.16 m. Letters from 0.015 m. to 0.02 m. high. Above the inscription a sculptured bust, 0.49 m. in height, 0.45 m. wide across the breast. Of the Imperial Age.

ΟΥΤΑΦΟΕΑΛΛΑΛΙΘΟΣΕΤΗΛΗΜΟ
 ΝΟΝΕΤΙΔΕΧΗΜΑ
 ΝΑΡΚΙΣΣΟΥΠΟΛΛΑΟΣΠΟΤΕ
 ΧΕΝΧΑΡΙΤΑΣ
 ΗΝΑΓΑΘΟΣΚΑΙΤΑΝΤΑΚΑΛΟΣ
 ΦΡΕΣΙΔΕΙΧΕΝΑΛΗΘΩΣ
 ΑΥΤΗΝΤΗΝΤΥΛΙΟΥΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ
 ΕΥΕΠΙΗΝ
 ΩΦΘΟΝΕΤΑΝΔΑΜΑΤΩΡΚΑΙΓΑΡΕ
 ΚΑΚΩΣΚΑΤΑΛΕΞΩ
 ΟΥΚΑΙΔΗΤΟΙΩΝΟΛΛΥΜΕΝΩΝ
 ΜΕΡΟΠΩΝ

οὐ τάφος ἀλλὰ λίθος στήλη μόνον· ἔστι δὲ σῆμα
 Ναρκίσσου πολλὰς δὲ ποτ' εἴ[τ]χεν χάριτας·
 ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ πάντα καλὸς, φρεσὶ δ' εἶχεν ἀληθῶς
 αὐτὴν τὴν Πυλίου Νέστορος εὐεπίην·
 ὃ φθόνη πανδαμάτωρ (καὶ γάρ σε κακῶς καταλέξω)
 οὐ καὶ δὴ τοίων ὀλλυμένων μερόπων.

The reference in l. 4 to Nestor of Pylos would be appreciated by a city which had its own edition of Homer (cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133, n. 7).

I have given the copy above just as it was sent me and presume that it is fairly accurate. A copy of another inscription on a gravestone was received but it is not exact enough for publication. The stone, found at the same time and in the same place as No 2, is 1.34 m. high, 0.70 m. wide, 0.16 m. thick. The letters are 0.015 m. to 0.02 m. high. Two busts are sculptured above and a ship below. Above is the inscription *χάροις, παροδείτα* (cf. J. H. S. XVII (1897), p. 274). The gravestone is that of a man who has sailed many seas (*ὁ πολλὰ πλεύσας Καλπεικὸς κύματα*). The ending is *Ἰούλιος Καλπεικὸς ναύκληρος ἐνθάδε κείται*. For another *ναύκληρος* from Sinope, cf. Latyshev, *Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* IV, no. 72. I hope some day to get an exact copy or squeeze of this grave-stele from Sinope.

3. Roman mile-stone of Emperor Probus found in a field near Chalabdé (about fourteen hours west of Sinope), 1.49 m. in height. Circumference at bottom 0.96 m.; at top, 0.82 m. Two Christian crosses below the inscription. Date 279 A. D.

INVICTO. AVG. PONT.
POT. IIII. P. P.
C·A·SINOPE. M. P.
CVRANTEAEL·CASINO·A
TIANO·V·P. P. R. P. P

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio)

Probo

p(io) f(elici)] invicto Aug(usto) pont(ifici)
max(imo) trib(unicia)] pot(estate) IIII p(atri) p(atriae)
pro]c(onsuli) a Sinope m(ilia) p(assuum)
curante Ael(io) Casino A-
tiano v(iro) p(erfectissimo) pr(aesidi) p(rovinciae) P(onti).

This inscription is almost identical with Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 329, No. 78 and was found in the same place. I saw the inscription in the year 1903 but was prevented then from making a copy of it (cf. op. cit. p. 329, No. 79). However I am now able to publish the mile-stone from a squeeze. By means of C. I. L. III, 6433, 8707, 14184,³⁵ and J. H. S. XX, p. 166 the inscription can be easily restored. Below Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 329, No. 78 stood the letters AB (not given l. c.). That was the thirty-second mile-stone from Sinope. The lower part of No. 3 is gone and so no numeral remains. But perhaps it was the thirty-first or thirty-third mile-stone. The transcription of l. 4 of the thirty-second mile-stone given in Am. J. Arch. l. c. should be corrected to that given above in l. 5; and for the last two lines I am now able to read from the squeeze the same as in No. 3. After POT. IIII (l. 3) should not be read with Van Buren (Am. J. Arch. X, 1906, p. 298) COS. III. In Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 328, No. 75 Aur(elius) Priscianus is *praeses Pr(ovinciae) P(onti)*, a name already known from C. I. L. III, 307, 13643, 14184³⁰, 14184³¹, 14184³². In No. 3 we have the name of a hitherto unknown *praeses, Aelius Cas(s)i-(a)nus Atianus*, who should be added to the list in C. I. L. III, p. 2650. Casinus is undoubtedly another form of Cassianus, cf. Casianus in C. I. L. III, 14147⁴ and Cassinus in C. I. L. III, 8971. In Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 317 occurs Πατριπεῖρος and in C. I. L. III,

11222 Praetorinus for Praetorianus. For the name Aelius Cassianus cf. C. I. L. III, 8409, 12567, 13236. For Atianus instead of Attianus cf. C. I. L. III, 786; IX, 5061. Cf. also De Vit, Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon, s. v. Atianus, Casianus, etc. In Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 328, No. 76, l. 6. Arillus should be read as the name of the *praeses* (cf. Am. J. Arch. X, 1906, No. 4).

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A General View of the History of the English Bible. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D. Third Edition revised by William Aldis Wright, Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge : London : Macmillan and Company, Limited ; New York : The Macmillan Company, 1905, pp. xx, 356.

The late Bishop Westcott's History of the English Bible has been long out of print, and it is therefore with gratitude that we welcome this new edition, revised by the well-known scholar, Professor W. Aldis Wright. The first edition of this work was published in 1868, and the second in 1872, and when Professor Wright asked Bishop Westcott six years ago why he did not bring out a new edition he replied : "If you will do it, I will give you my materials." This resulted in Bishop Westcott's writing to Professor Wright January 24, 1901 : "It will be a very great pleasure to me if you undertake a new edition of the History of the English Bible. A conversation with you after a lecture which I gave at Cambridge on the question led me to write it. What, then, can be more appropriate than that you should complete it?"

The prefaces to the first and the second editions are reprinted and Professor Wright adds a preface to this edition stating what he has done. He says : "The plan of the work is unchanged. Every statement and every quotation has been verified. Such corrections as were necessary have been silently made, and all additions are placed in the notes in square brackets, sometimes for the sake of clearness with my own initials attached. The corrections, however, have been not merely of errors of the press or slips of the pen, but involve a rectification of the manner of reference to authorities"—of which examples are given. Also, while the spelling of the English quotations had been modernized in the first and the second editions, Professor Wright has "in most instances restored the ancient forms, only regretting that I have not done so more completely." Every scholar will approve this change, for, as Professor Wright says, though modernizing the old spelling might be tolerable in a merely popular book, he "could not regard it as appropriate to the work of a scholar of Bishop Westcott's reputation." The various additions in the notes, which are recognized by the brackets, sometimes with the initials "W. A. W." appended, readily explain themselves; and three appendices, XI, XII and XIII, have been added, while ap-

pendix IX, on the Revision of the Authorized Version, has been expanded.

Several works on the history of the English Bible have appeared since the publication of Bishop Westcott's second edition, such as those of Dr. Eadie (1876), Dr. Moulton (1878), Dr. Stoughton, Dr. Edgar (1889), Dr. Mombert [first edition 1883, second edition 1890], and Mr. Hoare (1901), (to omit some less extensive works), but they have not rendered unnecessary the republication of this valuable work, and Professor Wright's additions have increased its value. These can be best appreciated by one who has carefully compared the second and the third editions, as the present writer has done, and has accumulated some fourteen MS pages of notes, but he must forbear incorporating all this material in a brief descriptive notice of this sort.

A few illustrations may, however, be given of the changes made by Professor Wright. He has adopted throughout the spelling *Tindale* as preferable to the former Tyndale; on 1484, the usual date given for Tindale's birth, he has given a note "probably later;" to *Demaus*, author of a Life of Tyndale, he has added "published in 1871;" he has appended to note², p. 26, a few lines as to the home of Tindale's family, and in note¹, p. 26, has inserted, "He probably took the degree of M. A. in 1575." So in note¹, p. 27. on Bilney's Latin Bible, he has inserted "in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge," and has added certain information imparted to him by the Librarian of the College, with the initials "W. A. W." after this note. To note⁴, p. 30, he has appended the reference, "Foxe, v. 120," and in numerous instances has made such slight additions for the sake of accuracy; on p. 33, in note³, line 3, the date 1527 has been silently changed to 1528; these silent changes are difficult to identify, and in some cases the parenthetical additions in brackets to the notes of the second edition have been left in brackets, so that they can only be distinguished from the bracketed additions in this third edition by actual comparison of the two editions.

On the errors professed to have been found by Tunstall and Warham in Tindale's translation Professor Wright has added to note⁴, p. 35: "Roye in his Rede me and be nott wrothe mentions the three thousand errors which Tunstall professed to have found. Cochlaeus (Acta et Scripta Martini Lutheri', Moguntiae, 1549, p. 135) says: 'supra duo millia depravationum'".

On p. 45 note¹ entire is an addition by Professor Wright on the number of printed editions [four] of Tindale's New Testament stated by Joye to have been sold off, two earlier and two in 1534, the year in which Joye wrote.

On pp. 47, 48 note³, we find a note appended, signed "W. A. W.", on the translation of the Apocrypha, taking exception to Dr. Westcott's criticism of Anderson, who, says Professor Wright, "omitted the references to the Apocrypha, not because he laboured

to shew that Tindale would not have translated it, but because, regarding it as it is still regarded in Scotland, he did not concern himself with the history of its translation." These references to Tindale's translation show that Professor Wright has added references and made additions wherever he conceived them to be needed, and has thus improved Bishop Westcott's original work.

There is an addition at the end of note¹, pp. 48, 49, that will bear quotation. Bishop Westcott says of Tindale's "revised New Testament, the first volume of Holy Scripture printed in England", in 1536, that the printer of it "was not T. Berthelet, as is commonly supposed, but T. Godfrey. This fact has been ascertained beyond all doubt by Mr. Bradshaw". Professor Wright adds an important note in brackets, showing that the evidence relied on by Mr. Bradshaw was not conclusive, and says, (p. 49): "It is not improbable that Tindale's New Testament of 1536 . . . was printed by Berthelet, and it is certain, from the evidence given above, that Mr. Bradshaw was mistaken in supposing that Berthelet did not use the border" [in question] "so early as 1536." So also of the final revision by Tindale Bp. Westcott says (note¹, p. 50): "Two copies of this edition are known, that which I have used is in the University Library at Cambridge," and Professor Wright adds in brackets: "The other is in the Library of Exeter College, Oxford, and there is a fragment in the British Museum." So thoroughly had all copies of Tindale's translation of the New Testament been destroyed by the authorities. At the close of this section on Tindale, Professor Wright appends in brackets to note¹, p. 54: "The edition of 1535 is probably an unauthorised reprint."

We thus see the carefulness with which Professor Wright has edited Bishop Westcott's work, and it is useless to multiply evidence, but a few additions to the notes,—of more or less importance,—may be pointed out. In the section on Coverdale Professor Wright has a note (p. 57), giving a theory of the late Henry Stevens, "in the Catalogue of the Caxton Exhibition in 1877", that Coverdale's "Bible of 1535 was printed at Antwerp by Jacob van [misprinted von] Meteren at his own cost, and that the translation was his work, Coverdale occupying the humbler position of corrector of the press." He thinks the theory "grotesque", but for the fact that it misled the authorities of the British Museum in their Catalogue, who adopted it without a hint that it was in any way doubtful. He goes on to give the slight basis of it, but adds, "there is nothing in either of these statements to imply any thing so absurd as that the first English Bible was translated by a Dutchman, and the only safe inference that can be drawn from them is that Jacob van Meteren found means which enabled Coverdale to carry out his work of translation at Antwerp." Emanuel van Meteren, son of Jacob, in a deposition puts the place of printing at Paris and London, and states in so many words that his father "caused the first Bible at his costes to be Englished by Mr. Myles

Coverdale in Andwerp;" finally, "no trace of Jacob van Meteren has been found among the Autwerp printers." Bishop Westcott well says (p. 63) that "It is very difficult to ascertain the exact relation in which the first edition of Coverdale's Bible" [that of 1535] "stood to the civil authority." . . . "So much is certain that the first edition went forth without any distinct royal sanction. The book was not suppressed, and this was all." On this, Professor Wright has a note (note¹, p. 63) that the "two revisions" referred to by Coverdale in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross "would be apparently the Great Bible of 1539 and the edition of April, 1540. In this case the Bible presented to the King must have been that of 1535." However, the quarto edition of 1537 was "set forth with the Kinges moost gracious licence."

To pass over the Bible of Thomas Matthew (1537), usually considered a pseudonym for John Rogers, "the Great Bible" must be briefly noticed. There is often confusion about the use of this term, and in all cases the particular edition meant should be specified. Bishop Westcott has retained the name "as a general title for the group of Bibles, including Crumwell's Bible (1539) and the six later issues with Cranmer's Preface (1540-1), though it must be carefully borne in mind that these seven issues do not give the same text, however like they may be externally. The text of 1539 is quite distinct from that of April, 1540; and this again from that of November, 1540, 1541, which is in the main the text of the later reprints" (note¹, to pages 74, 75).

A slight, but important, correction, is made by Professor Wright in this section. In note 1, p. 75, "Fryth" of the second edition is corrected to "Fulke," and a reference added in brackets, "But see p. 63, note 2," which is quoted above, as the information there given is taken from Fulke's *Defense of the English Translations of the Bible*, p. 98, Parker Society edition.

Passing over the sections on Taverner's Bible and "A Time of Suspense," we reach the Genevan Bible, which was so long the Bible of the English people until it was finally superseded by the Authorised Version, the Bishops' Bible having always remained the Bible of the Church and not of the people. In note 1, p. 90, Professor Wright shows that Whittingham married, *not* "Calvin's sister," but, "in all probability," Calvin's wife's sister. He adds a note that Whittingham's Genevan Testament of 1557 is printed in Bagster's Hexapla, 1841, and again separately in 1842; also, that a copy of the New Testament of 1560, which differs from that of 1557, is in the Library of Lambeth Palace; and that before the Genevan Bible appeared in 1560 a separate edition of the Psalms from the Bible Version was issued in 1559, of which only two copies are known to exist, one in the Library of the Earl of Ellesmere, and the other in his own possession. It is not necessary for our purpose to notice the other versions.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

The works of Lucian of Samosata : complete with exceptions specified in the preface. Translated by H. W. FOWLER and F. G. FOWLER. Oxford, Clarendon Press. IV vols. 12mo.

The writings of Lucian, as a whole, appeal to the modern mind. The present translation omits some pieces by way of expurgation and a few others as spurious.

In the latter class is the *Asinus*. This omission may be made good from the racy and generally exact Selections from Lucian by Emily James Smith (Mrs. Putnam). If it is not by Lucian it ought to be. That Dindorf and Jacobitz agree in rejecting it will hardly be thought to-day a sufficient reason for excluding it. Except four technical pieces, requiring special treatment, the translators have purposed to render the other works of Lucian in language that shall appeal to the non-classical reader. Confident in their command of idiomatic English they have succeeded, with relatively few lapses, in systematically recasting the Greek in a modern mould. Unlike *Pelias*, Lucian comes out of the caldron as fresh as the ram. The translators take the thought, or such parts of it as they deem of sufficient importance, and restate it in their own way. The sentences and periods are challenged and dismembered. *Asyndeton* reigns supreme. The translation is made *con amore*, as might be expected from the excellent and sympathetic introduction. The result, barring certain phrasings, which may give offence to some, is a readable version. To the English reader it not only brings the general matter of the original but often, by subtle turns, the exact coloring of Lucian's thought. The Greek scholar, however, may perhaps halt between two opinions. He will be grateful doubtless for many a neat rendering or even, with certain reservations, for long stretches of the translation. On the other hand he may wish, where so much has been well done, that the translators had assumed the not impossible task of giving in this same readable English a translation that would have been a continuous companion to the text. Thus Butcher and Lang in their *Odyssey* and E. Meyers in his *Pindar* deliver such a continuous opinion even upon small details and in both of these books the English style is certainly attractive. We should be glad to have just this improvement upon good old Tooke's readable but defective version, or upon the paraphrasing rendering by Lucian's German impresario, Wieland (whom Tooke followed), in which (*pace Reitsii*) we hardly find a full length portrait of our author ("*totus vivit spiritalque*").

In this age of literary proxies we are tempted to raise anew a plea for dead authors. There is a right of entail and we are their heirs. A translator, viewed as an executor, must be humble enough to be faithful. One may even be ungrateful enough to prefer Simonides to Symonds.

Lucian, as often observed, is very modern. He was so because, while a child of his own age, his versatility made him also a contemporary with what was antiquity to him. It is well to show that he was contemporary with our age, but mere contemporaneity is not a desideratum. It is a glut on the market. Antiquity is, after all, another observatory on the earth's surface to enable us moderns to establish our historical parallax. Lucian in this translation, we are inclined to feel, is made contemporary at the expense of his universality.

In this review there is space for a very few illustrations only. But they are representative of the whole.

1. Indiscriminate recasting sometimes obscures, dislocates, or even perverts the thought. E. g. Cock 2, (III, p. 105): "God of portents! Heracles preserve us from the evil to come", for *O Zeus, god of portents and Heracles the Defender! What evil is this?* changes the rhetoric and makes it doubtful whether the appeal is to one or to two gods. So, on the next page, the epithet ἀλεξίκακον is omitted altogether. Just below: "The horse Xanthus declined to have anything more to do with neighing" seems less direct and picturesque than the literal: *Bidding a long farewell to neighing*. In § 4 (p. 107) "Spare his feelings" again seems less direct than the literal: *Stop blackguarding me*. In the same section, on the other hand one might expect, for consistency's sake, *Bantam* instead of "Tanagra" to give the English reader his clue without a note just as δεινὸς βοιωτίου (Zeus Trag. 32) is happily rendered by them: "Shockingly philistine."

2. The excision, with or without modern substitutes, of what smacks of antiquity. E. g. the Greek oaths are often, though not always, omitted, even when, as is usual in Lucian, they are conditioned by the context. The balance is perhaps kept by vivacious profanity as in Timon 46 though "alas",—do we ever say 'alas' in colloquial English?—just below seems rather tame and is not, in fact, called for by the text. So, too, words of address are often omitted to the real damage of the thought.

Certain antiquarian matters might have been easily retained to give local coloring to the general reader as well as for the benefit of the more scholarly. E. g. in Dial. Marini v. (I. p. 95) why may we not know that Hera and the other ladies were reclining (κατεκλίνοντο) at the banquet? (In the rev. vers. of the N. T. Luke vii, 36, 37, 49, also this detail is ignored, though absolutely necessary there to the sense). In Timon 49 (I, p. 49) if ἡ Ἐρεχθίδι φυλῇ seemed too antiquarian, the idea at least might have been approximately conveyed by: *For our ward*. It is simply omitted. So, in §56, for "crystal spring" in would have been intelligible enough to write *Nine-spouts*, with a capital, and a picturesque bit of local color would have been saved and every

one acquainted with Athenian archaeology would be pleasantly reminded of a pretty quarrel. Again, while we may believe in calling a spade a spade—(e. g. on this very page, *εἶτα ἡμερος ἐπὶ τοῖσιν, and after that the deluge!* is hardly made clear by: "Next the wine disagrees with him")—yet the more exact *mattock* for *δίκελλα* (double-toothed hoe; bidens) rather than "spade" in Timon 40 ff. would give local color (for modern as well as ancient Greek) and remove a certain looseness in the translation of *παῖε ὑπεκοτῆσομαι*. So, §48, *ἀλλὰ πρόσθι καὶ σὲ φιλοφρονήσομαι, But come here till I embrace you with my—hoe*, would perhaps give more than: "But come near, will you not, and receive my—spade." Again in Timon 42, to translate *πυργίον* "tiny castle" ignores the traditional Timon tower and, in the line above, to omit the demonstrative with Pan fails to suggest the presence of the god's statue. In the next line *δεδέχθω* begins a formal burlesque of court formulae that continues through §44, but the translators indicate this only intermittently, although they are careful to do it elsewhere, as in Concilium Deorum and Bis Accusatus. In the latter, indeed, III, p. 161, although we must forego the more esoteric reminiscences of Demosthenes, the hackneyed: *I pray gods and goddesses all* might again have contributed a little color. Again in Quomodo historia conscribenda sit 3 (II, p. 110) it seems a pity to put old Diogenes into a new vessel, the modern "tub", instead of his *jar*.

3. As to translating the poetical quotations one may or may not agree with Mr. Saintsbury, that the dactylic hexameter "tips up" in English and turns anapaest or that the iambic trimeter must be tabooed, but certainly the anapaest is at home in English, and in Peregineus 39 the burlesque anapaests (see Bursian's *Jahresber.*, 1901, p. 249) could easily be reproduced. So with two anapaestic formulae hung on to several plays of Euripides and cited, one in Piscator 39, the other at the end of the Symposium. Our translators render them with spirit—more so than is usually the case with the citations from Homer. The Piscator citation is done in iambs and loses, I think, the mock solemnity of the anapaests. (In this paragraph, too, we may add in passing: "Your humble servant" hardly makes clear the situation in: *Προσεκύησα τὴν Πτερωτὴν* = MS *τὴν γε πρώτην*). The other in trochaic verse is done so well as almost to rise superior to the loss of the anapaestic rhythm.

4. The choice of English colloquialisms is a matter of taste and the translators in their preface fore-stall criticism in part. Sometimes it seems inappropriately flippant and alters the tone of a passage. E. g. Dial. Marini XII begins *τί δακρύεις, ὦ θεῖ;* rendered: "Crying, dear?" This hardly puts us in touch with the more delicate humor and pathos of the dialogue which reflects, however faintly, the famous threnos of Simonides. As to: "Sweet babe" and: "Sweet treasure" further on, we do not know whether it is meant by the translators for broad burlesque or

nursery cooing. This dialogue suggests a criticism on their statement (see Introduction) that Lucian is practically devoid of pathos. The Charon, to my mind, strikes a deep note of human pathos. The opening words: *τί γέλῃς, ὁ Χάρων*; (here again the rendering has a somewhat flippant obscurity: "So gay, Charon?") the oratio obliqua quotation of these words in §6 presupposing the exact translation here), point the contrast with the ending—grim enough despite the Aristophanic reminiscence—where the pathos and unity of the dialogue could have been made clearer if the translators had not followed the modern editors in mutilating (see Harv. Studies XII, 185) an important and (with the probable exception of one word) substantially correct passage.

5. The Englishing of the titles is by no means an easy task. I should have liked to see more of old Tooke's titles retained, e. g. *The Lie Fancier*. The rendering, for example, of the elusive *Βίον πρᾶσις* by: "The Sale of Creeds" entails a certain difficulty in the body of the text. E. g. §2: "Step up, Pythagoreanism, and show yourself" loses the air of reality in: *οὗτος ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς, you Pythagorean!*

6. Although in a boldly paraphrasing translation we do not so often have occasion to challenge what seem actual mistakes yet in Dial. Marini XV the word *εὐκαμπής*, *symmetrically curved*, describing the bull's horns, is translated "crumpled"—perhaps by involuntary association of Europa with the 'maiden all forlorn'. On the same page, in passing, we may, however, call attention to a characteristically subtle recasting: *Ἡδὺ . . . θέαμα . . . καὶ ἱρωτικόν* "a lovely sight . . in every sense." But it may be questioned whether a less submarine rendering, like: *Romantic*, for the last word would not be more effective. In Symposium 33 (IV, p. 138) the litotes *οὐκ ἀνάξιός ᾧ*, *and he richly deserved it*, is translated: "whose worst guilt was," by an apparent oversight, as if for *οὐκ ἄξιός ᾧ*. By their translation of the last sentence of Dial. Marini VI (I, p. 97) the allusion to the Danaid sieve story is put out of court. I believe that the old interpretation is correct. Poseidon simply did not keep his promise.

7. The use of italics seems rather overdone and would often be avoided if the text were more literally followed.

If the criticisms made in this review seem rather microscopic it must be remembered that upon such things depends the coloring of style. We are not arraigning the scholarship but simply questioning whether the method is not too one-sided.

In conclusion, when one reads in this translation Lucian's better pieces like *Icaromenippus*, *Cock*, *Timon*, *Bis Accusatus*, *Symposium*, without recalling the Greek text, one cannot fail to find them delightful. But on close comparison with the Greek one is filled alternately with admiration at the neat turns of thought and with regret that the translators did not deem it worth while to give the whole context an equal chance.

Waltharii Poesis. Das Waltharilied Ekkehard's I. von St. Gallen nach den Geraldushandschriften herausgeben und erläutert VON HERMANN ALTHOF. Erster Teil. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung. 1899, 8vo. pp. v, 184. Zweiter Teil. 1905. pp. xxii, 416.

Until a very recent date students of the learned and semi-popular poetical productions of Medieval Latin literature have been grateful for the texts—uncritical though they were—found in the older collections of Goldast and Leyser, and the more recent publications of Grimm and Du Méril. Duemmmler's and Traube's edition of the Carolingian poets mark a decided step in advance, on account of the critical text it presents, and the accompanying vocabulary. Winterfeld's edition of Hrotswitha does not leave much to be desired as a model edition in every way; the text, the notes, the study of the sources, the language, and the style, all is commendable. Althof's edition of the Waltharius is the latest and most complete edition of a medieval Latin text. To say that few classical authors have received such editorial nursing, rather understates than exaggerates the situation.

The first volume contains an introduction of sixty-three pages in which the results of prior investigations of the author, manuscripts, language and metre are set forth and shifted, with a full knowledge of the bibliographical material. The text of 1478 lines takes up forty pages; and then comes twenty pages devoted to the critical apparatus, which is followed by fifty pages of an index of words and phrases. The second volume, published after an interval of six years, presents over four hundred pages of commentary, while the opportunity is not lost of offering numerous additions and corrections for the first volume. In his commentary the editor not only cites the sources and analogous passages of the poet's phrases from classical and medieval Latin authors: illustrative passages are culled from the whole field of early Germanic literature; the individual words are paired with Germanic equivalents taken from Steinmeyer and Siever's *Althochdeutschen Glossen*. Some of the notes on mythological, historical, and geographical points are long excursus, and the volume closes with a dissertation of forty pages on the military antiquities of the Waltharius. Although the mere enumeration of the contents of the volumes may suggest over-editing, with all these aids this edition is bound to supersede the earlier editions, supplying the material on which to base an independent judgment when the editor's are too uncommittal. This defect in the elucidation of the text is remedied by the editor's translation, published as a separate work, but the weak part of the introduction is due to Althof's failure to clearly define his own position on the place and value of the poem as a historical and legendary document. It is just at this point that one

finds such omissions in the bibliography as references to Child's treatment of certain epic *motifs*, found in the Waltharius (English and Scottish Popular Ballads, I, 95, 106, 494), and to Panzer's work on the Hilde-Gudrun legend.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, Vol. VIII.

Pp. 1-22. E. Wölfflin, *Cyprianus de Spectaculis*. This treatise appears only in MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Z, μ and r, which are also the only ones which contain the letters falsely ascribed to Cyprian. The latter, however, contain clear evidences of forgery, which is not true of the De S. It is not found in the catalogue of the works of Cyprian of the year 359, but this omits some undoubtedly genuine works and includes others which are known to be spurious. W. then attacks the problem by an examination of the thought, language and style of the work itself. A list of parallels to passages in the genuine works is given, but it is admitted that these might be the work of an imitator. There follows an examination of the words not found in the genuine works, most of which find parallels elsewhere. The tract is written in good Latin and the author is capable of originality in diction. The citations from the Bible, which are not noted in the editions, correspond with those made by Cyprian and with a pre-Hieronyman translation. Similarities in thought and language with Tertullian are noted. A similar comparison with the Octavius of Minucius Felix shows few parallels, but the same is true of the genuine works. On the whole the testimony to the genuineness of the work outweighs the contrary evidence. Chronologically it is assigned to the first part of the year 250.

23-38. C. Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Additions to the collection of Otto in his book with the above title.

38. C. Weyman, *Mediastinus*. An addition to the examples of this word given in ALL. I. 400 from Evodius adv. Manichaeos, which in the contrast between m. and imperator recalls Cato, 79. 1 Jord. (*mediastinus*) and confirms the view that the m. performed the humblest services.

39-76. G. Landgraf, *Der Dativus commodi und der Dativus finalis mit ihren Abarten*. The following general classification is made: I. Personal Use. A. In closer relation to verbs and adjectives: dat. of possessor, dat. with certain intransitive verbs, dat. with compound verbs. B. In a looser relation to the verb and to the whole sentence: *dativus energicus*, *commodi et in-commodi*, *ethicus*, *iudicantis*, *auctoris*. II. Non-personal Uses:

predicative, final, and final-locative dat. The categories I. B and II are then discussed in detail. The distinction between the dat. energicus and the genitive is shown (cf. Lane's Grammar) and the development of *meus mihi*, *tuus tibi*, and *suus sibi* as stronger forms of *meus*, etc. The ethical dat., a weaker dat. *commodi* (so-called), is shown to be especially common in dialogue, satire, and in letters. It is usually confined to personal pronouns, but is used occasionally with other words by the poets. While the dat. *commodi* indicates a material interest and the dat. *ethicus* a sympathetic interest, the dat. *iudicantis* shows a mental interest. It is most frequent with participles. The dat. of the local standpoint occurs first in *Caes.*, and is commonly in the plural, while in Greek the singular is the rule. The dat. of the mental standpoint is also most commonly found in the plural, but sometimes in the singular. The final dat. is connected with the dat. of interest by the transition from *cano tibi* to *cano receptui* and a distinction is made between the predicative or factitive dat., equivalent to a pred. nominative, and the pure dat. of purpose. Examples of the final dat. with substantives are cited. The dat. (regarded by some as an abl.) in such expressions as *it clamor caelo* is called the final-locative dat. and is connected with the final dat. by the transition from *mittere leto* to *mittere Orco*. It occurs especially with *caelo*, *terrae* (and synonyms), *Averno* (and synonyms), names of seas and rivers, and its use is extended by the poets, for example by Propertius, and by the later prose writers.

76. E. Wölfflin, Tertullus. The numerals from *primus* to *decimus* are used as *praenomina*, and the fact that those in most common use began in early times with *Quintus* seems to show that only four non-numerical *praenomina* were in general circulation. The use of the diminutive of *Tertius* rather than of *Primus*, the first-born, is probably due to the fact that the third son, on account of the *ius trium liberorum*, was hailed by the happy parent as "mein kleiner, lieber Dritter".

77-114. A. Funck, Die lateinische Adverbia auf -im, ihre Bildung und ihre Geschichte. There are two varieties, adverbs of locality, such as *illim*, *istim*, *utrimque*, and adverbs of verbal derivation, such as *minuatim*, *cursim*, *tractim*. The former, which are not considered in the paper, are probably locative in origin, the latter accusative. The ancient grammarians discussed these words, but did not explain the origin of the suffix. They rightly connected them with verbal nouns as regards their meaning. Whether Charisius is correct in his statement that verbs which do not form nouns in -tus do not form adverbs in -tim (-sim) is difficult to determine, whether for example beside *datatim* there existed a noun in -tus which has been lost.

It is now generally agreed that these adverbs are accusative forms from verbal stems in -ti (-si), which were usually extended to -ti -on in Latin. Since we have undoubted accusatives in ad-

fatim, partim, etc., we may assume that iunctim, nactim, and the like, are of similar origin. The existence of nouns in -tion beside adverbs in -tim, for example acervatio, acervatim, tends to support the belief in earlier nouns in -ti-. The influence of analogy must be taken into account. In investigating this question care must be shown. The noun and the adverb must not be too far separated chronologically, they must have a similar meaning, and they must be accompanied by a corresponding verb at the same period. The adverbs of this class are then examined in detail. Some cannot be connected with verbal stems at all, for example curiatim, catervatim, tributim, etc. Others which may possibly be connected with verbs are perhaps of nominal origin, such as undatim, generatim, populatim. These last two classes are as old as the adverbs of verbal origin. A few which cannot be connected either with nouns or with verbs are discussed in detail, confestim, cossim, furtim, etc. Many of them are archaic, but they occur at all times and in all varieties of literature. The article closes with a list of the adverbs in -tim discussed here and in ALL. VII. 485-507.

114. L. Bürchner, Mafortium. Another occurrence of this word (cf. ALL. VI. 566) in the form *δελματικομαφέρτιον* in the fragment of the Edict of Diocletian discovered by the English at Megalopolis in 1890.

115-128. E. Wölfflin, Accendium—acceptus. Lexicon articles, with explanatory notes on acceptus.

129. C. Weyman, Abstare. A new example of this word (cf. ALL. VI. 539 and VII. 277) in the Genesis of the Gallic Cyprian, 1440 Peiper. Here Martène would read adstare. Possibly in some cases adstare in the MSS is for an original abstare, e. g., in Apul. Met. 6. 25.

129. C. Weyman, Continare. Should be read in the Paneg. of Pacatus, 36. p. 303. 25 B., according to cod. Upsaliensis. Cf. Kiessling, Coniect. Spicil. I (1883).

130-145. Miscellen. S. Brandt, Conlidere. Examples of the intrans. and reciprocal use of this word, not recognized by the lexicons, from Lact. Inst. II. 8. 31 and De Ira 10. 25, according to the best MSS. The same uses of confligere occur and these words should be added to Thielmann's article in ALL. VII. 343. Splenis. This form of the nom., not recognized by lexx., grammars, or Neue I,² occurs in Lact. De Opif. Dei 14. 2, according to cod. Bonon. and Valentianensis 141. That it is not an error is shown by Anecd. Helv. apparat. crit. to p. 61. 17 Hagen, and perhaps by Prisc. 1. 149. 7 H., where splenis is an addition to the MS reading. Lact. certainly uses the word and it is probably earlier, though no examples exist.

A. Sonny, Zu Triumphus. Supports the equation triumphus = *τρίομφος* (sc. *πομπή* or *κῆμος*) proposed by Stowasser, Dunkle

Wörter, p. xii. Believes that triumphus was borrowed by the Romans from Sicily.

A. Zimmermann, *Apud*. Regards it as a compound preposition from *ab-ad*, the former in the sense found in such expressions as *ab aliquo stare*.

W. Schulze, *Manuclus*. Regards *manuclus* as the original form of *manuplus* (cf. *ALL*. V. 461). Gröber gives no examples of the spelling with *c*, and S. cites instances from inscriptions.

R. Klussmann, *Zu Arch*. VII. 592 ff. The emendations proposed by Kübler were anticipated by Klussman in *Emendationes Frontonianae* (1874), J. J. Cornelissen in *Mnemos*. XIII (1885), Madvig, *Adversaria Crit.* II. 615, and W. Fröhner, *Phil. Suppl.* V. 51. Another juristic reminiscence in *Fronto* occurs in *Ad Marc. Caes.* IV. 12, p. 75. 3 N.

B. Kübler, *Scobis critica*. An acknowledgment of the correction above. He adds another emendation to *Fronto* and a note on *continari*; see *ALL*. VIII. 129. There follow two emendations to *Claudian*. *Pusicus*. Defends the reading in *Frag. Vat.* 130 (*Ulp.*) against *Mommsen's* conjecture.

P. J. Hauer, *Annomino und supernomino*. Notes on the use of these words by *Augustine*.

P. B. Linderbauer, *Itoria*. This word, not found in *Georges* nor in *Du Cange-Favre*, occurs several times in a prayer attributed to *Augustine*, which forms part of an old missal from *Silos* in *Spain*, now in the *British Museum*. The word is a *fem. sing.* formed by *ellipsis* of *pecunia*, but is also used as a *n. pl.* in accordance with a variation familiar in *vulg. Lat.*

M. Petschenig, *Colligere = tollere*. Found in *Just.* XXXIII. 2. 3-4; *Frontin.* IV. 5. 17; *August. Contra Cresconium* III. 43 (47); *pseud.-Vict. De Vir.* III. 1. 3. In the latter passage *collectos* is marked by *Wijga* as corrupt, but clearly has the value of *sublatos*. *Colligeretur* should probably be read in *Eutr.* IX. 23 with *codd. Fuldensis* and *Gothanus*.

E. Wölfflin, *Zur Epiploce*. One may distinguish nominal, verbal, and mixed varieties of this figure. The Romans were more restricted in its use than the Greeks on account of the lack of a *perf. (aor.) act. participle* (except in the case of *deponents*, *Ov. Met.* 13, 189 *non equidem fateor fassoque ignoscat Atreides*) and of a *pres. middle part*. They have only three varieties:

1. *Pres. (imperf.) ind. act.* *Pres. act. part.*
2. *Pres. (imperf.) ind. act. or perf. ind. Perf. pass. part.*
3. *Pres. (imperf.) ind. pass.* *Perf. pass. part.*

Of these the first is the least frequent. *Cicero*, who avoids the *figura etymol.*, substitutes a synonym; *Rosc. Am.* 32 *patrem meum iugulastis, occisum in proscriptorum numerum rettulistis*.

Elegantia Caesaris. This word, which is often used by the ancient writers in describing Caesar's style, is generally misunderstood. Its meaning is not the ordinary one of "elegant", but implies a careful choice of words on the basis of analogy. Thus he uses the perf. in -erunt, but not in -ere; flumen, but not fluvius; neither igitur nor nequeo. Zur Adverbialbildung im Lateinischen. An argument for Osthoff's derivation of the adv. ending -iter from iter (cf. ALL. IV. 455) based on Latin usage. The absence of many adverbs and the use of the corresponding adjectives with adverbial force is pointed out, as well as the change from a case-form required by the syntax of the sentence to a stereotyped nom., rursum rursus, adversum adversus, etc. In many cases circumlocutions were used such as recta (via). In these, substitutions are common, e. g. modus for ratio. In this way arose iter, as a substitute for via. Lupana. A third example of this word (ALL. VIII. 9) in Cyprian, Epist. 62. 3 according to cod. μ . Lupana is not a synonym of meretrix (Corp. Gloss. IV. 362. 22) but is the fem. equivalent of leno.

146-159. Review of the Literature for 1891 and 1892.

161-202. B. Kübler, Die lateinische Sprache auf afrikanischen Inschriften. A review of the present state of opinion regarding African Latin is followed by an examination of the inscriptions from that region as regards inflection and syntax, where the results are negative; and from the point of view of word-formation, vocabulary and style, where the harvest is greater.

203-220. W. Kalb, Zur Analyse von Justinians Institutionen. An examination of the work on the basis of its language and style, with a criticism especially of Ferrini, *Intorno ai passi comuni ai Digesti ed alle Istituzioni* (Rendiconti del Istituto di dir. Lombardo, Serie II, Vol. XXII, pp. 826 ff.) and *Sulle fonti delle Istituzioni* (Memorie del Istituto Lombardo, Vol. XVIII, pp. 131 ff.). Kalb expresses the belief that there is a demand for an edition of the Institutions which shall show their sources, and presents eight specimen pages of such a work.

221-234. A. Köhler, Zur Etymologie und Syntax von ecce und em. A reply to criticisms of the etymology of ecce suggested in the article in ALL. V. 16 ff. Stowasser, in *Jahresb. des kk. Franz-Jos.-Gym. zu Wien*, 1891, xv-xxiii, sees in ecce an imperative = $\epsilon\chi\epsilon$; while J. Bach, in *Studemunds Stud.* Vol. II (Berlin, 1891), 387-415, derives it from the root ak. Both agree in deriving eccum and eccos from ecc'hum and ecc'hos. Köhler regards the connection between ecce and em as too close to admit of separating the two words.

234. E. Wölfflin, *Andromaca aecmalotos*. These forms represent the spelling of Ennius. See Non. 402. 3; 515. 13; 292. 8.

235-277. Ph. Thielmann, *Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches der Weisheit*. Believing that most light can be thrown on

the question whether there were one or several pre-Hieronyman translations of the Bible by an analysis of the language and style of the Books of Wisdom, of Sirach, Baruch, and Maccabees, Thielmann devotes his attention in this article to the first. He believes it to be African in its origin and at least as early as the time of Tertullian. The relation of the translation to the original is also discussed.

278. E. Wölfflin, *Red- und re- in Zusammensetzungen*. Red- is early and classical; re-aedificatio, and similar forms occur in Hieron. and the Vulgate. The examples of such compounds in earlier writers are all disputed, but an undoubted instance in the Itala indicates that the usage may have existed in the colloquial speech as early as 200 A. D.

278. A. Funck, *Zu Malacia*. Arch. VI. 259. An Etruscan sea-goddess Mlay is identified with the goddess Malacia (see ALL. VII. 270) by Elia Lattes.

279-287. E. Wölfflin, *Accerso arcesso; accersio arcessio*. The MSS vary between these spellings. Arcesso is from ar and cedo; cf. Porph. in Hor. Epist. I. 17. 50. When ar passed out of use, it was replaced by ad in adveho, etc., but in accerso metathesis took place. The word is not connected with accio. Arcesso is the classical, accerso the popular form. The former prevails in Caesar and Cicero, the latter in Terence, Petronius, and the Itala. In the case of Plautus the transmission is uncertain, but the archaic form is arcesso, except for Ter. The regular form accesso, which is not recognized by grammarians, ancient or modern, occurs occasionally in MSS. There follows an examination of the various forms of the perfect and other tense forms.

287-288. C. Scheffs, *Zu Candidus Arianus*. This writer inspired some of the works of Marius Victorinus Afer, and many of the linguistic characteristics attributed to the latter are really his. Both are neglected by the lexicographers and a new edition of each is needed. There follows a list of words not found in DuCange-Favre, Forcellini, Georges, Klotz, and Ronsch's Itala.

289-297. Miscellen. B. Maurenbrecher, *Zu faliskischen Bech-erschrift*. These are regarded by Deecke as forgeries. The only basis for this belief is the form foied, which M. regards as an error for fodie, an adv. from *foios (root, dhoi) meaning "luxuriously". Mavors, Mamers, Martses. Maure in CIL. I. 63 does not contain a diphthong, but the r is syllabic. Mavors is not older than Mars, and the second part is related to vorto. Mamers is Ma-mars; cf. Mamurius, etc. Marsus is from Mart-tos and Martses (Schneid. 83) is dat. plur. fem. = Martsais. Plurimus und Verwandtes. Rejects Brugmann's derivation of plus from *pleuos in favor of *plois, from plo-. Hence *plo-isimus, ploirume, and plurimus. Plous in the Sen. Cons. de Bacch. is a substantive

from plo-us. We thus have a series: plo- (ploira, ploirume, plous); plē- (plēnus, plēbes, plērus); plē- (pleores and plisima = *pleisima); while amplos and poplos contain the grade pl-. Saeturnus. Not from *saviturnus (cf. Skt. savitar) but a vulgar spelling for Sēturnus (cf. sēvi). The later Saturnus arose by popular etymology, which connected the word with sator. Cf. Keller, Volksetymologie, p. 36.

C. Weyman, *Genibus nixis*. This should be read in Cyprian, *De Op. et El.* 6. p. 378. 7 Hartel, and in Dictys III, 22, p. 64. 24 Meister, instead of *genibus nixus*, since it has good MS authority and occurs elsewhere. Abÿssus. Another example of the word from Cypr. Gall. gen. 288 P. Cf. ALL. VII. 529. Accedo—ἀπέρχομαι. Calls attention to a note in Usener's *Legenden der Pelagia*, p. 49. Cf. ALL. VII. 535.

E. Ludwig, *Präpositionales retro*. Would read *retro se* in *Sedul. Pasch. op.* 1., 168, Vienna ed. Suggests that the use is confined to personal pronouns, but the editor cites an example of *retro* governing a noun in *Apul. Met.* 6. 8.

E. Wölfflin, *Zur Konstruktion der Städtenamen*. The use of the preposition at first was due to special conditions. Thus ad *Brundisium venire* of ships, which did not enter the town, ad *Baias* of the neighboring villas. The preposition was also common with Greek nouns which did not form a locative. Later these distinctions were lost sight of and the prepositional construction became the rule in the Romance languages. *Zur Konstruktion von patere*. In *Flor. Praef.*, *sequens aetas ducentis quinquaginta annis patet*, would read *annos* with *cod. Nazarianus*, since no examples of the abl. with *patere* seem to exist. Vel, ein Imperativform. Favors the view of Skutsch, *Forsch. zur lat. Gramm.* P. 55.

B. Kübler, *Nachträge zu S. 161 ff.* Corrections of and additions to his article on the Latin language in African inscriptions.

298-312. Review of the Literature for 1891 and 1892.

313-338. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Abstracta*. A discussion of the words formed with the suffixes -or, -ura, -tas, -itia, and -ia.

338. J. Hausleiter, *Ein Infinitivus Futuri Passivi auf -uiri bei Augustin*. In *Aug. Enchiridion ad Laurentium* c. 67 instead of *puniri* we should read *punituiri* = *punitum iri*. The Benedictine ed. (Antwerp, 1701) records a variant reading *punituri*, which is evidently a scribe's "correction" of *punituiri*.

339-368. Gabel-Weise, *Zur Latinisierung griechischer Wörter*. Abridgment of a paper by O. Weise entitled *De vocibus Graecis ante Ciceronis aetatem in linguam Latinam tralatis*. Lists of Latinized Greek words and of native Greek words found in the Latin writers down to and including Varro. The lists are

complete for Varro, but in the case of the other writers contain only the words used for the first time by each. These are followed by notes on the form of the Latinized words.

368. F. Skutsch, *Restutus*. This word is formed by dissimilation from *Restitutus*. Cf. the inscr. in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1891, p. 262, where *Restitutus* is scanned as a trisyllable.

369-396. A. Funck, *Glossographische Studien*. Three lists of words from the Corp. Gloss. comprising 181 new words, not found in the 7th ed. of Georges, 30 words which appear in new forms, including substantives formed from adjectives by ellipsis, and 11 for which new definitions are given. These lists show the development of the spoken language.

396. C. Weyman, *Gibbus*. This word may refer to a natural as well as to an unnatural protuberance. Hence it is equivalent to *papillae* in Juv. X. 294 f., as was suggested by Bücheler, *Rh. M.* XLII. 472. Cf. Ambros. *Hexaem.* VI. 9. 60 *frontis malarumque gibbi*, and Amm. Marc. XX. 3. 11.

397-411. C. Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. A continuation of the article in *ALL.* VIII. 23 ff.

412. E. Wölfflin, *Amplare, ampliare, amplificare*. The proper denominative from *amplus* is *amplare*, Pacuv. ap. Non. 506. 26. *Ampliare* is from the adv. *amplius*, at first in a juristic sense, Auct. ad Her. IV. 36. 48, Cic. *Caec.* 29, and Liv. It was confused with *amplare*, the earliest instances being Bell. *Hisp.* 42, Hor. *Sat.* I. 4. 32, Mon. *Ancy.* 4. 15. In the juristic sense Cic. and Caes. used *amplificare* instead of *amplare*, and this word afterwards became a *terminus technicus* of Rhetoric.

413-420. *Die neuen Scholien zu Terenz*. An examination of the language of the scholia collected by Schlee from MSS dating from the ninth to the eleventh century, under the title *commentarius antiquior* (*Scholia Terentiana*, 1893). The scholia in question consist of a commentary, preambles, and notes explanatory of words or phrases or of matters of antiquities. The first in its present form cannot be earlier than the ninth century, since it contains citations from Paulus, nor can it be a literal translation of an older pagan grammarian, as the writer is evidently a Christian. No knowledge is shown of literature which was not well known in the Carolingian period. The older part of the *Commentarius Antiquior* may date back to the fourth century. The preambles are written in fairly good Latin without ecclesiastical coloring, and are probably drawn directly from an earlier source. The rest of the Scholia also show signs of the use of an earlier source, especially in the stage directions. The examination of the language suggests a single source, and the name of the writer is conjectured from the colophon of cod. G to be Pompeius, who

may or may not be the grammarian of that name. A list of new words is given.

420. E. Wölfflin, *Zur Prosodie des Tibull.* In 1. 3. 18 the general usage of Tibullus, to which that of Horace does not correspond, demands that *sacram* should be scanned with a short penult.

421-440. E. Wölfflin, *Die Etymologien der lateinischen Grammatiker.* An historical survey, in which the fondness of the Romans for etymologizing is pointed out, is followed by a detailed examination, under the heads: Onomatopoetic words; Etymologies a contrario (*lucus a non lucendo* and the like); Composition and derivation.

441-453. *Miscellen.* E. Lattes, *Malacia.* *Mlaχ* (see ALL. VIII. 278) appears both as a goddess of the sea and of the under-world; cf. *Venus Libitina.* *Malacia* is used by Plin. N. H. 23. 105 and 107 and 27. 48 in the sense of *nausea.*

W. M. Lindsay, *Varia.* *Anguilla.* The earlier form appears to be *anguila*, which is given by the Pal. MSS in Plaut. Pseud. 747 and by the cod. Puteanus in Mart. 12. 31. 5, and is indicated by the Spanish and Portuguese forms. *Grabatus.* *Crebattum*, the reading of M and L in Auct. de Dub. Nom., Gr. Lat. V. 537 K. is supported by modern Gk. *κρεββάτι*, and Breton *cravaz* could come from the vulgar form *crebatto-* as well as from *crabatto-*. *Quaeritare a muscis.* A *muscis* in Plaut. Poen. 690 is slang for *ἀμύσεις*, of which the Lat. form would be *amussis*, sensu obsceno. In Afran. 136 R. the correct reading may be *amuscis*. *Sisira* may perhaps be used in an obscene sense, as in Greek, in Plaut. Truc. 262. The dimin. *sisirium* might possibly be read for *sussciri* (P) in Men. 432. *Vis* (plur.). To the examples in Neue may be added Liv. Andr. ap. Fest. 532 Thewr.

F. Skutsch, *Dein.* Evidence for this as the anteconsonantal form from CIL. IV. 2246.

J. Stowasser, *Gumiae oder Gemiae?* The word, which means "swallow" or "mouthful", is a loanword from the Semitic and admits either spelling. Hence we should follow the MSS and read *gumias* in Lucil. 121 and *gemiae* in 725. It is a slang term as applied to persons.

B. Kübler, *Zur Sprache der Leges Burgundionum.* A study of the language, based on the new ed. in *Monumenta Germaniae.* The laws belong to the time of Ennodius and Priscian, and hence give testimony to the usage of that period. A more searching examination is necessary to throw any light on the characteristics of Gallic Latin.

G. Gröber, *Zu den vulgärlateinischen Substraten.* A reply to a criticism of Schuchardt on his treatment of the Latin quantities in the articles on this subject.

E. Wölfflin, *Zum Afrikaner Florus*. Further testimony to the African origin of Florus (see ALL. VI. 2 ff.) is derived from expressions like *barbari barbarorum, urbem urbium*, etc., which are regarded as Semitisms. Similar expressions, however, occur in Latin poetry. *Pernix*. The derivation from *pernitore* was ancient, see Non. p. 368 M., Serv. Aen. 11. 718, and especially Georg. 3. 320. *Pernitor*, however, does not occur and the meaning *perseverans* is doubtful. Since *pernix* is mostly used of swiftness of foot (leg), would derive from *perna*; cf. *felix* from **fela*. The word is consciously avoided by Caes. and Cic., possibly as *sordidum*, since the use of *perna* of men would be parallel to that of *pellis* for *cutis*, and *dorsum* for *tergum*.

454-468. Review of the Literature for 1892 and 1893.

469-481. P. Geyer, *Spuren gallischen Lateins bei Marcellus Empiricus*. Much that is of interest to Romance scholars is found in Marc. Empir., who furnishes the only testimony to some Romance words and adds to the evidence for others which occur but rarely. He throws some light also on the peculiarities of Gallic Latin.

482. P. Geyer, *Zur Bezeichnung der Reciprocität im gallischen Latein*. Examples of *interdonare se* and of *interdonatio* from the *Formulae Salicae Merkelianae* (older part) and *Formulae Marculfi*. Cf. ALL. VII. 343 ff.

482. C. Weyman, *Colligere = tollere*. Additional examples (see ALL. VIII. 140) from Rufinus's translation of the *Recognitiones* of the pseudo-Clement. Also two possible examples of *recolligere* = "take up again" from the same source.

483-494. A. Sonny, *Neue Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer*. After a brief discussion of the definition of the subject gives an alphabetical list of additions to the collections of Otto, Weyman, and Szelinski.

495-499. E. Lattes, *Etruskische Analogieen zu lateinischen Africismen*. Parallels from Etruscan inscriptions to the fondness of African Latin for personal names in *-osus, -ica, and -itta* (Mommsen, *Eph. Epigr.* IV. 520-524) and to the preference for adjectives in *-alis* and *-icius* (ALL. VIII. 169, 201). Also a parallel to *centenarium* (ALL. VII. 185). *Saeturnus* beside *Saturnus* (cf. ALL. VIII. 292 ff.) may be explained in accordance with the laws of Etruscan phonology, as well as the form *Sateurnus*. These forms occur in an inscription found in the Etruscan territory.

500. G. Schepps, *Anxicia* (cf. ALL. II. 339 f.). Instead of changing *Anxicia meretrix* (C. gloss. II. 566. 34) to *Anxicia forfex* with Götz, would emend to *Angitia meretrix*. *Angitia* refers to *Medea* and *meretrix* is misapplied through confusion with *Circe*.

500. A. Sonny, *Lupana*. This word should perhaps be read in Hieron. *Epist.* 117. 7 (958 Migne) instead of *Lupanarium*.

501-560. Ph. Thielmann, *Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches Sirach*. An examination of the language and style of the work, partly with the view of confirming the statement of its African origin made in ALL. VIII. 235 ff. and by Sittl, Lok. Verschied. The translation is assigned to the first half of the third century, which is important for the question involved, since in the fourth century and later the African Latin, as the language of the Church, had spread into other countries.

561-562. E. Wölfflin, *Supervacaneus, supervacuus, supervacaneus*. The suffix -anus is -nus added to a-stems, but Plautus has publicanus and urbanus, and Cato, tripedaneus. Supervacaneus may be derived from supervacare, although this word actually occurs for the first time in Gellius. The form supervacuus is found in Cato, *De Re Rust.* 12 (twice) and is apparently the only form used by Cic. Supervacuus is preferred by the writers of hexameter verse, and appears first in Horace. Livy has it only in his earlier books. Varro ad. Non. 525 M. objects to the form, and rightly for his own time and for prose. Supervacaneus is found in Sall. *Bell. Cat.* 51. 19, according to codd. Paris. and Vat. and in 58. 11 according to the best MSS. The two oldest MSS give this form in Cic. *N. D.* 1. 92.

562. E. Wölfflin, *Arcesso accerso*. Two verses of Plautus throw light on his orthography (see ALL. VIII. 281), *Truc.* 130 and *Most.* 509. In *Ter. Andr.* 515 the form is accersitum.

563-585. E. Wölfflin, *Die Etymologien der lateinischen Grammatiker*. A continuation of the article in ALL. VIII. 431 ff. An examination of the correct and the false views of the grammarians regarding phonetics, under the heads: *Commutatio*; *Additio*; *Demptio*; *Tralatio* (Metathesis); *Productio*, *Correptio*. Principles which are correct in the case of some words are arbitrarily transferred to others to which they do not apply. Thus on the basis of *gnosco, nosco* *Cocles* is derived from *ocles*, etc.

586-599. *Miscellen.* C. Blümlein, *Zum Wortspiel onus—honor*. In Varro, *LL.* 5. 73 would read *onus est onos* rather than *honus est honor* with Peiper, *Rh. M.* XXXII. 519. The play is a common one and those on *honorare—onerare* and *ornare—honorare* also occur.

W. Schmitz, *Ἀραισιώγων*. Would read this for *ἀραισιώγων* in H. *Mt.* III. 329. 63 (see ALL. VIII. 379) in the sense of thin-bearded (hence the definition *malibarbius*).

C. Hoppe, *Duplex, Lisae, Torres*. Parallels from the glosses to Horace's use of *duplex* in *Odes* I. 6. 7. *Lisae* occurs in *Dوناتus*, *Aen.* VIII. 289. His African origin is doubtful. Doubts Lachmann's reading of *torres* in *Lucr.* III. 917, also read by Haupt in *Manil.* IV. 419, since the glosses show that the word meant "firebrand".

E. Riess, Naama: decor. Ridiculus. The gloss naama: decor (see ALL. VII. 275) is right, but the word is Hebraic. The meaning of ridiculus in Firm. Mat. Astrol. III. 3. X (p. 50. 37 ff. 1533) is "deformed", a signification not recognized by the lexicons.

J. Denk, Ruribus. A third example (see ALL. VII. 408) from Prisc. Perieg. 32. The form seems to belong to African Latin.

M. Ihm, Vessillum, vexillum. The earliest instance of the change of x to ss is found in an inscr. from Cologne discovered in 1886, which is as early as the time of Nero. The greater part of the examples occur in Christian sepulchral inscr., and the change did not become general until the fourth century or later (Schuchardt, Vok. I. 132; III. 68.)

***, Restutus. The derivation from Restitutus (ALL. VIII. 368) is given by Schuchardt, Vokalismus, II. 436.

C. W., Zu den Acta Perpetuae. Answers a doubt expressed by A. Hilgenfeld that beneficio may be used in a bad sense, " = maleficio."

E. Wölflin, Beneficio. Merito. Beneficio, originally used in its proper sense, e. g. beneficio deorum, came to be used of things without life, viae Domitiae beneficio, and finally in the second and third centuries of disadvantages, caecitatis beneficio, paupertatis beneficio. The same course of development is seen in merito. Auris. Auricula. The statistics given in ALL. VII. 309 need a closer examination. The length of the forms must be taken into account; thus auricularum and auriculis are rare, except as true diminutives. Owing to the possibility of confusion with other forms auricula is used instead of auris and auriculae for auri. With a weak pronunciation of s auri might be confused with the nom. or with the gen. Exemplare. An additional example of this verb from *Tert. adv. Nationes 1. 5. Salvator, Salvare, Mediator, Mediare, Mediante. In Latin salus, salvus, servare, and servator formed a series corresponding to fero, tuli, latum and the like, since salvare and salvator are not found in early or in class. Latin, and perhaps not in Silver Latin. The latter is mentioned as rare by Mart. Cap. 5. 510. Salvare is vulgar and is perhaps not found before imperial times, since its meaning was expressed by servare and salvum facere, reddere, etc. In Plin. N. H. 17. 178 salventur is a possibility for saluten-tur. Salvator was a creation of eccl. Latin (see Aug. Serm. 299. 5) and led to the use of salvare. Mediator is also eccl. Lat. and mediare is related to it as salvare is to salvator. The only pagan writer who uses mediator is Apul. Met. 9. 36 when the reading is not certain. Mediante is used almost exclusively in the abl. abs. in such expressions as mediante die fasto, though the word may also have a local meaning.

Umschreibungen mit tempus. Frz. mitan. These are very common, e. g. primum tempus (Fr. printemps) for ver, longo tempore (Fr. longtemps) for diu, multo tempore (old Fr. multemps), nullo tempore for numquam, etc. Fr. mitan is for medio tempore; cf. milieu for medius locus. While medietas meant both "half" and "middle", in Fr. moitié (medietas) was used for "half", and milieu and mitan for "middle." For the transfer from space to time, cf. the opposite change in illico = in loco. Ennius und das Bellum Hispaniense. A third fragment from Ennius in Bell. Hisp. 5. 6. There are also reminiscences of Ennius in the description of the single combat in 25. 4. Perna, Span. Pierna. Perna is compared with Umbrian per = pro and originally meant the fore part. It was at first generally used in the sense of thigh, but was later confined to swine; of men in Enn. Ann. 279 V, and Liv. 22. 51. 7. It is not used of the feet; pernio, which applies to the feet, is an example of the use of a part for the whole. The application of the word perna to men survived in Spain and is preserved in Span. pierna.

600-616. Review of the Literature for 1903.

617-621. Necrology. Rudolf Schöll, by E. Wölfflin.

621-625. Plan zur Begründung eines Thesaurus linguae Latinae.

625. Dr. Cramer, Anfrage. Stips = Pfahl, Stumpf? Is the form stips used in late Latin for stirps?

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Edited by J. HOOPS. Volume XXXIII, 1904.

I. G. H. Gerould, The Lay-Folk's Mass-Book from MS Gg. V 31, Cambridge University Library. The text (367 lines) preceded by a discussion of the relation of the six MSS.

G. Krueger, Shakespeareana. A correction of seven or eight passages in German versions of Shakespeare. The author also attempts emendation of the original in several cases, with the usual assurance of such attempts—and the not uncommon superfluity.

A. Dubbres, Byron, the Admirer and Imitator of Alfieri. After quoting Byron's various statements, indicating his interest in Alfieri, the article traces the influence of Alfieri in Marino Falieri, Sardanapalus, and The Two Foscari. This influence appears particularly in Marino Falieri, and is there traceable in plot, situation, characters, diction, and metre. It proceeds from Alfieri's La Congiura de' Pazzi. The influence, while it lasted, was an unfortunate one for Byron, since Alfieri's classicism and regularity are antagonistic to the natural freedom and energy of Byron's genius.

R. Sprenger, On Certain of Longfellow's Poems. Sprenger had traced the sources of the Golden Legend when F. Münzner's study of the subject appeared in 1897. His results agreed with Münzner's, and he now publishes a few interesting notes upon the origin of detailed passages. They are chiefly bits of folk-lore, found in Simrock's Rheinsagen. One, however, is suggested by Konrad von Fusserbrunn's Kindheit Jesu, and another by Christmann's Geschichte des Klosters Hirschau, 1782. Correspondences are also cited between Evangeline 129 and von Droste-Hülshof's Neujahrsnacht; between The Reaper and the Flowers and Brentano's Erntelied; between The Slave's Dream and Freiligrath's Mohrenfürst. Other indications of the extent of Longfellow's acquaintance with German literature and tradition, particularly Goethe, are pointed out.

J. Ellinger, On the Position of Adverbs and Adverbial Modifiers. Excerpts from writers of the last fifty years, showing the practice of inserting the adverbial modifier between the verb and its object.

Miscellen. A. E. H. Swaen, Contributions to Anglo-Saxon Lexicography. Quotations illustrating the meaning or idiomatic use of twenty-three words. E. Hackauf publishes the variants in MSS Add. 10036 B and Harl. 2382 C in the text of the oldest ME version of the Assumptio Mariæ. Van Draat cites from Caxton's version of the Dutch Hystorie van Reynaert, several examples to illustrate his article on The Loss of the Prefix *ge* in the Mod. E. Verb (Eng. Stud. XXXI. 353ff.)

II. H. Logeman, Notes on The Merchant of Venice. The more important are as follows: *wantwit* (I.1.6) < *wanwit*?; *docks* (I.1.32) probably correct: *commodity* (I.1.187) means occasion; *sand-blind* (II.2.33) < *samblind* (*sām*, denoting agreement), not < *sāmbblind* as hitherto explained; for *sweat* (III. 2.210) read *swear*?; retain *woollen* (IV. 1.60), which is partly explained from Heywood's Play of the Weather (1.603).

C. Winckler, Marston's Earlier Works and their Relations to Shakespeare. The author believes the incident of the statue in Winter's Tale was suggested by Marston's Pygmalion. Traces of influence from the Satires appear chiefly in the roaring of Pistol.

J. LeG. Brerton. Notes on the Texts of Marston. Fourteen pages of textual notes on all of Marston's works.

H. Willert. *That which* and *those who*. Quotations illustrating modern idiomatic use of these phrases.

P. F. van Draat. The Relative *that* with Breakstress (cf. Sweet's Grammar, § 1895). The author modifies Sweet's statement that *that* does not take a stress when separated from the rest of its sentence by an inserted group or clause.

An excellent review by Jespersen of Sarrazin's revision of Schmidt's Shakespeare Lexicon deserves mention. After many detailed corrections and comments, he says the book 'gives us conclusive proof . . . that Bacon cannot possibly have written Shakespeare's works, for no two authors belonging to the same country and the same period have probably differed more than these two in their manner of handling the common language'. He cites several cases in point, and concludes with an appeal for similar works on Jonson, Kyd, Marlowe, etc.

Among the Miscellen, van Draat points an interesting plagiarism in Beaconsfield's Vivian Grey, Bk. V, Ch. 1, where a passage of some one hundred and fifty words is taken, with slight modification, from Browne's Urn Burial, Ch. 5.

III. A. H. R. Fairchild. The Phoenix and the Turtle. 'The Phoenix and the Turtle belongs to that class of poems connected with the institution (real or otherwise) known as the Court of Love. It has a twofold source, stanzas 1-5 especially being suggested by Chaucer's Parlement of Foules, Part IV; the remaining stanzas being adopted to these from the emblem literature and conceptions of Shakespeare's period.' This thesis is discussed under three heads: Source, Interpretation, Occasion. On the last point the author favors the theory that the poem was not a valentine poem, but written merely 'in compliance . . . with a prevalent literary vogue, which encouraged the writing of Court of Love poems of a modified character; that it has no recondite meaning beyond that involved in the historic conditions of its production; that it contains no allusions either to the poet's own life or to that of another'.

W. J. Lawrence. Plays within Plays. A study of the subject with special reference to 'the physical conditions of the Elizabethan-Stuart Stage'. The author distinguishes between (1) earlier interpolations essentially unrelated to the main plot, which were probably suggested by Italian *intermezzi*, and ceased after Heywood's Love's Mistress; and (2) such 'by-plays' as are really part of the plot, of which early examples are found in Sir Thomas More, and in The Spanish Tragedy. These are not of Italian origin. They appear in various forms, such as that in Hamlet, or the masque, a form in which Middleton excelled.

Sometimes the proportions are reversed and the 'by-play' predominates as in The Taming of the Shrew, or the two elements may be inextricably mingled throughout as in The Knight of the Burning Pestle. The doing-away with the balcony, and the addition of movable stage-setting and act-drop at the Restoration put an end to the old use of this device.

Vol. XXXIV, 1904. I. R. Koppel. The Uncritical Practice of Editors of Shakespeare in designating the Time and Place of Scenes, and their Imperfect Knowledge of Stage-management and

Presentation of the Early English Drama. The early dramatists in many cases presented entire scenes without any indication of the particular place of the action, simply because definition of the place of action was unnecessary to plot or dramatic effect, and, on the unfurnished Elizabethan stage, would not be missed. Or, again, allusions in the dialogue show that the location of a scene indicated near its beginning, has been forgotten by the dramatist before its close, or has been changed altogether. Later editors, however, accustomed to a more restricted stage, have often forgotten this, and have reduced some plays to a needlessly elaborate, and hence inartistic, subdivision of scenes. Koppel cites a number of instances, among them Act II of *Othello* which in the Folio comprised two scenes, but has since been split into three, and by the same token would admit of four. An instance of implied change of scene which has escaped anatomizing commentators — and Koppel as well — is in *Henry IV*, Part I, II. 2, where, at line 95, the stage is for a moment cleared, and the scene is supposed to shift from a point part way up Gadshill to the bottom.

L. Nimstanley, Shelley as a Nature Poet. The subject is rather superficially treated under four heads: The Influence of Wordsworth; of Science; of Greek Mythology; and Reminiscences of Older Methods. Wordsworth is said to have influenced Shelley more than he did Byron or Keats, and *Alastor* is called 'the most Wordsworthian of Shelley's poems'.

W. van der Gaaf, Remarks on *penċan* and its ME and Mod E Representatives. In OE the uninflected infinitive with *penċan* is preferred, and indeed is exclusive in poetry. It precedes the verb, while the inflected form follows it. In ME the uninflected use of the infinitive with *penċan* passes gradually away. The three distinct modern meanings are 'intend', 'expect', 'suppose', in order of development. 'To think [somebody] evil' (*[alicui] insidias moliri, mala cogitare*) is an idiom due to Biblical influence, and dates at least from the Vespasian Psalter (early ninth century).

P. Fijn van Draat, *Recently*. The word is of comparatively rare occurrence in the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth until the last decade or two. The various meanings are abundantly illustrated from periodical literature.

In reviewing Ortmann's *Formen und Syntax des Verbs bei Wycliffe und Purvey*, van Draat says, 'until a quarter of a century ago critics vied with each other in praising Wycliffe'. But the study of his language and art have been too long neglected. Jespersen, in a notice of Jiriczek's edition of Gill's *Logonomia Anglica* (1621), criticizes Ellis's great work on Early English Pronunciation for imperfect interpretation of the old phonetic systems in his transcriptions. Such careful editions as this, of early grammarians must help to remedy this defect. An elaborate review of Kroder's *Shelley's Verskunst*, by Van Dam con-

tains some original material. Swaen prints several notes in his comment upon Bang's edition of Chettle and Day's *Blind Beggar of Bednall Green*. Hathaway's edition of the *Alchemist* (Yale Studies XVII) is, according to Koeppel, 'ein neuer Beweis dafür, mit welchem Eifer, und unter welch günstigen Verhältnissen, an verschiedenen der Amerikanischen Universitäten unsere Studien betrieben worden'. Todhunter contributes excellent reviews of Ainger's *Crabbe* and Chesterton's *Browning* in the *English Men of Letter* series. The latter he calls 'too much of an essay, and too little of a guide'.

In the *Miscellen*, J. H. Kern shows that the American word *vendue* came not directly from the French, but was adopted before 1664 from the Dutch, through contact with the Dutch West India Company in its operations about New Amsterdam. H. Spies prints a number of literary allusions to Gower, and notes on MSS of the *Confessio Amantis*.

II. Ph. Aronstein, *Shakespeare and Ben Jonson*. A general comparison.

H. Richter, *Humor in George Eliot*. Chiefly a comparative study. The novelist's gift of humor was deeply rooted in her character, and closely allied with her other powers. The humor in her works is not a separable element, but is permeated with various other qualities of her art. Yet it is thoroughly subordinated to a higher purpose.

H. Logeman, *The n in nightingale*. The author traces this much discussed phenomenon, not to analogy (cf. Bradley, *Modern Philology* I, 203), but, following Jespersen's lead (*Engl. Stud.* XXXI. 239 ff.), to the nasal tendency of all unstressed vowels, which is particularly strong in the phonetic combinations required for this and similar words.

The more elaborate reviews in this number discuss the following words: Will, *Die Tauglichkeit und die Aussichten der Englischen Sprache als Weltsprache*, etc. (Jespersen); the *New English Dictionary*, vols. III-VIII (Schröer); Garnett and Gosse, *English Literature* (Koeppel); Trautmann, *Finn und Hildebrand* (Ehrismann); *The Ile of Ladies*, hrsg. von Sherzer (Fehr); Heise, *Die Gleichnisse in Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Wülfling); von Mauntz, *Heraldik in Diensten der Shakespeare-Forschung* (Fairchild).

III. F. P. von Westenholz, *The Hamlet Quartos*. A discussion of verbal differences between Quarto A and Quarto B with the twofold purpose of a partial rehabilitation of the commonly disparaged text of A, and of confirming further the priority of B.

L. R. M. Strachan. *The Poet of Manxland*. A brief review of the work of T. E. Brown (1830-1897). Writing chiefly under the influence of Wordsworth, Brown has devoted himself to a

poetic presentation of the life and customs of his native island. He wrote *Betsey Lee*, *Fo'c'sle Yarns*, *The Manx Witch*, etc.

P. F. Van Draat. *Drunkard's English: Sidelights on Phonetics*. 'The very fact that the intoxicated man exaggerates certain tendencies of the speaking community serves to place these tendencies in a better light, or to give us a more correct insight into the nature of certain sounds by bringing out nice distinctions that could hardly be heard in ordinary speech.' These tendencies are, of course, those of phonetic weakening, leveling, and simplification. Three pages of examples, chiefly from *Punch*, are followed by a brief discussion of various phenomena.

Scherm's extended notice of Hofmiller's *Die Ersten sechs Masken Ben Jonson's in ihrem Verhältniss zur Antiken Literature*, is an implied invitation of scholars to a thorough and enlightened study of Jonson's relations to the classics. Apropos of Stanger's *Gemeinsame Motive in Ben Jonson's und Moliere's Lustspielen*, Aronstein remarks: 'Im ganzen ist die Untersuchung zu mechanisch und oberflächlich.'

The more important notes among the *Miscellen* are: from F. P. Prick, on *Holländische Parallelen zu 'Londonismen'*; from H. Fernow, on *Richard II V. 3. 134* (Twice saying 'pardon' doth not pardon twain'); and from the remains of E. Kölbing on matter in volumes I and II of his edition of Byron.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

CHARLES G. OSGOOD, JR.

BRIEF MENTION.

On the anniversary of JEBB'S lamented death I took in hand again his *Bacchylides* which I had laid aside to pay my brief and hurried tribute to his memory (A. J. P. XXVI 491). That tribute was sadly inadequate, but of one thing I do not repent me, the Bacchylidean verses with which I prefaced what I had to say: ἀρετὰ δ' ἐπίμοχθος μὲν τελευταθεῖσα δ' ὀρθῶς ἀνδρὶ καὶ εὖτε θάνη λείπει πολυζήλων εὐκλείας ἀγαλμα. True, Bacchylides seems to have had the spirit of prophecy when he sang in the same ode: εὖ δὲ λαχὼν Χαρίτων πολλοῖς τε θαυμασθεῖς βροτῶν αἰῶν' ἔλυσεν, and these apt verses were duly quoted by another admirer in commemoration of the departed scholar. But I was thinking rather of the words of Bourget in L'Étape: L'idée de l'effort s'associe trop aisément dans les âmes délicates à l'idée de mérite; elles sont toujours tentées de se mésestimer de ce qui leur plaît et de s'estimer de ce qui leur coûte; and JEBB'S *âme délicate* would have valued the ἀρετὰ ἐπίμοχθος. The scholar's life is a laborious one; and though no one envies the reputation of a Joannes Philoponos, Jack All-Work, the surname is the surname of our tribe. Those who see new paths, who explore new paths, must work hard. ἰδίας ὁδοὺς ζητοῦσι φιλόπονοι φύσεις. Patience has well been called 'inspiration in detail', and the keener the intellect, the quicker the imagination, the more total the surrender to the great obligation of patient toil, and the greater the pride in the fulfilment of the primary duty.

My marginal notes on JEBB'S *Bacchylides* are hardly worthy of a place even in the *capharnaum* of *Brief Mention*. Here and there another Pindaric parallel, here and there a divergent syntactical interpretation, here and there a mild protest, here and there an expression of pleasure at confirmations of my own judgment, not infrequently ready acceptance of tacit corrections and suggestions. Tacit, for Jebb seldom mentions other workers in the same field. In his special domain a man of his direct vision owed nothing to anyone; and his happy phrasings have made his commentaries a storehouse of observations, to which annotators gladly refer, sometimes for phenomena, which in less perfect statement have long been the common property of Hellenists. So the reviewer in the *Spectator* of Dec. 16, 1905, whom I like to think of as one and indivisible in fallibility (A. J. P. XXVI 490) called attention to JEBB'S subtlety in emphasizing the dual in Pind. P. 1, 94 whereas the significance of the dual in a dialect that does not favor the dual is something that lies quite

on the surface. One must know in order to praise aright. But this reminds me that JEBB (p. 19) expresses a decided dissidence from my views on this passage, where I suggest—it was a mere suggestion—that *λογίοις* may refer to panegyrists. 'It is more than doubtful', he says, 'whether there is any reference to panegyric oratory; and it seems certain that there is none to the art of rhetoric?' But rhetoric must have been an art even in the days of Pindar, and granting that the *τέχνη* of Teisias was not published in the life-time of Pindar, a written *τέχνη* presupposes an oral *τέχνη*, presupposes a school of long duration, and nothing would seem to be more natural than that Pindar should utter a note of protest against the new lights of rhetoricians, who were fast becoming formidable rivals. It is rather singular that Isokrates, who is often paralleled with Pindar (A. J. P. XXVI 238), should have been a follower of the Sicilian school, and should have proclaimed the triumph of an art that Pindar on this theory should at most have tolerated. In the only two passages in Pindar (P. 1, 94 and N. 6, 45), in which *λόγιος* is certain, we are not forced to take it in the Herodotean sense of 'chronicler', and although *λόγιος*, 'eloquent', has no warrant before Euripides, the assumption of the meaning in Pindar removes a serious difficulty in the interpretation of *λογίοισιν* in N. 6, 45. *λόγος*, as we all know, is a post-Homeric word and Pindar's use of it is very suggestive.

No sooner does a fresh number of the Journal come out than I find myself confronted with blunders that have escaped not only my eyes but sharper eyes than mine; and the fair pages of JEBB's *Bacchylides* are not free from vagaries of the types and slips of the pen which may serve to comfort those who are greatly guilty of the like. Being myself given to 'heterophasy' a better word than Richard Grant White's 'heterophemy' (A. J. P. XXI 229) the substitution of 'Theseus' for 'Aegeus', p. 230, l. 6 from bottom, was no surprise. So Schmidt in his *Synonymik* says that Homer uses *χρή* only once; he meant *δεῖ*. In the first edition of his *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Christ puts the scene of Plato's Phaedrus on the banks of the Cephissus; he meant the Ilissus. And just so, A. J. P. XXVI 242, l. 5, I wrote 'Acharnian' when I meant 'Megarian'. A determined quest of such things will reveal mistakes in almost any book, and I note only those that attracted my attention for other reasons. So p. 89, l. 11, for XV read V; on 3, 58 for XVII read XVI (A. J. P. XXIV 483); on 5, 102 for 265 read 365; on 18, 11 for O. read P. This last mistake is very familiar to me in my own practice, and a valued correspondent from the other end of the world has called my attention to the same error, A. J. P. XXVII 206, l. 1 where for O. read P., a false reference repeated from S. C. G. § 310. In the Vocabulary under *ὁπότε* read I. 33, *ὁπότε*.

JEBB's translation of *Bacchylides* suggests pages of admiring comment. His deft touch brings to the consciousness of other translators the thumbness, so to speak, of their fingers, and the bits of Pindar that he has rendered fill me with rueful admiration. In my Greek Syntax (§ 442) I have appealed to JEBB against the wooden uniformitarianism of the usual renderings of the optative with *ἄν* (A. J. P. XIV 499). That he should have translated *σεμνάν* 'stately' (16, 109), was a decided comfort to me in view of the counter-opinion of my good friend, J. H. Heinrich Schmidt, the synonymist (A. J. P. VII 467); and I was pleased to see (on B. 1, 29) that he admitted the possibility of *εὐδαιμον*'s meaning 'sunny' in Pindar O. 1, 111, especially as I waxed lyrical when I saw Kronion 'bathed in sunlight' and remembered my interpretation of the passage (Atl. Monthly, May, 1897). And yet dissent at points is inevitable; and no matter how well graced the actor, one interprets Shakespeare for oneself. To one who tries to look at a language face to face, translation is a hindrance as well as a help; and the happy rendering of an imaginary difference is no proof of the difference (A. J. P. XIX 231). A disputed point in syntax is not to be settled in that way; and as great a man as Gottfried Hermann fooled himself as well as others by his Latin renderings of the moods (A. J. P. II 480). Of course, when JEBB lends the charm of his diction to an interpretation that I cannot accept, I am exceeding sorrowful, but I cannot believe that he is right in his adoption of Wilamowitz's understanding of Timotheos' *ἄπιστον ἀγκάλισμα κλυσιδρομάδος αὔρας*. 'Who treacherously embraces me while the breeze sweeps over thy surges' is admirably Timothean, and it is fair to say that this version has ample support from translators that are more gifted in expression than I am and less dependent on syntax; but I still contend that the obvious translation is the right one (see A. J. P. XXIV 234).

To the literature of the section on Ceos (p. 4), I would add the interesting article of Professor Manatt, 'Bacchylides and his native isle', in the Atlantic Monthly for March, 1898. On p. 64 we read that 'Bacchylides is peculiarly prone to bestow two or more epithets on the same person'. But the double epithets belong to the lyric sphere, and Pindar does not disdain them so that the point would be brought out more clearly by a few figures such as Fraccaroli has given us on Bacchylides' use of epithets in his Bacchilide, *Rivista di Filologia*, 1898, p. 89—duly noted by his adoring disciple, TACCONI (p. xl), whose *Bacchilide* (Torino, Loescher), is laid on my table even while I am writing this notice. On p. 85 'Pindar neglects "position" more often than Bacchylides and Simonides do, coming nearer in this respect to the practice of Attic tragedy'. *Distinguendum est*. Breyer has shown that in the lengthening of vowels before mutes

and liquids Pindar's dactylo-epitrites approach very closely to Homeric usage, whilst the logaoedic and paeonian strophes deviate from that standard and approach the Attic norm, just as the proportion of imperfects and aorists varies according to the metres (A. J. P. IV 162). An observation of this kind is ample reward for much wearisome tabulation, and I am not perturbed by the *obiter dictum* of a classical master now much in vogue as an essayist: 'Grammar does not help one to understand an author or to appreciate a style'. On 3, 5: The remark that Pindar in O. 5, 18 has 'Ἀλφειὸν εὐρὺ ρέοντα, but elsewhere dispenses with an epithet for the famous river would have gained in interest, if he had noted this as another of the many little things that serve to cast suspicion on the Pindaric origin of the poem. On 5, 13: 'κλειρός, though we have just had κλειονάν, a strong example of verbal repetition which the change of dialectic form scarcely palliates'. He should have added 'to modern taste'. See Schroeder's Prolegomena to Pindar, 43. Our mania for ποικιλία, which has come down to us in a straight line from Cicero, as Cicero's mania had come down to him from Isokrates and Plato, is a second nature. It is boldly proclaimed by the spokesman of the translators of the Authorized Version and asserts itself at every turn down to our own day. The English essayist to whom I have just referred quotes, 'Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of the perilous stuff that weighs upon the heart', and straightway exclaims: 'How careless the repetition of "stuff'd" "stuff" in that line'; and reading Ar. Ran. 234, 247 one wonders what modern poet would have dared to repeat so vivid an epithet as ἐνυδρον in the space of fifty words. On 5, 48: 'The historic present here is unusual but intelligible'. If, as I contend, the historic present is excluded from Pindar, we have an interesting point of difference, over which, by the way, TACCONE becomes enthusiastic. On 5, 110: Jebb writes εἰσάνταν μόλοι and says 'εἴσαντ' ἂν μόλοι could be explained only as an archaizing imitation of the Homeric δε κε with optative'. There is a similar passage in Pindar P. 9, 129 which cannot be got rid of by the simple process that changes εἴσαντ' ἂν into an analogical εἰσάνταν. On 5, 161: προσδεῖν, 10, 23: πρὸντα and 16, 43: ἰδεῖν, there are elaborate notes on the aorists which all fall into the vast category of the negative. 16, 43 Bacchylides says: οὐ γὰρ ἂν θάλωμ' ἰδεῖν φάος (neg.), Eur. I. T. 608: φῶς ὀρᾶν θέλω (pos.). So each man goes his own way. Smyth simply expects ὀρᾶν, Jebb amply explains ἰδεῖν, and the mechanical soul of the statistician impales the winged word and puts it with the other specimens in his butterfly show-case. There are a few of them in S. C. G. § 246. 16, 64: αἶ κε solitary in Bacchylides does not occur in Pindar. 17, 42: ὄφρα only here is a marked contrast to Pindar with whom ὄφρα is the regnant final particle. In such matters as these Mrose de syntaxi Bacchylidea is of little help. Mrose is content to say that Bacchylides deliberately avoided the less usual features of Pindaric syntax, but one longs for something more definite. One would like to know how

the two poets differ in the extent of their practice. So, for instance, as to the intrusion of the preposition between adjective and substantive or substantive and adjective; and as Jebb was a subtle interpreter of syntactical effects, the regret comes back so often expressed at the time of his death that he had not given us a Pindar from which the world might have learned to appreciate the sheen of the plumage as well as the sharpness of the talons of the Theban eagle.

JEBB did noteworthy service for Pindar in his famous essay, but even he could hardly have stemmed the tide that is making away from the poet. Read the characteristics quoted, A. J. P. XXVI 115, 360. Read the characteristic in *Die Hellenische Kultur*, a book recently noticed in this Journal. Read the characteristic in WILAMOWITZ'S *Griechische Literatur*; and WILAMOWITZ knows his Pindar as few do, whatever may be thought of Mahaffy and Murray. And now comes Professor EDUARD SCHWARTZ, and begins the summary of his final judgment of Pindar in his *Charakterköpfe aus der antiken Literatur* (Teubner) thus: 'Pindar ist weder ein reicher noch ein gefälliger Dichter'. Assuredly, these judgments are not calculated to win students for a poet, of whom I myself have said: 'There is an aristocratic disdain in his nature that yields only to kindred spirits or to faithful service'. True, Professor SCHWARTZ may fairly protest that he has warned professionals off the course of popular lectures, in which he has rendered his verdict, but Professor SCHWARTZ is too important a scholar for anything that he writes to be negligible, and this booklet has not been neglected, for it has reached a second edition in a comparatively short time. Now no one can have a greater distrust of popular lectures than a man who has been guilty of some scores of them in his day. The task of a popularizer is a difficult one, and it is hard to keep a just mean between talking down to one's audience and shooting over the heads of the same. The French are past masters in the art of the *conférencier*, and other nationalities toil after them in vain. Whoever heard the late eminent historian, Mr. Freeman, lecture to American audiences, cannot fail to recall some of the many illustrations he gave unwittingly of Lowell's famous essay 'On a certain condescension in foreigners'. If we had been children in the nursery, he could not have got down more decidedly on his intellectual all-fours, as he hammered away at the story of the three Englands, and unfolded the mystery of the *Oyes!* of the courts. And I remember another lecturer of less name and fame, who brought out with great gravity and impressiveness the beggarly elements of the phonetics of English style before students, who had made themselves familiar with Dionysius De Compositione. Shooting over the heads of an audience is a serious fault. Underrating the intelligence of an audience is worse. No specialist ought to emerge from the depths to which

he has dived without bringing up something rich and strange out of the full fathom five. A popular lecture from which a fellow-student can learn nothing is a poor affair; and I am content to learn from Professor SCHWARTZ.

The close texture of Professor SCHWARTZ's style has for me a certain fascination. It demands more concentrated attention than one would expect of lectures intended for a popular audience, and in his second preface he himself says that he has here and there made his language 'leichter und flüssiger'. It is what may be called an anagnostic style, and yields more, the more it is pondered, and so too it may be said that the more one brings to the study of the matter, the more one takes away. Of the contrasted 'heads' he has brought before us, my chief interest lies in the 'Hesiod und Pindar' for obvious reasons, and for one not so obvious. His 'Hesiod und Pindar' recalls with a pang my neglect to make a thorough comparative study, a *cum pulvisculo exhaustire* study, as Ritschl used to say, of the two poets for the illustration of my edition of the Olympians and Pythians, a neglect which I tried to make good, years afterwards, by assigning the task to one of my pupils, JOHN ADAMS SCOTT, whose paper presents a well-ordered material for the study of the subject, which I should have been glad to have, when my work was going on; and I cannot help thinking that it was ungracious in Professor PEPPMÜLLER to say, as he did in the *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1 Nov., 1899, that SCOTT's dissertation, despite its diligent collection of facts, would yield little to a man who had made a special study of the subject, the man in his mind being PEPPMÜLLER himself, who was naturally nettled at having been anticipated, as most of us would have been. Not to summarize SCOTT's dissertation, one interesting fact comes out very distinctly that whenever Homer and Hesiod differ, Pindar as a rule leans to the home poet, so that there seems to be after all, a bond of union between the Peasant Prophet and the Nobleman (not to say 'Junker') Poet. For Professor SCHWARTZ's purpose the contrast is the main thing, and this is quite in accordance with the general scope of the *Charakterköpfe*, which is to do justice to the individual element so often merged in the vague terms 'classical', 'Greek', 'Roman'. We are apt to emphasize the type too much, important as the type is. Strangers see likeness where members of the family fail to discern it; and it is because we are more or less strangers that we fail to distinguish the lines of difference in the style, in the handwriting of foreigners. One of my German critics amused me very much, twenty years ago, by finding a certain likeness between my work and Rutherford's. If Rutherford's eye ever fell on that paragraph, his growl must have been something portentous, to judge by the rumble of his recent book on the Aristophanic scholia which swells into a roar, as he deals damnation on the

Greek rhetoricians of a later day. Of course, Matthew Arnold's postulate of personality in the single line is strained, but there is an undeniable fascination as well as possible profit in the search; and such a search gives zest even to the study of indexes, for which I confess a decided weakness (A. J. P. XVI 525, XXVI 236). The other day I was looking up *ἔδε* in Forman's Index to Deinarchos, to complete my study of that demonstrative in the orators. According to Forman, Deinarchos does not use *ἔδε* in any form. I have not verified the statement, but I trust Forman all the more because Deinarchos was a Corinthian, and Fick maintains (Ilias VII) that the Corinthians showed a partiality for *οἶτος* where *ἔδε* seems to be imperative. To be sure, some of the other orators use *ἔδε* very little, but one likes to think of the *κρίθινος Δημοσθένης* as sticking to the ways of his great birthplace, if indeed these were the ways of his great birthplace. Why should that be more unnatural than that Pindar should use the Corinthian form *Ποσειδάων* in an ode for a Corinthian? But unfortunately a little investigation has shown Fick's generalization to be more than doubtful and Corinthian *οἶτος* must join Lokrian *τε* (A. J. P. IX 410), and Arkadian *ἔστε* (A. J. P. XXIV 389), into which I was seduced by Plato's *ἴττω Ζεύς*.

But *ἴττω Ζεύς* takes us back to the cantonal type to which both Hesiod and Pindar were subject. After all, they were both Boeotians; and in my Introductory Essay to Pindar and elsewhere (A. J. P. XVI 373), I have had a good word to say for the Boeotians and for Boeotia, not untaught of Bergk (L. G. I 715), not untouched by sympathy with the underdogs of history, not unlessoned by the experience of life. Indeed, I have even gone so far as to try to explain the attitude of Pindar and his canton during the Persian War. That was twenty years after our war was over, and it will hardly be believed that in 1885 I received a friendly intimation that it would be more prudent for me to screen the parallel lines and to efface the sentence: 'A little experience of a losing side might aid historical vision'. I have lived to see a more tolerant day, and I too have become more tolerant of divergent estimates of Pindar and in that spirit of toleration, I will finish my quotation from Professor SCHWARTZ in which he is not so unjust, after all, to the last champion of Dorism, the last true believer in Herakles. To the Cynics, Herakles was but a lay figure.

Der Kreis seiner Gedanken ist streng geschlossen, der Pomp seiner Sprache steif, die Formen seiner Poesie konventionell, die Sache der er diente war längst nicht mehr lebendig und berechtigt zu dauern. Wenn aber der echte Dichter darin sich kund gibt, dass seine Rede nach Jahrhunderten und Jahrtausenden den verstehenden Leser zwingt ihn zu verehren und zu lieben als sei er noch ein lebenswarmer Mensch, dann ist er der echtsten einer gewesen. In seinen Gedichten lebt er weiter als das wozu er geboren wurde und was er sein wollte, als ein Edelmann von Gottes Gnaden.

As I read this over I find that I have forgiven the opening sentence, and I cannot suppress my satisfaction that Professor SCHWARTZ like Wilamowitz has not flicked away Pindar's claim to be an Aigeid, even if it should prove to be as unsubstantial as some of our American pretensions to aristocracy. The belief suffices as it has sufficed. *ἐμοὶ παρέπερ* has always meant so much to some people.

All this is lamentably personal, no doubt, but the predominance of the first person in *Brief Mention* is not only a part of the game (A. J. P. XXV 490); it is due in good measure to the growing conviction of the writer that blank impersonality is a deadly foe to the vitality of our studies, so that I am somewhat remorseful at having taken Mr. SHARPLEY to task for his self-assertion, and I rejoice greatly that in the absence of American enthusiasm (A. J. P. XXVII 228), Mr. SHARPLEY can console himself with the plaudits of Continental critics. So Herr WEBER (*N. P. Rundschau*, 3. Nov. 1906) actually rebukes my poor old contemporary VAN HERWERDEN for noticing MAZON'S *Peace* in his *Vindiciae Aristophaneae*, which he might not have done, if the French editor had not presented his work to the venerable scholar, while not noticing SHARPLEY'S *Peace*, as if he had had ample time to do so; for, according to Herr WEBER, SHARPLEY'S *Peace*, is recognized by the critics as the best of all. And VAN LEEUWEN in his *Pax*, which has appeared since, though he does not refer to SHARPLEY, sustains him in that all important interpretation of *ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν* (v. 241). If *κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν* could be considered reflexive, and Polemos afflicted with the same laxness that befalls so many of the followers of Polemos, why then *τιλῶν*, not *τιλῶν ποιῶν* could readily be supplied, and one would have less difficulty in accepting this ladleful of the *σκῶρ ἀείνων* of the scholiasts, 'the nonsense and nastiness', as Rutherford calls it, 'generated from silly and undisciplined minds' (A Chapter in the History of Annotation, p. 388). Mr. SHARPLEY'S attitude then is perfectly correct. 'Ofttimes nothing profits more than self-esteem'. To finish the quotation would be to spoil it. 'The first person', as has been remarked (A. J. P. XXIII 7), 'is to a certain extent vulgar in Greek, and we are not surprised that the vulgarian Aischines is given to an undue use of the personal pronoun outside of the consecrated range. Is it not "better form" in our world to suppress "I" in favor of the colorless "one", in favor of the impersonal passive'? But if one feels strongly, if one thrills to the fingertips? In Lysias I, unrivalled masterpiece of ἡθοποιία, the betrayed husband is freer with his *ἐγώ*'s than the traitor, Aischines, as we may call him for the sake of the antithesis and for the sake of Demosthenes; and as a matter of style, let us heed what Herbert Spencer says in *Facts and Comments*, p. 98: 'Whether the endeavor to sink the personal in the impersonal by using the expression "it is believed", instead of "I believe",

<or "it has been remarked", instead of "I have remarked"> is a trait of good style may be doubted; since there is given to the reader's mind a certain needless task in substituting the real meaning for the meaning expressed'. However, A. J. P. is a convenient substitute for the offensive capital letter.

W. A. M.: Housman's introduction to his *Manilius* (London, 1903) is pungent reading and is good discipline for any man who is bold enough to write a book for his enemy. And yet in spite of the Ishmaelitish tone of the work and the savage, nay barbarous, criticism of his predecessors and contemporaries, there are bitter truths expressed therein that are enlivened by a grim and mordant humor. Bentley, Housman says, was impatient, was tyrannical, was too sure of himself, and treated the MSS much as if they were fellows of Trinity. And the "Scientific critic unlike the rest of mankind contrives to enjoy the usually incompatible luxuries of shirking his work and despising his superiors". Housman's remarks on the conservative, because incompetent, character of the latest criticism as distinguished from the wise audacity of Lachmann and Madvig, are well worth reading. But why may not the truth be spoken in love? When one bears testimony against an evil generation it is not well to prejudice the message by arousing the old Adam in the reader, and Housman is wonderfully successful in that. "The simple process of opening one's mouth and shutting one's eyes has been dignified by the title of 'eine streng wissenschaftliche Methode', but rational criticism has been branded with a term of formal reprobation". Let no man say that in our effete age the odium philologicum has passed away so long as Mr. Housman abides with us.¹

A CORRECTION.

In the last number of this Journal (p. 318, lines 21, ff.), I said that the discussion of Malevole's relationship to the melancholy Jaques had recently been "revived", and referred in my note to Dr. E. E. Stoll's article on "Shakspere, Marston, and the Malcontent Type", *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 281, ff.

I used the word "revived" because I recollected, as I thought, that Dr. Stoll had, in his own article, referred to some previous discussions of his subject. This, however, is not the case. The credit of the discovery belongs entirely to Dr. Stoll, and my apologies for the mistake are due both to him and to the readers of this Journal.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

¹ This mordancy seems to have grown on Mr. Housman since the date of his contributions to the Journal IX 316 foll., XIII 139 foll. in which the Pramnean wine of his criticism is not unduly tart. Fortunate are those in whom the bitterness of life does not generate bitterness of temper *σφόδρ' ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ὁ βίος οἶνῳ προσφερέης· ὅταν ἢ τὸ λοιπὸν μικρὸν, δέξας γίνεται.*—B. L. G.

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CORRIGENDA.

P. 206, l. 1, for O. read P. P. 225, l. 16, read *Oxyrhynchus*. P. 231, l. 24, omit 'the use of'. P. 327, l. 13, add *μέγας ἀντίδικος*. P. 329, l. 39, for 'when' read 'where'. P. 332, l. 13, for 'apt' read 'ought'; l. 15, read 'condition'.

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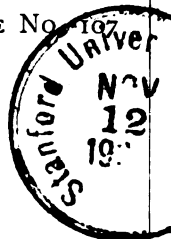
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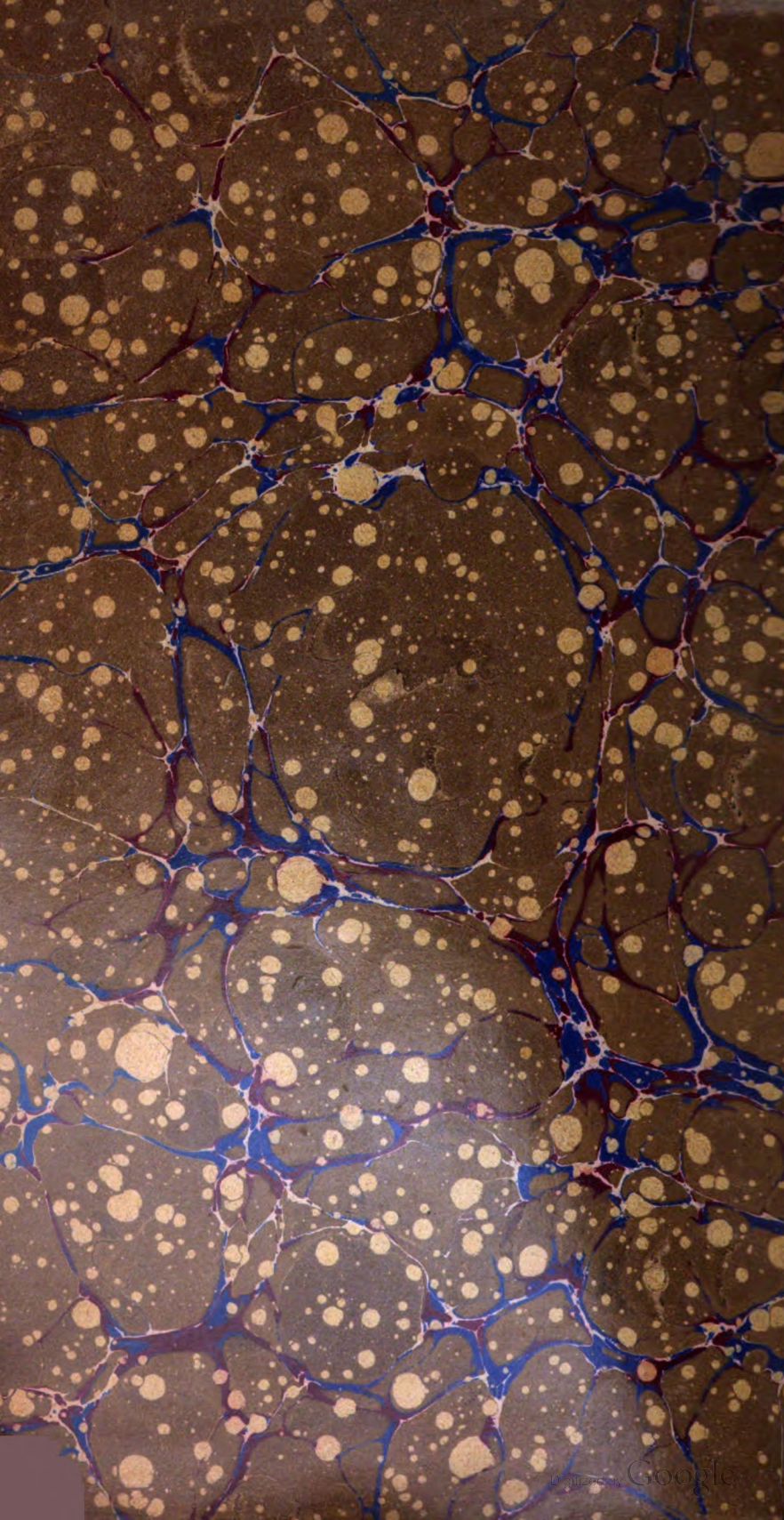
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